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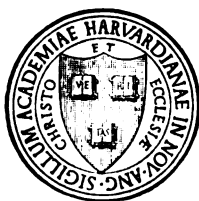
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**THE IRISH
ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD**

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD

A Monthly Journal, under Episcopal Sanction

VOLUME IX.
JANUARY TO JUNE, 1901

Fourth Series

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The Irish Ecclesiastical Record

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Thirty-fourth Year]
No. 397.

JANUARY, 1901.

[Fourth Series
Vol. IX.

**New Programme of the Board of National Education—
Singing.**

Rev. T. Donovan, C.M., All Hallows' College.

A Mediæval Bishop.

Rev. Richard A. O'Gorman, Hythe, Kent.

'Retrenched' Holidays and the 'Missa Pro Populo.'

His Grace the Archbishop of Dublin.

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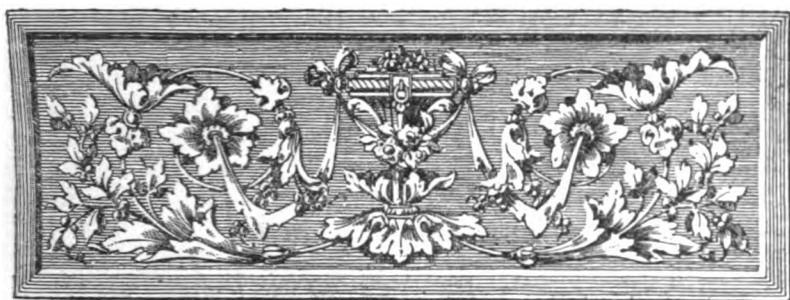
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NEW PROGRAMME OF THE BOARD OF NATIONAL EDUCATION—SINGING

THE educational value of music, and its claims to a high place on the list of subjects for school instruction, have long since been realised by the educational authorities of Europe and America; but it is only within the last few years that Irish educationalists have begun to recognise them. So early as 1846 Kay, in his *Social Condition and Education of the People of Europe*, referred to singing as a recognised integral part of primary school instruction in Germany. 'My readers,' he wrote, 'must remember that every German child commences to learn singing as soon as it enters school; or, in other words, when it is five or six years of age.' And Barnard (*National Education in Europe*) tells us that 'all Prussian teachers are masters, not only of vocal, but also of instrumental music;' and speaking of the schools in Berlin, he says that singing 'is regarded as an indispensable branch of instruction.'

About the year 1878, the Minister of Public Instruction in France, with a view to drawing up a programme of musical instruction in the primary schools, requested a number of the leading musical educationalists of France to send him their opinions, together with any suggestions

they thought well to make. The request met with a ready response, and many papers of a most interesting and instructive kind were sent in. In 1882 a commission was appointed to consider the proposals made, and to decide on the programme to be adopted. Finally, the Superior Council of Instruction, in 1883, adopted the scheme decided on by the commission. The papers contributed, and the proceedings of the commission were published in 1884, in the form of a brochure, entitled *Enseignement du Chant*.

The educational importance of music began to dawn on English educationalists in 1840. Mr. Hullah was appointed to organise teachers' classes. But the efforts to introduce the subject generally into the schools met with only partial success, till a satisfactory arrangement was made in 1883. Music is now taught in practically every English primary school.

Edward Thring, head-master of Uppingham, whose opinion on any educational question is of considerable weight, thought so highly of music as an educational factor, that he broke new ground in its favour by making it a subject of importance in his school. So beneficial were the results that his example was followed by many similar schools. It is interesting to note that Thring himself had no ear for music.

Scotland is remarkable for her standard of school music. And yet in Scotland, for a considerable time at least, music was not compulsory, nor were teachers bound to hold certificates in music.

America from an early date has shown herself most interested in school music. She has collected information from all available sources. Some of her leading educationalists, notably Barnard, secretary to the Education Board of Connecticut (1849), have personally visited the schools of most European nations. Horace Mann, her great educational reformer, secretary to the Education Board of Massachusetts, had a high appreciation of the educational value of music. He treats of it especially in his Eighth Annual Report (1844). The state of music in American schools is highly praised by one of the French authorities

above referred to, though America herself is modest enough in her own estimate. She is not yet satisfied with herself.

In the midst of all this activity Ireland has been, until quite recently, doing practically nothing. The work of the Commission on Manual and Practical Instruction in the Primary Schools of Ireland, has set people thinking. One result of this has been that the Board of National Education has taken practical steps in the matter, which are calculated to prove very effective. It has prescribed that singing is to be henceforth 'compulsory in schools where there are teachers holding certificates of competency to give instruction' in it, and that it 'must be introduced into all schools as soon as possible.' To give prompt effect to this rule, the Board has appointed a head organiser, and a number of assistants, whose duties will be, to introduce the subject into the schools, to form classes, to give teachers any instruction or help that may be necessary, as to the methods of teaching, and in general to give all the assistance they can towards the accomplishment of the end which the Board rule has in view. The head organiser is Mr. Goodman, the Board's examiner in music, whose long experience, and pronounced success as a teacher, whose untiring energy and zeal in the cause of music in Ireland, and whose keen appreciation of the value of music as an educational factor, and acquaintance with the methods and systems of other countries, render him eminently qualified for the task imposed upon him.

These measures, well directed and practical as they are, will, nevertheless, require, as an essential condition for success, the hearty co-operation of managers and teachers, and indeed of the public generally. We all know that there are many instances of excellent regulations and laws becoming 'dead letters.'

Not by centralisation, not by programmes, not by examination papers, not even by lavish expenditure alone will success be attained. What is wanted is, that public spirit, that strong conviction in every man, woman, and child, that education is a privilege; that the more education a man has, the more he is to be respected.¹

¹ Lord Reay, Opening Address at Conference on Education, 1884—*Health Exhibition Literature*, vol. xiii.

This question of the teaching of music in our schools is one of much greater and more serious national significance, than we are inclined to think. Speaking generally, those who think of the subject at all, regard it merely as a pleasant, harmless accomplishment, by no means necessary or even useful from an educational or social point of view.

This want of appreciation of the educational and social value of music, strange as it may appear in the 'land of song,' and injurious as it is to our national well-being, is after all easily explained. Ireland has had a struggle for existence for which history has no parallel. The time is not so very long gone by when Irishmen were thankful to be let live, and were content with the barest necessities; when education in Ireland was a crime, when the school-master and the priest were hunted down like wolves, when the iron grip of the penal laws frantically strove to drag from the hearts of Irishmen their treasure of treasures, their Catholic faith, and to crush out of the Irish character everything that made life bright, pleasant, pure, refined, and noble. Small blame to our countrymen if, under circumstances such as these, they gave but little thought to educational development or culture. Small blame to us if we have received, as a legacy, a state of indifference and apathy towards things which do not seem at first sight necessary for our well-being. It is little short of a miracle that our educational state is not very considerably lower than it is.

Nor do our present circumstances help much to the calm consideration of educational questions such as this. We are in a chronic state of excitement and agitation. We are in a whirl of rapidly succeeding political phases and we sometimes seem to get dizzy, and not to know precisely where we are.

This state of apathy in matters educational is fraught with serious danger to our national life and character. If our intellectual powers are undeveloped, if our higher moral perceptions are blunted, misdirected, or warped, we shall become simply an unthinking, inert mass of degenerate

humanity, to be helplessly whisked about by every wind of political, social and religious doctrine. There are at present many such winds blowing from various quarters. It is our duty to our country to secure, as far as in us lies, that the Irish men and women of the future will know how to keep firm foothold on the solid ground of common sense and truth in the midst of the storms which more than probably will rage around them.

This new legislation of the National Education Board affords a suitable opportunity for pointing out the existing low state of music in our schools, and putting forward its strong claims to a place of the first importance among subjects of educational value, with a view to interesting managers and teachers, and, as far as possible, the public generally, in this new scheme of musical education.

The final report of the Commission on Manual and Practical Instruction in the Primary Schools of Ireland reveals a deplorable state of things. It appears that in 1896, the percentage of primary schools in which music was taught, was in England 99·8, in Scotland 96·6, while Ireland can show only the miserable figure 14·4! Nor have things very noticeably improved since then, for the percentage in 1897 was 15·3 and in 1898, 15·7.

The reports of inspectors for the years 1897-'98, 1898-'99, set forth the state of music, in a very clear and most disheartening light. In many of these reports there is no mention of music, from which we must conclude either that in many districts no music is taught, or that some inspectors do not consider the subject worthy of mention. In others we are told that music is 'not taught in many' schools, or 'in very few,' or 'in a small number.' In only four cases—reports of Belfast, Lurgan, North Dublin, and Cork—are favourable expressions used, and even these are of a modified description. In Belfast, music is taught in 'a large proportion of the schools.' In Lurgan it is taught 'in a considerable number,' in North Dublin and Cork it is 'extensively taught.'

The following tables, compiled from these reports, will

give a clear and comprehensive view of the sad state of affairs :—

FROM REPORTS FOR 1897-'98.

| DISTRICT | Number of National Schools | Music Taught in |
|---------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------|
| Londonderry | 160 | 24 |
| Coleraine | 158 | 14 |
| Donegal | — | In a small number |
| Strabane | 154 | 15 |
| Cavan | 153 | 11 |
| Ballinamore | 140 | 5 |
| South Dublin | 152 | 35 |
| Ennis | — | 8 or 10 |
| Tralee | 113 | 10 |
| Mallow | 113 | 25 |
| Killarney | 128 | 2, and Convent schools |
| Bantry | 133 | 4 (3 being Convent) |
| Dunmanway | 122 | 11, and Convent schools |

REPORTS FOR 1898-'99.

| DISTRICT | Number of National Schools | Music Taught in |
|--------------------|----------------------------------|---|
| Magherafelt | 158 | 8 |
| Sligo | 146 | Very few |
| Enniskillen | 153 | No mention |
| Dungannon | 152 | Not taught in many |
| Armagh | 152 | 33 |
| Downpatrick | 142 | 45 |
| Monaghan | 151 | 12 |
| Westport | 160 | 5 (3 being Convent) |
| Ballinasloe | 145 | In a few |
| Listowel | 124 | 6 |
| Tipperary | — | 18 |
| Youghal | 130 | 24 (9 being Convent) |
| Enniscorthy | 150 | No mention |
| Clonmel | 119 | Convent, Model, and in a few other schools |

Another most regrettable fact revealed by these reports is that though nearly three thousand teachers hold certificates in music, not more than half that number teach it. And further, it appears that of those who do teach it, many do not present their pupils for examination in it, which most

probably means that the teaching is done in only a half-hearted, inefficient manner.

This, then, is the wretchedly low state of music in our National schools. In other words this is the state of music in this 'land of song.' For the Intermediate schools and seminaries are not of much account in this matter. Neither vocal nor instrumental music is on the Intermediate programme. There is, therefore, no money in either, and so each is regarded as out of place in most of these schools. Some seminaries and Intermediate colleges, no doubt, do place music on their programme, and a few make fairly honest efforts to teach it, but then time, always precious, is doubly precious in an Intermediate school and must not be recklessly squandered on a subject of purely educational value. One of two consequences necessarily follows, either the time allotted to music is too limited to produce more than the scantiest measure of success, or the classes are held during the recreation time and the subject is regarded as a penance by the pupils who have to attend.

The authorities of the ecclesiastical colleges devote considerable time and attention to the subject, but their teaching affects only a comparatively small class of the community, and they are, moreover, seriously hampered in their efforts, chiefly by the state of complete ignorance of music in which a large majority of the students begin their ecclesiastical course.

From all this it follows that the National schools are responsible for the present deplorable state of music in this country, and it is for them to decide here and now, by the use they make of the facilities at present afforded them, whether this state of things is to continue or a new and better one is to take its place.

The prevailing idea in this country with regard to music is that it is merely an ornamental and pleasing accomplishment, fit only for purposes of amusement, devoid of educational value, out of place where serious work is to be done, and inconsistent with the educational requirements of the vast bulk of the people. This is a most mistaken notion. Music is not merely ornamental, it is not merely pleasure-

giving. But granting for a moment that it were, it would by no means follow that it is useless from an educational point of view. On the contrary it would on that very account have very strong claims to a position of importance among educational subjects. It is not useless if it brightens the monotony of school life ; it is not useless if it helps to cast the youthful mind in a cheerful mould ; it is not useless if it brings a gleam of happiness into a cheerless home ; it is not useless if it enkindles a smile in the careworn weather-beaten face of a weary and anxious parent ; it is not useless if it helps to lighten the heavy burdens and weary toil, which must ever be the portion of the poor.

Moreover, is not the desire of pleasure and happiness one of the most deep-rooted and active components of our complicated human nature ? Is it not in some sense the mainspring of many or most of our actions ? When undisciplined and misguided does it not drag thousands to temporal and eternal ruin ? Are we then to disregard its existence ? Shall we allow it to grow uncultured in the garden of souls committed to our care, as a rank and poisonous weed spreading pestilential vapours throughout the moral atmosphere ? Is it not our bounden duty to do all in our power to direct it towards the good, the beautiful, and the noble ? Are we not bound to satisfy this appetite in the young with safe, stimulating and wholesome food, so that in later life they may not seek to satisfy it with the husks of swine ? Now of all available means to this end music is the most powerful and far-reaching. The pleasure it gives is of the highest and noblest kind, and its influence reaches from the highest to the lowest ranks of society.

The pleasure, from its peculiarity, its power of relieving the mind and steeping it, as it were, in a totally new atmosphere, its indescribable suggestions of infinity, and *its freedom from any kind of deleterious after effects*, is of an extremely valuable kind.¹

Carlyle has said that music 'takes us to the edge of the infinite, and lets us gaze for moments into that.'

There is no art which cultivates so rapidly a feeling for the

¹ Gurney, *Power of Sound*, cap. xvi.

beautiful in that which is not seen ; hence, no art can come so near to the poor, and be so useful in the truest sense. In the way that nothing else can, it can touch their lowly lives with a sunset glow, and fill their dull bare homes with radiant beauty. In the name of the poor I claim for music an essential place in their education.¹

The beautiful is the sister of the good. The contemplation of the beautiful awakens a feeling of satisfaction similar to the contemplation of the good. *Æsthetic* enjoyments elevate and idealise ; they belong to the highest pleasures of life. Within the wide compass of art, music, next to poetry, can be brought within easy reach of the young, and within the extensive domain of music, nothing is better adapted for class instruction than singing. The combination of tones which singing presents to the ear excite involuntary pleasure in the pupil, and offer him elements for his ideas of the beautiful. Singing delights the human heart, and enlivens and animates the emotions. There is no purer or more productive source of pleasure, and no nobler or more beautiful form of expression for the feelings than song.²

Moreover, if we render work and duty distasteful to the child, if we neglect to season toil with cheerfulness, we are not forming a good, energetic useful member of society ; we are laying the foundation of a gloomy, morose, idle and criminal character. Music, therefore, even if it had nothing else to recommend it but its power of giving pleasure, would have the strongest claim to a position of the first importance on every educational programme.

But music is not merely pleasure-giving ; it is a great deal more. It is a most effective aid towards school discipline ; it is most conducive to physical health ; scientifically taught it develops the intellectual powers, especially attention and observation ; it enlivens and elevates the emotions, thus forming a good moral character ; it brightens home life, and strengthens love of home, mutual affection, and other domestic virtues ; it preserves national patriotic sentiment and keeps it in healthy activity ; finally, it is a powerful means of contributing to the glory of God, by

¹ Paper on 'Music in Schools' by E. Mooney, read at Conference on Education at Health Exhibition, 1884.

² Mr. J. Helm, Schwabach, Bavaria, quoted in the Report of the Commissioner of Education, to U.S. Bureau of Education, 1895-'96, vol. i., 199.

increasing the impressiveness and beauty of the sacred functions of the Church.

The vast importance of school discipline, as a means of forming the character of individuals, and of rendering the working of the school as a whole easy and efficient, is beyond all question. Now, experience has shown that in schools in which music is taught, the maintenance of discipline is a very easy matter. The development of musical taste implies the development of a love of order and regularity. Class instruction in singing develops self-control and attention to the actions or the requirements of others. Added to this there is the softening, humanising, and cheering effect of music on the character. In some schools a popular marching air is played or sung during all the changes of class, and it is delightful to watch the happy faces of the children as they march with calmness, dignity, and clockwork regularity to their various places.

Mr. W. G. McNaught, A.R.A.M., inspector of music in England, speaking of 'Music in Primary Schools,' says:—

Teachers of the schools attended by the roughest and most miserable children, declare that singing is an indispensable, cheering, and softening discipline. Recently Mr. Buxton, chairman of the London School Board, said to a gathering of musical educationists:—'You have enabled us to tame wild spirits which we could not otherwise have tamed. It is the experience of those who know best, that there is no power in the schools in the lowest neighbourhoods which can exercise a refining influence on the wildest and roughest spirits like this teaching of music.'¹

Again, we find Horace Mann saying that the practice of music 'disarms anger, softens rough and turbulent natures, socialises and brings the whole mind as it were into a state of fusion, from which condition the teacher can mould it into what forms he will, as it cools and hardens.'²

The teaching of music makes the children love school and take an active interest in lessons, discipline, and everything connected with school life.

Vocal music, taught methodically and under suitable

¹ *Health Exhibition Literature*, vol. xiii., Conference on Education.

² Horace Mann, Seventh Annual Report, (1843), to the Board of National Education, Massachusetts. Quoted in *National Education in Europe*, Barnard.

conditions, is most conducive to health. Mr. Curwen, president of the Tonic Sol-fa college, speaking at the conference, held during the Health Exhibition, says :—

Singing is a healthy physical act, and as such may well be advocated at the Health Exhibition. It promotes deep breathing, which renews the blood and the life. Dr. Affleck says that if there were more singing there would be less coughing. Lung troubles may be avoided and relieved by the systematic diaphragm breathing which singing requires. These benefits which belong to singing last for life.

The exercise and development of the intellectual powers is one of the chief ends of education. It is the office of the intellect to take notice of, and observe the various facts that come before it, to examine their nature and bearings, to compare and classify them, and to pronounce them good, bad, or indifferent. It is clear from this that for the due fulfilment of the office of the intellect, two things are absolutely necessary : attention and observation. The greater the development of these two powers, the greater the intellectual efficiency of the individual.

Lord Reay, speaking of observation, says :—

The development of the powers of observation, to satisfy an ever-expanding curiosity, is at the root of every system of rational education. How to observe and what to observe, in the past and in the present, is the ever-recurring function of education through life. Apply the test to the humblest and to the most exalted professions, you will see that the test does not fail. The agricultural labourer, whose work is of the most interesting description, will be efficient or inefficient, exactly in proportion as his faculty of observation has been developed. Nature will teach him something every day of his life, if he has been taught how to watch her workings. It is the same for the astronomer ; observation is to him the first necessity. In primary education this truth is more and more recognised. . . .¹

There is a wide-spread and lamentable deficiency in both attention and observation at the present day. A large proportion of people are passing through life with their eyes closed. It is quite a common thing to find people utterly unable to describe occurrences which take place before their

¹ Conference on Education, 1884.

eyes day after day. It is a matter of daily experience, to find that after your clear and impressive explanation your pupil is a perfect blank with regard to all you have said. He has been all the time thinking what he will say next, or wondering how long you will keep talking, or hoping you will keep on till the class-time is up. This state of things clearly points to a neglect of systematic training of these powers in the earlier stages of education ; the stages in which all the serious mistakes are made.

As a most efficient means of exercising and training these imperatively necessary powers, music has a claim of the strongest kind to a foremost place on every programme of education, especially of primary education. For, music draws or entices the attention of the child, with little or no conscious effort on his part, and holds it with a kindly but firm grasp. Now, this is precisely what is required for the formation of a habit of attention. For attention is like many good people of whom we say ' They will go but they refuse to be driven.' The more we try to *force* a child's attention, the less chance we have of obtaining it. The subjects taught to children must be interesting in themselves, or they must be made so by the teacher. Now music is not only interesting in itself—and interesting to all children—but can be made still more so by a skilful teacher.

Moreover, the approved methods of teaching music are admirable examples of that most necessary element of intellectual training : simple and natural graduation. The demand on attention and observation, beginning with the small amount required for the reproduction of a tone or interval, increases step by step, through new tones and intervals, notation, measure, rhythm, modes, key relation, modulation, tempo, and expression, till finally the pupils are asked, in a given piece, to take in many or all of these at one glance without a moment's thought or hesitation. So that the teaching of music not only exercises and develops attention and observation, but induces also clearness and comprehensiveness of view together with promptness and accuracy of decision.

This is no idle theorising. Experience proves that the

teaching of music in schools gains time instead of losing it, and is a help to advancement in other studies. For instance, M. Dupaigne, inspector of music in the primary schools of Paris, speaking of music in American schools, says:—
 'Wherever musical education is in a flourishing condition the standard in other subjects is also very high.'

The value of music as a moral educator is admitted by all who have given the matter serious thought. The emotions play a most important part in determining moral character. The will easily follows the lead of the emotions. If the predominant emotions point upwards to truth and beauty, and through them to God, the work of the will in regulating life according to divine and human law is very easy, but if the emotions have a downward tendency, the will has a most difficult task to perform, and we all know that the unswerving, persevering performance of difficult tasks is not characteristic of our poor human nature.

Hence arises the immense importance—by no means sufficiently realised by parents and teachers—of using every available means of fostering, exercising, and elevating the emotions of the child, from the very threshold of life. 'The used key is always bright.' Call into daily, and hourly action all that is good and noble in the child, excite in him kindly, good-natured, sympathetic, manly sentiments; teach him to be faithful to his benefactors, to pity and love the poor, to love his home, his friends, his country, and his faith, and you are forming for after life a man worthy of his high place in God's creation, a man in whom noble emotions will be ever springing into spontaneous activity, forestalling the suggestions of lower sentiments, gaining over his will, steadying his purpose, guiding him safely through the rocks and shoals of this lower life, leading him in the end to eternal peace in the enjoyment of his God.

The accumulated testimony of the whole human race from the earliest times bears witness to the power of music over the emotions of the human heart. Every civilised

¹ *Enseignement du Chant.*

nation of antiquity had its Orphens, its legendary musical wonder-worker. The ancient history of our own country abounds in traditions and legends of wonders worked by the power of music. Of the musical heroes of ancient Ireland it may almost be said 'their name is legion.'

Such legends, abstracting altogether from the question historical foundation or accuracy, show clearly a universal belief in the power of music over our feelings and emotions, and such belief is, of course, the sum total of the personal experience of individuals.

In Holy Scripture, too, we find, for instance, David soothing with the music of his harp, the fiery jealousy of Saul. The early Christians, fully alive to the power of music, and, like their divine Master and Model, elevating nature to the sphere of the supernatural, edified and encouraged one another with 'psalms, hymns, and spiritual canticles.'

The fathers and doctors of the Church also make frequent reference to the moral power of music. St. Augustine says: 'One feels that song softens the heart and makes pious emotions rise in it. Words when sung, speech when kindled by music, lay hold of the mind more powerfully than oratory.' St. Ambrose, St. John Chrysostom, St. Basil and St. Gregory of Nazianzen attached great importance to music in the offices of the Church as a means of elevating the minds of the faithful to the contemplation of divine truths. It is hardly necessary to refer to the life-long devotion of Pope Gregory the Great to the cause of music.

During the so-called 'dark' ages it was fostered with loving care in the monasteries, whither it retired with the other arts and sciences before the onslaughts of barbarism. In the monastic schools it was taught as an essential element of education. In the cloister it thrived and grew and developed as a science and as an art, and from thence it again came forth with renewed vigour and increased power, to soften and humanise the rugged barbarity from which it had been forced to fly.

Then we find immortal Shakespeare, with his surpassingly keen insight into human nature, thus expressing,

through the medium of Lorenzo, his deep appreciation of the moral power of music :—

Therefore the poet
 Did feign that Orpheus drew trees, stones, and floods ;
 Since naught so stockish, hard, and full of rage,
 But music for the time doth change his nature.
 The man that hath no music in himself,
 Nor is not moved by concord of sweet sounds
 Is fit for treasons, stratagems, and spoils ;
 The motions of his spirit dull as night,
 And his affections dark as Erebus,
 Let no such man be trusted.

Modern educationalists realise daily more and more this power of music. Professor Helm, after expressing the opinion already quoted, goes on to say :—

If technically-correct relations and combinations of tones are often brought to bear upon the pupil's mind, more agreeable feelings will predominate to the probable development of a bright and cheerful disposition. The latter factor, however, is one of the most important pre-suppositions for the development of the interest and the education of the will. Singing and the art of music should, therefore, not be withheld from the young.

Again, Mr. Mooney, in the paper from which we have already given an extract, says :—

Elementary education, if it be worthy of the name, will give, as I understand it, the elements, or instruments, or principles of that mental culture which will yield to a man the fulness of his life and its purpose. They are the elements of science, and art, and religion. The three R's give the instruments by which knowledge can be acquired. Art cultivates the sense of feeling for the beautiful, which vivifies the grosser things of life with spiritual beauty, and irradiates the meaner things with spiritual light; and both are lifted up to meaning, and dignity, and purpose by religion. These elements cannot, or ought not to be severed. They are complements to one another. They are the three primary colours which blend and form the living light of the soul. In this scheme music would find an essential and important place, and would be cultivated for its own sake, for the sake of the power it and nothing else could give, and for which nothing else could be a substitute. In the school itself, there is no form of art which can, like music, beautify the dullness of school life, or, like it, can humanise and civilise the brutal beings who sometimes find their way there.

Alberto B. Bach, speaking on 'Musical Culture,' at the Social Science Congress in Edinburgh, in 1880, said :—

It will be universally admitted that, of the civilising and refining agents at work among a people there is none so potent, because none equally subtle and immediately appreciated as music, and especially the art of song.

Of course if school music is to develop and ennoble the emotions, it must be taught with that end clearly and definitely in view. Songs for school singing must be selected with great care and discretion. For it must be borne in mind, that the songs learned in early childhood are never forgotten, and play an important part in the formation of ideals, and in determining the trend of character. It is needless to say that, as there is nothing so high or so holy—not even religion itself—that it may not be degraded or abused by incapable or unworthy hands, so there is music which is unworthy of the name, and so-called poetry which is worthless and mischievous. Such music and such poetry must be rigidly excluded from schools. Songs for school use must be the best possible, the best in music and the best in text. All educationalists speak strongly on this point. Mr. Curwen referring to a few English schools in which unsuitable songs were taught, says :—

There is a great moral loss in depriving children of the direct teaching of perseverance, patriotism, love of parents, kindness to animals, brotherhood, etc., which the old-fashioned school songs contained. The words are a vital element in school music. Only such songs as can be thoroughly justified in spirit and expression should be admitted.¹

At a meeting of the National Teachers' Association of Germany, held in 1879, a number of resolutions concerning the teaching of music were passed, among which were the following :—

1. School should educate and instruct for life. Hence, for instruction in music the same principle should prevail.
2. School instruction in singing should, first of all, nurse German popular airs.
4. No songs should be taught and practised which are not of undoubted poetic and musical value.

¹ Conference on Education, 1884: Paper on 'Singing in Schools.'

6. Music is not only to create pleasure in melody and harmony, but must have an ennobling effect upon the heart.

15. As to matter of instruction, popular airs and hymns should be preferred in elementary schools.

16. Only such songs should be practised, whose texts express noble refining sentiments. The texts must be brought to the comprehension of the pupils before they are memorised.¹

With this beneficial effect of music on moral character is intimately connected its sweet and happy influence on home life. For the natural sphere of free action for the child's feelings and emotions is his home. There his natural character, freed from the restraint imposed by the presence of strangers, can fully display itself.

The importance of fostering in the child a deep-seated reverence and love of home can hardly be over-rated. For love of home is the greatest safeguard of virtue in childhood and youth. It preserves the child from dangerous company and influences; it calls into constant play all the good and noble qualities of his character—kindness, good nature, generosity, out-spoken honesty, gentleness, tender solicitude for the happiness of others, and sympathy with their joys and sorrows. In after life, when his home has been scattered to the winds of heaven, when he is in the midst of the cold, bleak, selfish world, depending only on his strong hand, righteous will, and steady purpose, the memories of his happy home will crowd around him, bringing with them a sweet sadness nearly akin to joy. In the midst of the din of the world's mad rush after the bubbles of pleasure and gain, the loved voices of the happy past will whisper noble thoughts and lofty inspirations, stimulating him to manly energetic action, and urging him to make his later life a worthy companion picture to his happy innocent childhood. In his struggles onward and upward, against the downward torrent of the world's iniquity, he will feel that he is not alone, for he will know that there are some at least in the world on whose loving prayers he can safely count, some at least who will watch with the keenest anxiety his upward struggles, and hail with joyous applause his every forward

¹ Report of U.S. Commissioner of Education, 1895-'96, vol. i., 193-9.

step. For the links of mutual affection, forged and welded in a happy home, may be stretched and strained, but never broken.

Home, therefore, must be made lovable. It must be made bright and cheerful and happy. Now, of the elements which contribute to the happiness of a home, none are more powerful than music. It fills the 'dull bare homes' of the poor 'with radiant beauty,' it touches their 'lowly lives with a sunset glow.' There is no 'purer or more productive source of pleasure.' We have seen how, with the aid of judiciously selected songs, it calls into action all that is highest and best in the child's nature.

We may further notice in favour of music the state of complete physical relaxation in which it can be enjoyed, and its total independence of day-light, to say nothing of the distinctly social characteristics in which it is also pre-eminent, partly through the natural collecting of people both to practise and to hear it, partly by the absolute simultaneity of the impressions it produces, and the electric quality of sympathy so evoked.

Let us, therefore, beautify our homes with song. Let us sing at our work and sing at our play. Let us gather together after our day's toil and sing the 'songs of our land,' songs with bone and sinew and life, songs of the glorious deeds of our fathers, songs which will inspire us with high and holy thoughts and lofty aspirations. But if we are to do this, music must be taught in all our schools; these songs must be indelibly imprinted on the minds of the children.

There seems to be a special need at present for careful attention to the happiness of home life. We find, especially in towns and cities, and in some parts of the country, too, astonishingly large numbers of children and young people, who regard home simply as a convenient place for eating, drinking, and sleeping. Their idea seems to be to keep out of it as much as possible, to find their pleasure anywhere but at home. If, as John Bright used to say, 'the nation lives in the cottage,' let us pause and reflect what is to become of our nation if the contagion of such a moral disease should spread. Let us take timely precautions against it.

¹ Gurney, *Power of Sound*, cap. xviii.

The general teaching of music in a country is a powerful means of preserving national sentiment, and keeping it in healthy activity. A nation's history is crystallised in its folk-songs. Through them the people, especially the peasants and less cultured classes, can feel the throbbings of the nation's heart, with which their own hearts will vibrate in sympathy. This is recognised by all nations. The Germans insist that 'school instruction in singing should first of all nurse German popular airs.' Professor Helm holds that the source from which school songs should be drawn 'can and must be no other than the national song, sacred or secular.' M. Dupaigne pays a graceful tribute—though with a *serrement de cœur*—to the stirring patriotic influence of the German national songs, sung in camp by the German soldiers during the Franco-Prussian War. The very farm labourers in Switzerland and in Austria sing their national songs during their work. In England, school songs have long been regarded as 'an important means of diffusing joy and honest pride over English industry.'¹

And so it is in all other nations, with one sad exception—Ireland. And yet,

If there ever was a people gifted with a musical soul and sensibility in a higher degree than another, I would venture to assert that the Gaedhil of ancient Erin were that people . . . From the very remotest period to which our oldest traditions, with any degree of circumstantiality refer, we find music, musical instruments, musical performers, and the power and influence of music, spoken of.²

We may also safely say, that if ever there was a nation whose folk-lore, traditions, and history gave more abundant material, for high, holy, and noble inspiration than another, that nation was Ireland.

And how do things stand in Ireland? Go to a public or private concert in any city or town. How many Irish songs will you hear? One or two perhaps, but far oftener, none. What will you hear? Meaningless bosh about lovers talking sickly inanities under the 'silver moon,' or pouring forth

¹ Report of Battersea Training College to Poor Law Commissioners, 1841.

² O'Curry's *Lectures*, vol. iii., lect. xxx.

their puerile sentiments to stars that 'gave back no reply.' You hear nonsensical ditties about 'amorous gold-fishes'; and mock-heroic tales of daring sea captains and 'loving shipmates.' You are told of noble struggles—against some undefined opposition—to reach 'a better land,' or an 'ivory throne,' or 'a golden gate,' or something of that sort.

When we ask people why they do not sing songs of our own land, songs with music and meaning and feeling, and inspiration and life, we are told that 'they are too difficult,' or 'the range is too great,' or 'it is very hard to sing them well.' Once in a while we get the real reason: 'They are not in fashion!' Not in fashion! Why not make them be in fashion? Who makes our fashion for us? Have we not a right to make our own fashion? Are we to be slaves to fashion made for us by others? Or are we prepared to let fashion work that destruction of our character and national sentiment which persecution and penal laws failed to bring about? If we are, let us at least honestly admit it, and let us no longer pride ourselves on the possession of a national sentiment which we are ready to relinquish for a bundle of worthless trash.

We may, however, with a fair show of justice, plead one excuse for our ignorance of, and apathy towards our national songs. The national music and songs of a country are kept alive by tradition. In Ireland the chains of tradition, which bound us to the glorious past, when the 'emerald set in the ring of the sea' shed its brilliant lustre over the whole civilised world, were often rudely snapped asunder. The history of our country for centuries has been a sad story of perpetual present struggle, coupled with ill-fated hopes for the future. Fathers had something else to do besides singing to their children the glories of the past. So we have drifted away and lost sight of that past so glorious and inspiring, we rarely if ever 'catch a glimpse of the days that are over,' we have come almost to forget that we had such a past, and seldom does memory

Sighing, look through the waves of time
For the long faded glories they cover.

But though the present existence of this neglect of our

national music may be thus excused, its further continuance would be a national crime. For be it remembered, that true Irish national sentiment, and the Irish Catholic faith, are so intimately connected, that the loss of the one will lead to the loss of the other. The greatest of Ireland's indignities, the bitterest of her persecutions, were brought upon her by her staunch heroic adherence to the faith of St. Patrick. That faith has come down to us sealed with the blood of martyrs, it has come down to us bound up with our national sentiment, it is now in our keeping, and there was never a time when it required more careful guarding than it does at present.

Moreover, for more than fifty years, earnest men, like O'Curry, have been calling out to us and imploring us not to allow 'one of the richest treasures of melody which ever flowed from the soul of man to die away into oblivion.' Moore has given us his Irish melodies. Would that he had given us more. Dr. Petrie and Dr. Joyce have made collections of Irish music. Davis, Mangan, M'Carthy, Callanan, Williams and many others—men who, were they not Irishmen writing Irish poetry, would have their praises trumpeted through the world of literature—have given us sweet pathetic ballads and soul-stirring historical ones, many of which are direct translations from Irish originals. They have given us the *Spirit of the Nation*. Annual Feis contests have been established. Father Gaynor, for the last few years, through the medium of the press, has been pushing the 'Songs of our Land,' into our very hands. And lastly, the National Board has supplied us with a means of teaching the children in all our schools a large number of these songs and of imparting at the same time a technical knowledge of the art of music which will enable them to learn countless others. We have, therefore, no shadow of excuse for allowing the present deplorable neglect of our national music to continue.

The last and highest purpose served by music is the rendering of the Church's sacred services attractive and impressive. It is part of our duty to God and His Church, to adorn His house and His worship with the best and

noblest gifts we can command. Music has been at all times, in the Old as well as the New Law, an integral part of the official or public service of God. David played before the Ark of the Covenant, and his psalms were chanted in the Temple. The early Christians were ordered by St. Paul to make use of 'psalms, hymns, and spiritual canticles.'

We have already seen the importance attached to music by great saints of the first few centuries. St. Gregory the Great collected and systematised the liturgical chant—called in consequence Gregorian chant. He established schools of music. He sent into distant lands musicians as well as missionaries. And down through the centuries since his time the head of the Church, and her councils, have taken active interest in her music. They have legislated on the kind of music to be used, the place, time, and manner of performing it, and they have encouraged composers to work for the honour of the Church and the glory of God. Besides contributing directly to the beauty of sacred functions, music also prevents weariness on the part of the people during long offices. We have it on the authority of St. Augustine that St. Ambrose kept this end in view—*Ne populus mœroris taedio contabesceret*.

Now, in Ireland, if we except cities and large towns, there are very few church choirs, and many of those that exist are, through neglect of musical training, very inefficient. They learn by ear, at immense cost of time and trouble, a few Masses and motets, and repeat these time after time. And worse still, they sometimes select difficult four-part pieces and leave out two of the parts! This has not a very elevating or devotional effect, to say nothing of the artistic sin of such a performance. If they would sing in honest unison, it would be much better in every way.

Now if music be taught in all the schools, there is not a parish in the country that could not have a very efficient school choir. Is there a parish in the whole country, where at least a dozen children with good voices cannot be found? In the vast majority of parishes it is not a dozen, but fifty or a hundred that will be found. Wherever through the country we come on a party of children at play, we are

struck with the musical voices of many of them, and by the melodious little chants they invent as part of their games. And yet up to this, all this sweet melody has been allowed to run to waste. But teach music in the schools, and this waste will cease. Let the children be taught tuneful devotional hymns. Do not think that harmony is necessary. It is melody the simple country-folk want, give them that and they will be fully satisfied. Simple unison Masses may also be taught, and where they are required, simple Benediction services. The instruction imparted at school will enable the children to sing these by note, so that time and labour will be saved, and a larger *répertoire* obtained.

This will also help to bring about a thing very much desired by their lordships the Bishops—general congregational singing. Some years ago they took active measures for its introduction, but up to this their efforts have not been crowned with the success they desire. Now there is no reason why congregational singing should not be widely practised. All that is required is that the clergy show interest in it, and get the children to start it; the adults will soon follow. It may be well to state that in virtue of a decree of the Sacred Congregation of Rites, January 31st, 1896, hymns in the vernacular may be sung during low Mass, with the bishop's consent. They are of course prohibited during high Mass and *Missa Cantata*. So that in order to sing at Mass on Sunday, nothing is required but a few suitable popular hymns.

From these considerations on the power and influence of music we must draw the following conclusions:—First, that music is not only an agreeable and elevating recreation, but a most important educational and social factor; secondly, that as such it should be included in the curriculum of every school, without exception; and thirdly, that we, here in Ireland, should promptly and eagerly avail of the facilities now afforded by the National Board, and turn them to good account for our intellectual and moral development, and for the preservation of our national sentiment and our Catholic faith.

Now, what are these facilities, and how are we to make use of them? As has been said, the Board has appointed a head organiser and a number of assistants. The head organiser is at present visiting schools all over the country, enquiring into the condition of music in the schools of the various districts, finding out their requirements, arranging for suitable courses of instruction for teachers, and selecting convenient centres for holding teachers' classes. Having decided on a centre he sends one of his assistants to remain there as long as necessary. This assistant visits the schools during the day, introduces the subject, organises and teaches classes, and in the evening gives lectures to the teachers of the surrounding district. The Board defrays the necessary expenses incurred by the teachers in attending these lectures.

A manager, then, to avail of these facilities, has only two very simple things to do : to write to the Board stating that he desires to have the teaching of music organised in his school ; and to show his teachers and the children that he is interested in the success of the project. The Board, on receipt of his letter, will acquaint the head organiser of his desire, and he will at once make all the necessary arrangements.

This is all very simple, and moreover is essentially the same plan as was adopted with complete success in England and other countries. There can, therefore, be no objection on the score of difficulty in carrying it out. The only other objections that can be—and have been—urged are, that as the people of such and such a district are all agricultural labourers, music is useless to them ; and that the children of this or that district are wanting in musical ear. The answer to the first of these objections has already been designedly emphasised more than once in the course of this article. The poor toilers of the field will be in a special way gainers by the general teaching of singing. With regard to the second difficulty, it is to be noted that in reality there is practically no such thing as having 'no ear' for music. The most ordinary case in which it can be said with any approach to truth, is that of a person who has been

allowed to grow up to a pretty advanced age without being taught music, or even hearing any. In such a case it is not the ear that is wanting—for such persons have the natural intonations of voice in conversation, which they learn by ear—but training in attention to differences of musical intervals. The muscles, too, which are used in singing, have become unmanageable through want of practice. Begin to teach singing early, as soon as the children go to school, and you will find that, as Mr. Curwen puts it, 'tone-blindness is no more common than colour-blindness.'

Let us then hasten to take advantage of the chance we are being given. Let us no longer come hobbling along in the educational procession with our miserable 14·4 per cent. Let us show the world that 'the soul of music' has not fled from 'the land of song.' Let us prove to ourselves and to the world, in this and in everything else, that Ireland, once the 'Island of Saints and Scholars' and 'the land of song,' can and will be the same again if she gets but encouragement and reasonable chances. Let us show now that we know how to use such chances when we get them.

T. DONOVAN, C.M.

A MEDIAEVAL BISHOP

‘To scorn delights, and live laborious days.’—MILTON.

‘Οὐ γὰρ λόγοισι τὸν βίον σπουδαζομεν λαμπρὸν ποιεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς δρωμένοις.’—SOPHOCLES, *Oedipus Coloneus*, 1143. (*Thessens*.)

DO no good, says an Eastern proverb, and no evil will befall you. The cynicism of this remark repels one ; yet when we come to think it over in the light of common experience we are forced to admit that it is not devoid of some foundation in reality.

Take up the life of any man raised by the gifts and endowments of nature above the dull uniform plane of mediocrity, a man, let us say, of some originality and force of character, with the courage of his convictions, who would fain fashion his life on the broad lines of progress and healthy development, and carry his fellows with him out of the slough of inertness and obscurantism, and you will almost invariably find that such a man has been misunderstood and misjudged, mistrusted and disliked, most of all by the people in whose interests he laboured most strenuously. It has been said that a prudent man may direct a state, but that it takes an enthusiast to regenerate it. But this process of purging and elevation is rarely acceptable to those who have to undergo it. Custom, routine, self-satisfaction, and complacency, are all so many hindrances in the way of reformation. And this, be it noted, obtains as forcibly in the Church as in the State ; in the breast of the ecclesiastic as in the bosom of the layman. Still the imperfections which attach themselves to human character, and which creep into all institutions, however noble and venerable, which are directed by human agencies, must sooner or later be grappled with ; and when, in God's good time, the right man comes forward to undertake the task he is sure to find a hornet's nest at every step ; and no matter how great his desire to deal justly by all men, no matter how strongly disinclined he may be to give pain to others, he must be content to

find his motives misunderstood, and the worst possible construction put upon all his undertakings.

A striking example of this narrowness of human view is furnished by the events recorded in the life of the famous Bishop of Lincoln, Robert Grosseteste, one of the most remarkable men produced by England in the thirteenth century. A detailed account of the events in connection with the career of this truly great man has recently been published by Mr. F. S. Stevenson, M.P.,¹ which will be found to be of absorbing interest by all students of what has ever been to me the most fascinating period of English and European history generally. Mr. Stevenson is not a Catholic; but as a writer of history he is both judicious and impartial. Personally I can say that I had jettisoned half the books I have read during 1900 for the pleasure of studying this thoughtful contribution to the consideration of the character of the men, and of the events of one of the most momentous epochs in human history.

Grosseteste's career lay between the years 1175 and 1253. Only five years previous to his birth Archbishop à Beckett had been done to death at the foot of the high altar in Canterbury cathedral by the emissaries of King Henry II. Henry died in 1189; and, after the too brief reign of Richard, King John ascended the throne of England, which he occupied till the year 1216, when he was succeeded by Henry III. This period of English history witnessed the famous struggle between the barons and Cardinal Stephen Langton on the one side, and King John on the other, which resulted in the signing of the Great Charter, the foundation of our liberties, in 1215. The dealings of Pope Innocent III. with England; the coming of the friars to this country; and the struggles of the foreigner, Simon de Montfort, as a champion of English freedom, all fall within the same period.

During the seventy-seven years covered by the life of the great Bishop of Lincoln, the following Pontiffs occupied the chair of Peter:—Alexander III., Lucius III., Urban III.,

¹ *Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln. A Contribution to the Religious, Political, and Intellectual History of the Thirteenth Century.* By Francis Seymour Stevenson, M.P. London: Macmillan & Co., Limited.

Gregory VIII., Clement III., Celestine III., Innocent III., Honorius III., Gregory IX., Celestine IV., and Innocent IV. During their pontificates—which include the memorable contest between the Emperor Frederic II. and the Church—the Eleventh Œcumenical, or Third Lateran Council, was held (1179); also the Twelfth Œcumenical, or Fourth General Council of Lateran (1215); and the Thirteenth Œcumenical, or First Council of Lyons (1245). Without a clear perception of these events and of the general state of the Church in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, it will not be easy to grasp the extent of the labours of Bishop Grosseteste.

The future Bishop of Lincoln was born in 1175, at Stradbrook, in Suffolk, a county which from the number of its churches gained for itself, in ancient days, the epithets of 'holy' and 'silly,' in the obsolete sense of the term. Suffolk has given many prelates of distinction to the English Church, amongst whom Wolsey occupies a prominent position. Grosseteste came of a humble stock. In fact we might well apply to himself the words which Laud used centuries subsequently, when referring to his own family. He was a man of ordinary but very honest birth. It is not improbable that the surname of 'Grosseteste' may have come to be applied to him by reason of some physical defect. As Fuller puts it:—'He got his surname from the greatness of his head, having large stowage to receive, and store of brains to fill it.' Very little evidence of any historical value can be found with respect to his early career. According to Leland, his friends and kinsmen sent him to Oxford about the year 1196. Oxford at that date, in the words of Mr. Stevenson, was 'a microcosm in which might be discerned the tendencies of the age, and in which almost every aspect of life was represented.' The city was one of the most important in England, by reason of its wealth and population. It contained a fortress of considerable importance; its Jewry was one of the largest in the country, and its merchants carried on a trade, not merely with the various districts of England, but with the different countries of Europe. The university itself was in

a flourishing condition towards the close of the twelfth century. Richard of Devizes, in 1192, describes the clerks of Oxford as being so numerous that the city could hardly feed them. In 1209 the academic population is said to have reached three thousand souls. A number of schools had already sprung up, in which lectures were delivered. The students resided for the most part in private lodgings or in small hostels, with the exception of a few who were lodged in the monasteries of St. Frideswyde's and Osney. Grosseteste is said to have made an abundant use of all the advantages afforded him at Oxford. Among his preceptors he probably had Edmund Rich. of Abingdon, who was known in later years as St. Edmund of Canterbury. From Oxford the young student proceeded to Paris for the purpose of continuing his studies, more especially theology. The principles which Grosseteste took for his guidance during his university career, and in fact during his whole life time, laid particular stress upon the importance of resorting wherever possible to the 'book at large,' or the actual text, and not a translation or abridgment of it. Hence the importance he attached to a knowledge of the Greek and Hebrew languages which were but rarely studied in his day. He regarded physical science and mathematics as of the greatest value, and he insisted strongly upon the need which then existed for a better classification of the departments of knowledge.

In the domain of intellectual activity [says Mr. Stevenson], Grosseteste must be regarded as the founder and inspirer of what may be termed the encyclopædic school of the thirteenth century, imparting to it a unity of purpose and a loftiness of conception to which those who followed him hardly ever attained, although in particular branches and on specific subjects they advanced beyond his teaching.

Returning to Oxford from Paris with the reputation of a scholar, and with a wide circle of friends, Grosseteste, immediately he had taken his degree in divinity, was appointed first chancellor of the university by Hugh de Wells, Bishop of Lincoln, diocesan of the university. In quick succession various honours were conferred upon him.

Thus, in 1210, we find him Archdeacon of Chester, an office which he exchanged in 1214 for the archdeaconry of Wilts. He also held the living of Calne, a circumstance which brought him into touch with Fulk Basset, who subsequently became Bishop of London, and his life-long friend.

The year 1200 marked the commencement of thirty years of immense intellectual activity, on the part of Grosseteste. Year after year witnessed an extraordinary output of sermons, dicta, tracts, treatises, and commentaries, the titles of which are too numerous to be quoted here. He was one of the first to urge the clergy to preach in English and not in Latin. All his influence and the entire trend of his mind were distinctly in favour of realism, as against nominalism.

In the eyes of Grosseteste [says Mr. Stevenson] universals are *ante rem*, *in re*, and *post rem*, according to the point of view; pure thought conceives them to be principles of being, whereas thought which falls short of that standard regards them as merely principles of cognition; and they exist *ante rem* in the mind of the creator, are expressed *in re* in the phenomenal world, and can be reconstructed *post rem* in the mind of the thinker by induction and abstraction, following upon observation and experiment, but pure thought views them from the creator's standpoint.

In the domain of theology, Grosseteste's mind was much more occupied with Christian ethics than with Christian dialectics. In general philosophy also he favoured the more practical divisions of knowledge rather than the theoretical. He was a constant student, both early and late in life, of the *Ethics* of Aristotle, and did more than any of his contemporaries to impart a strong impulse to the study of mathematics and of astronomy. The famous Roger Bacon held Grosseteste in the highest esteem. After laying it down with a freedom which almost takes one's breath away, that though the *Summa* of Alexander de Hales, who was known throughout the schools as the *Doctor Irrefragabilis*, was as heavy as the weight of a horse, yet that it was full of errors, and showed ignorance of physics, of metaphysics, and even of logic. Of Albertus Magnus he says that his works might be summed up in a treatise twenty times as short as they

are, and that both he and Thomas Aquinas had become teachers before they had been adequately taught. But when he comes to the name of Gosseteste he says that, 'one man alone had really known the sciences, namely, Robert, Bishop of Lincoln.'

One of the most enduring claims to the gratitude of posterity possessed by Gosseteste arises out of his association with the Dominican and Franciscan friars who first appeared in England during the closing days of the first quarter of the thirteenth century. It is not easy for us who live in the twentieth century to form even an imperfect idea of the spiritual and social status of the people of these countries at the time the friars landed upon our shores. Their ambition it was, in the noble words of the historian, John Richard Green, to bring the world back again within the pale of the Church, to convert the heathen, to extirpate heresy, to reconcile knowledge with orthodoxy, to carry the Gospel to the poor. In comparison with the friars, Mr. Stevenson writes:—

The great Benedictine monasteries, with their wealth, their culture, and their relative exclusiveness, stood at a disadvantage when the question was how to reach the people's ear.

Mr. Stevenson has a very interesting summary of the extent of the ravages of heresy in Europe at the time St. Dominic and St. Francis began their great labours; but I question how far he is warranted in the conclusion he arrives at in the case of St. Francis.

Had it not been [he writes] for the tact and good management of Cardinal Ugolino, he and his followers would have drifted away from the main body of the Church, and have become a separate sect, much the same as the Waldenses.

At the time the Dominicans landed in England, 1221, Grosseteste held the position of chancellor of the university of Oxford. He at once invited the friars to come to him; and to the warmth of the welcome he extended to them, united with his active interest in thier regard, must be attributed the rapid headway made by the sons of St. Dominic in Oxford. Three of the chancellor's closest friends,

John of St. Giles, Robert Bacon, and Richard Fishacre, became, in a short period, postulants for the religious habit. In 1230, Friar Jordan, of Saxony, who was the immediate successor of St. Dominic in the generalship of the Order, came to Oxford. Some years later, when Bishop of Lincoln, Grosseteste wrote to him, asking as a favour that Friar John of St. Giles and certain other brethren might be permitted to remain at his side :—

To strengthen my weakness, to supplement my insufficiency, to push me forward when I hesitate, and to comfort me in the days of tribulation.

High as was the esteem and veneration in which Grosseteste held the Dominicans, it must be admitted that the Franciscans possessed an even stronger attraction for him. Coming to England in 1224 these friars are said to have established themselves in every important centre in the country within the short period of five years. Thirty years after their arrival their numbers in this country are said to have grown from nine to 1,242. They settled, as a rule, in the outskirts of the towns, and there laboured with a zeal that knew no limits amongst the poorest and the most abandoned portion of the population. At this date we can look in vain for any acquaintance with even the most elementary principles of sanitation on the part of the population of England. Fever, plague, and the horrible scourge of leprosy, were seldom absent from the wretched hovels in which the poor were herded together ; and close by the early Franciscans built their humble monasteries, for the most part of mud and timber, and surrounded by a rough fence or ditch.

The warmest admirers of St. Francis can claim for him no love for learning. The questions which drove sleep from the pillows of the schoolmen possessed no attraction or interest for him. His followers, however, soon discovered that it was impossible for them to popularize this frame of mind, which they certainly had no desire to do. Acting, we may safely presume, under Grosseteste's advice, the Franciscans opened a school shortly after their arrival in

Oxford. The question as to who was going to lecture there was soon settled by Grosseteste, who generously undertook that task himself. A man of a less fearless turn of mind would have shrunk instinctively from taking such a step. We must remember that Grosseteste was at one and the same time the chancellor of the university and its leading scholar, a regent in arts, a doctor in theology, and regarded by universal consent as Oxford's *summus philosophus*. Therefore, we must all recognize the force of Mr. Stevenson's remarks when he says that:—

It must have required a certain amount of moral courage on his part to identify himself so prominently with a body of men whose views and whose practice were little in harmony with received notions.

In taking this step Grosseteste was actuated by one of the great desires of his life; namely, to bring about the revival of learning, and concurrently the revival of religion. His undertaking was destined to be a most unqualified and enduring success. Nowhere, probably, has the Franciscan Order done more for the advancement of learning than in England. Nowhere has it given a longer list of famous men to the service of the Church. From this humble school in which Grosseteste was first lecturer, and in which his dear friend, Adam Marsh, subsequently read, have proceeded century after century men of the stamp of Richard of Coventry, Roger Bacon, John Wallensis, Thomas Dockying, Thomas of Bungay, Archbishop Peccham, Richard Middleton Duns Scotus, Occham, and Burley. Dr. Brewer has long since informed the world how that Lyons, Paris, and Cologne were indebted for their first professors to the English Franciscans at Oxford. And where among the schoolmen will you find three writers of a more original caste of mind, and a profounder genius, than Duns Scotus, Roger Bacon, and Occham, who were all three trained within the walls of the Franciscan hall at Oxford? The friendship between Grosseteste and Adam Marsh is one of the most beautiful things recorded in history. The humble Minorite had evidently all the gifts and graces calculated to charm a man of the robust temperament of the future

Bishop of Lincoln. Writing to Pope Gregory IX., thirteen years after the Franciscans had gained a foothold in England, we find Grosseteste paying an eloquent tribute to the virtues and worth of the different orders of friars:—

They illuminate [he says] the whole country with the light of their preaching and learning. If your Holiness could see with what devotion and humility the people run to hear the word of life from them, for confession and instruction in daily life, you would indeed say, that ‘upon them that dwell in the light of the shadow of death hath the light shined.’

On one occasion when a chapter of the Franciscans was being held at Oxford, Grosseteste delivered a powerful discourse in praise of poverty and mendicancy. But sincere as was his admiration for these virtues it did not exclude the conviction which prompted him to explain to William of Nottingham in private, that there was a rung in the heavenward ladder which stood even higher than these. That is, that a man should live by his own labour.

In the year 1228, Cardinal Stephen Langton passed to his reward. By the death of this remarkable man the cause of English liberty suffered most severely. His demise was not less disastrous in its results to the cause of the Catholic Church in England. Langton was a statesman of the highest rank, and in an age when the passions of men ran high he managed, with consummate ability, to hold the scales fairly as between Church and State. Had he lived it is probable that the disturbances which happened in 1231, during the pontificate of Gregory IX., would never have occurred. In addition to exacting the homage of the King of England for his realm, Pope Gregory endeavoured to levy a tenth of all property in England. This the clergy agreed to over and above the recognised collection of Peter’s pence, and the payment of the one thousand marks a year promised by King John. Before passing judgment upon the multiplication of these exactions we must take into account the views entertained in that age as to the power centred in the person of the successor of St. Peter. Another point to be kept well in view is the demands made upon the resources of the Church by the crusades, and the multitude

of petty campaigns on which the various Pontiffs were forced to enter when asserting their rights against the crowned heads of Europe. What, probably, caused the keenest dissatisfaction in England, and led to the formation of a secret society and much disturbance, was the marked increase in the practice of filling up benefices in England with foreigners, who either lived altogether away from the country, or who, in the event of their settling in England, made no attempt to learn the vernacular tongue, and neglected their duties to quite a hopeless extent. We must, perforce, keep these circumstances before our mental view if we would form an adequate notion of the labours of Grosseteste as a bishop.

It seemed probable at one period of his life, that the future bishop was destined to become a Franciscan. Adam Marsh, however, the leading member of that Order at that date in England, and a life-long friend of Grosseteste, discouraged the idea, evidently convinced that his friend's attainments and cast of mind were incompatible with the life of a religious.

On February 7th, 1235, Hugh de Wells, Bishop of Lincoln, died. The *congé d'elire* was forwarded to the chapter on the 19th of the same month; and on March 27th, Grosseteste was unanimously chosen to fill the vacant see. The consecration took place at Reading, on June 3rd, 1235. The new bishop soon realised how much more important and onerous is the episcopal office in comparison with the professorial. The diocese of Lincoln was then one of the largest in England, extending as it did from the Thames to the Humber, and including the archdeaconries of Lincoln, Leicester, Stow, Buckingham, Huntingdon, Northampton, Oxford, and Bedford. One of the first acts of the new bishop was to address a letter to the heads of the Dominican and Franciscan Orders, earnestly seeking their assistance in the discharge of the duties of the pastoral office. He also forwarded a memorandum to the Holy Father, through his proctor, but not until he had submitted it to the famous Raymond of Penaforte for examination, pointing out the peculiar circumstances of his diocese. From the first

day he assumed the mitre Grosseteste made it plain to all men that he intended to remedy, at all costs, the abuses which prevailed in his vast diocese, and which, unfortunately, were only too general all over the country. He made searching inquiries as to the fitness, from the point of view of knowledge, of the rectors and vicars for the due discharge of their duties; and, also, as to the moral condition of the clergy. A certain monk, evidently unaware of the character of the new bishop, brought to him for institution to a benefice one who was not even in priest's orders, being only a deacon. Grosseteste gazed at this individual, whom he describes as wearing clothes of scarlet, and more like a knight in appearance than an ecclesiastic. Then turning fiercely upon the monk he exclaimed: 'How dare you present to a cure of souls one, who, by his bearing and his garb, shows himself more fitted to slay those souls than to heal them?'

Grosseteste's first visitation proved to be one of considerable severity. As the canon law of the Church stood at this date all monasteries and convents which did not possess a special and individual privilege of exemption were liable to episcopal visitation. The Bishop of Lincoln was careful to exercise this right as vigorously in the case of regular as of the secular clergy. Among the immediate results of his first visitation we find the deposition of the abbots of Leicester, Owston, Torrington, Nutley, Bourne, Dorchester, and Missenden. The priors of St. Frideswyde, Cold Norton, Bradwell, and De la Land shared a similar fate. It is only fair, however, to add that, in some of these cases, the change was made owing to age and infirmity.

When visiting the churches of the secular clergy the bishop was generally accompanied by a chosen body of Dominicans and Franciscans. He either preached to the people himself or deputed one of the friars to do so in his stead. The rest were frequently occupied for days hearing the confessions of the people. After this the children were confirmed, and the affairs of the church and parish rigorously inquired into. 'My lord,' a rector once said to the bishop, 'you are doing a new and unaccustomed thing.'

The bishop's reply was characteristic. 'Every new thing,' he said, 'which instructs and advances a man is a new thing fraught with blessing.' The result of this visitation was manifested in the constitutions which the bishop felt himself called upon to frame for the guidance of his clergy. They included forty-five articles which cannot be read without profit, even after the lapse of seven centuries. The clergy are urged first of all to explain in simple language, and in the English tongue, the principles of the Christian faith to their people. Priests are exhorted to utter their words distinctly, and to think of what they are saying. The sick are to be carefully looked after, and the last Sacraments administered to them. The clergy are exhorted to purity of life, and reminded that the laws of the Western Church enjoin most strictly the practice of celibacy. Priests are warned against lending the influence of their presence at performances of mimics, jesters, and actors; and deacons are plainly informed that they have no right to hear confessions. The farming of churches was strongly reprobated. This was a custom by which an absentee rector arranged with a religious house for the payment of a fixed sum to have his parish looked after by one of the brethren. Nothing could well be more abhorrent to the mind of Grosseteste than the prevalence of this custom. To it he ascribed the low standard of conduct which prevailed among the secular clergy. He clearly perceived that the remedy for all this was, in the words of Mr. Stevenson,

To impart to the clergy a higher sense of the nobility of their calling, to improve their education, to direct their attention to the duty of teaching and of preaching, to attract into their ranks a better class of men, and, by placing their means of livelihood upon a more staple basis, to make them independent of the necessity for pursuing other and less worthy avocations.

In his dealings with the monks Grosseteste evidenced a rare sense of justice. With a few exceptions he found no cause for complaint against them as regards their moral conduct. He condemned them, however, for not adhering to the strictness of their rule, for their dislike of the parochial clergy, for their jealousy of the friars, and for their

neglect of the duty of preaching. Every student of history must, however, admit that the monks, and especially the Benedictines, were the pioneers of literary culture. In their 'Scriptoria' were written the chronicles of the times. They founded schools, distributed relief to the poor, encouraged the virtue of hospitality to all men, and as landlords and agriculturists were always anxious to introduce the newest and most improved methods for cultivating the soil. As Mr. Stevenson plainly and correctly puts it :—

The monks were, in a certain measure, an aristocracy of intellect, and as such looked down upon the ignorance and low standard of the parish priests. They were also, to a considerable extent, an aristocracy of birth, and as such deemed the Franciscans and Dominicans to be *novi homines*, intruders into a sphere which they regarded as already occupied.

It is curious to note that Bishop Grosseteste found the condition of the nunneries in his diocese far less satisfactory than that of the monasteries of men. This state of affairs must, in the main, be ascribed to the fact that as the nuns held churches and lands they were called upon to discharge duties which were utterly beyond their capacity. Thus in the year 1251 we find the abbess of Shrewsbury being summoned to Chester to take part in the military proceedings against the ill-fated Llewellyn just as if she had been an abbot. Nothing could well be more ludicrous than this. Still the nuns of this period, wherever they were free from these temporal cares, did much useful work, more especially in bringing the art of embroidery to its fullest perfection. When Innocent IV., in 1246, saw the vestments worn by the English prelates at the council of Lyons, he is said to have exclaimed :—

Truly England is our storehouse of delights, an inexhaustible well, and where so much abounds, much can be obtained from many.

Much evidently was obtained, with the result that some of the most famous of the embroidered vestments still preserved in Italy are admitted to be the work of the English nuns of the thirteenth century.

It cannot be said that Grosseteste entertained any

antipathy to monasticism although severe upon its laxity and its failings. I would rather say that his ideal of the religious state was too high for ordinary mortals. Religious men and women to his mind are those who, to use his own words, in their conversation resemble the angels.

They have deprived themselves of worldly goods, they are crucified to the world, using the necessities of life solely for necessity and never for pleasure, and preferring, even in respect to them, to mortify the flesh; and, as they have no possessions of their own, they labour with their hands for the relief of the indigent.

To a man with this fixed idea of what the religious life should be, anything in the shape of laxity or imperfection must needs have been especially distressing.

In the thirteenth century the occupant of a see of the importance of Lincoln, was expected to be not only a churchman but also a statesman. Scarcely a year passed by but the King of England sought, under one pretence or another, to interfere with the rights and privileges of the Church. Hence the need of unflagging vigilance on the part of the bishops in the interest of the Church and the liberties of the people. Grosseteste never hesitated to proclaim that when the king's mandate was wrong in itself, and contrary to Scripture and the canons, it could not be obeyed. In these frequent struggles against the encroachments of the king, the chief part ought naturally to have been played by the Archbishop of Canterbury. At this date the primatial see was filled by Edmund Rich of Abingdon, who was subsequently canonized, a man of great saintliness of life and gentleness and sweetness of disposition, but wanting in the energy and vigour needed at this juncture of the affairs of the Church in England. The natural result of this was that about the year 1240, the Bishop of Lincoln, owing to his commanding abilities and marvellous force of character, was virtually the leader of the Church party in this country.

Despite all that has been said to the contrary we possess an overwhelming amount of evidence which manifests to us most clearly and emphatically the profound reverence

entertained by Grosseteste for the person of the Sovereign Pontiff as head of the Catholic Church. This reverence and submission was never wanting to him for a moment during his life. Europe at this period was suffering from a variety of misfortunes amongst which the wars and the cruelties of the Emperor Frederick II. were unpleasantly prominent. Grosseteste, like most other thinking men of his time, felt convinced that the only true remedy for the ills which afflicted society lay in the exaltation and in the purification of the ecclesiastical system. As Mr. Stevenson puts it :—

He clearly perceived that the exaltation of that system could only be justified by its intrinsic superiority, that its purification could only be effected by a determined destruction of abuses, and that neither one nor the other could be brought about except by broadening the basis of its support, and identifying it with the forces within the nation which made for intellectual enlightenment and social progress.

It is only when one comes to study the acts of the various councils held during the thirteenth century that he realises the extent of the abuses and corruptions which afflicted the Church at that period. The disturbed state of Europe was, no doubt, responsible to a large extent for their existence. '*Stupor mundi Fredericus*,' as Matthew Paris calls him, a man at once headstrong, restless, and versatile, was determined to consolidate his power in Italy at the expense of the Church. The struggle between the Pope and the Emperor was a long and bitter one. Frederick was evidently more of a Mohammedan than a Christian. His entry into Jerusalem occasioned no enthusiasm in Europe as the belief was general that the recovery of the Holy City by him was effected, not by force of arms, but by the connivance of the Saracens. Frederick did certainly display an undue deference to Mussulman susceptibilities, and his intimacy with the Sultan of Cairo and his well-known scepticism did not make things any better for him. He had married a sister of King Henry III. of England, yet notwithstanding this no man could well be more unpopular in this country. Grosseteste in particular entertained a profound aversion for the emperor and aided the Holy Father in every possible way in his long struggle against him.

All through his career as a bishop Grosseteste had quite an insuperable objection to appoint or institute foreigners to English benefices, save in very exceptional cases in which they possessed special qualifications. This feeling was inevitable in the case of one who had conceived so exalted an idea of the dignity and duties of the pastoral office. Souls were not meant to be robbed of the means of grace but rather quickened and saved by the ministry of the priests of the Church. On one occasion Gregory IX. wrote to some of the English bishops ordering them to provide three hundred Romans with the first benefices which should become vacant, and prohibiting them from giving away any benefices until his requirements in this respect were satisfied. On the face of it this would seem to be a most extraordinary proceeding. But we must bear in mind the terrible straits to which Gregory had been reduced. Frederick was marching on Rome, and many prominent subjects of the Holy See were inclined to join his standard. To retain their allegiance the Pope considered he could not do better than to confer upon their friends and relatives the emoluments derived from benefices situated in England. Another reason for following this unusual course which influenced Gregory very greatly was the fact that it would be always easier for him to obtain the subsidies he required for the carrying on of the war from the alien holders of English benefices. In proof of this I may cite the example of Innocent IV. who, when he demanded a subsidy of one-third from the resident clergy in England, insisted upon non-residents contributing one-half. And when the latter complained of this inequality they were informed that it must be regarded more or less in the light of a fine for their non-residence.

The thought that men should be permitted to draw incomes from livings in England which they had never seen, and frequently without making any proper provision for the discharge of their pastoral duties by others, appeared so repellent to the mind of Grosseteste, and was so opposed to all his convictions as to the obligations of the pastoral office, that he was prepared to go to any length within the limits of what was lawful in his endeavour to stop the practice.

And in this attitude he will, I feel assured, command all our sympathy. On one occasion the Papal legate in England wrote to him concerning a certain Atto, one of his household, whom he (the legate) had collated to a Lincoln prebend. In the same letter the legate requested the bishop to appoint Thomas, a son of Earl Ferrers, to the church of Randes in Lincolnshire although he was not yet of age nor in orders. In his reply Grosseteste frankly admitted that the legate had acted within his rights as regards the prebend, though he mentioned several weighty reasons showing why the appointment should be cancelled. As regarded the boy, son of Earl Ferrers, his conscience will not allow him to do what he asked; and if the legate persists he must take the responsibility. It is gratifying to know that in both these instances the bishop gained his point, which speaks well for the character of the legate.

In the year 1244, Martin, one of the chamberlains of Pope Innocent IV., was sent as nuncio to England with more than legatine powers. Martin's mission was mainly concerned with the obtaining of fresh supplies for the further prosecution of the terrible struggle between the Pope and the Emperor Frederick. Unfortunately the nuncio was not very happy or conciliatory in his manner of treating the English archbishops and bishops. He demanded the enormous sum of thirty thousand marks, seized all benefices with an income of more than thirty marks a year, which he immediately conferred upon Italians, paying absolutely no regard to the rights of patronage, and even the most moderate resistance to his proposals was met with the threat of excommunication or interdict. Now it so chanced that the Prior of Spalding in the diocese of Lincoln, had the right of presentation to the living of Pinchbeck, also in that diocese. The nuncio claimed the living; the prior refused it, and when the agents of the nuncio appeared in the parish, the people treated them with scant courtesy. At this the nuncio appealed to Grosseteste, as diocesan; and, when the bishop found that the parish of Pinchbeck was a large one requiring the presence of a resident vicar, he recommended the nuncio to reserve a

living, also in the gift of the prior, but to which the cure of souls was **not** attached. In his letter Grosseteste gave the following items of sound advice to the nuncio :—1. Always to give his authority for his actions ; 2. To use tact and discretion in the exercise of his authority ; 3. If he finds that his commands are opposed when they are within the bounds of reason, to argue with the opponents in the first instance instead of taking strong measures. Finding, however, that matters were growing worse instead of better, Grosseteste resolved to take the whole case of the condition of the English Church before the council (the Thirteenth Ecumenical) which Innocent IV., flying from the fury of the Emperor Frederick, had summoned to meet at Lyons (1245). The Holy Father himself opened the deliberations of the council, which is known as the First of Lyons, with a touching and impassioned address in which, taking as his text the words of the psalmist : ‘ According to the multitude of my sorrows in my heart, thy comforts have given joy to my soul,’ he drew a most harrowing picture of the evils which then afflicted the Church. In due course the recommendations of Grosseteste and the other English bishops present at the council came up for consideration. The Pope asked for time to deliberate upon them ; and on August 3rd, 1245, he made known the result of his inquiries as follows :—1. The suspensions inflicted by the Nuncio Martin were removed ; 2. The Pope agreed to give away only twelve more English benefices ; 3. Promotion was promised to English priests of education and good conduct ; 4. The rights of presentation belonging to bishops and other patrons of benefices were confirmed. Unfortunately these concessions, as events proved, were not faithfully observed. No mention either was made of subsidies or exactions about which the English bishops complained that, what between the demands of the king and the Pope, they were between the hammer and the anvil, or the upper and the nether millstone.

It is quite evident to any unprejudiced mind that Grosseteste never opposed in any way any well-conducted and *bonâ fide* demand made by the Pope for his own

necessities. Even in the case of other subsidies and exactions, he was not so much aroused by the taxes themselves as by the manner in which they were collected, and by the character and insolence of the men who represented the Holy Father. His interest in the work of the crusades was especially sympathetic, so much so in fact, that in the year 1247, when money was very scarce, we find him collecting in his diocese a sum equivalent to at least £1,000, of our present currency.

On December 13th, 1250, the Emperor Frederick was called out of this world. The Archbishop of Palermo attended him in his last moments. A short time previous to his death he perpetrated some of the most revolting atrocities recorded in history.

The Holy See [says Alzog]¹ came victorious from this terrible conflict, but bore from it severe wounds, which were centuries in healing. The Pope had been reduced to the necessity of laying heavy taxes upon the Churches throughout Christendom, and this had the effect of loosing the bonds which had heretofore kept Christian nations united to the Holy See. It was claimed that as the contest did not, as in the case of investitures, concern the freedom of the Church, but seemed to be more directly connected with territorial acquisition, there was no adequate reason why these taxes should have been levied.

It was with the intention of acquainting the Holy Father with the extent of the danger which the frequent recurrence of these taxes entailed to the Church in England that Grosseteste, at the age of seventy-five, set out on his second visit to Lyons in 1250, accompanied by his right-hand man, Robert Marsh, the Franciscan. He also wished to put before Pope Innocent the exact state of the clergy in England; the dangers accruing from exemption in the case of religious orders; the importance of the establishment of vicarages; and the proper financial arrangements for the maintenance of vicars. One copy of the elaborate memorandum he had prepared on these subjects Grosseteste handed to the Pope himself; a second he gave to one of the cardinal bishops; a third to a cardinal priest, Hugo de

¹ *Universal Church History*, vol. ii., p. 429; ed. 1890.

Sabina; the fourth he handed to the cardinal deacon John de St. Nicholas, by whom it was read aloud, and with scarcely any interruption, before the Holy Father and the assembled cardinals.

He must needs have been a man of the most unflinching courage who could thus publicly put before the Sovereign Pontiff and his court, without extenuation or palliation, the true nature of the worst evils which then afflicted the Church, and which were quickly eating their way to the very core of the ecclesiastical system. Great, however, as was the courage of the Bishop of Lincoln, it was fully equalled by the large spirit of toleration and breadth of view displayed by Pope Innocent in permitting the bishop's terrible memorandum to be read aloud.

When insisting on the dignity of a Christian bishop and the position which he occupies in the government of the Church, Grosseteste went out of his way to explain the 'special prerogative' inherent in the occupant of the See of Rome as representative and Vicar of Jesus Christ. He traced the decadence of morality then so remarkable all over Europe partly to the lack of good pastors, partly to the multiplication of bad pastors, and partly to the restrictions placed upon the pastoral power. Nothing could well exceed the fierceness of his denunciation of the covetousness, the avarice, and the immorality of the clergy. The life of the pastor, he said in effect, is the book of the laity: and if the laity see in it only what tends to disedification, what is the pastor's life but a constant preaching of error and wickedness?

It speaks well for the sense of justice of Pope Innocent that he was greatly impressed by the representations of Grosseteste. The Pope granted most of his demands: upon which the great bishop, the champion of truth and purity, turned his steps once more towards England. He was now, however, far advanced in years, and probably because of the serious complexion of his character he is said to have suffered much as his health grew feeble from depression of spirits. His activity, however, continued unabated to the last. He had one overmastering ambition, and that was to see all taint of vice banished from his vast diocese before he came

to die. To this end he made himself all things to all men, gentle and persuasive with some, rigorous and severe with others. He tried hard to induce all ecclesiastics holding benefices in his diocese to take priests' orders. Yet, strange though it may seem to us, he was hotly opposed and partly defeated in his endeavour to bring about this urgent reform. Time after time did he refuse to licence a deacon to the cure of souls.

Although Grosseteste felt frequently impelled to oppose the demands of the king, more especially when these latter amounted to a violation of the Great Charter, and were an evident infringement of the liberties of the people, still his relations with the royal family were, on the whole, friendly. In 1251, when the Princess Margaret (namesake of the Scottish queen who re-founded Iona, and who was canonized by Pope Innocent in 1250) was married at Christmas to the King of Scots at York, he sent her a suitable present. His friendship for the famous Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, was at once warm and abiding.

On the 9th October, 1253, Grosseteste was called to his reward. All England mourned his loss as one of her best defenders. The people proclaimed him a saint, and this belief in his personal sanctity persevered for centuries. The story that he died whilst labouring under sentence of excommunication, inflicted by the Pope, is supported by no single shred of contemporary evidence, and is dismissed by Mr. Stevenson as a legend utterly unworthy of a moment's credence. 'Give,' O'Connell once said, 'a lie ten minutes' start, and no amount of truth will ever overtake it.'

It cannot, however, be denied that Grosseteste's opposition to the excessive demands of the Pope might have led to very disastrous consequences, taking into account the spirit and the customs of the age in which he lived, but the transparent sincerity of the man, and the purity of his motives, always shielded him from censure. In fact, one of the results of his strenuous opposition to the Papal provisions in the matter of English benefices was that Pope Innocent IV. not only expressed regret at the amount of money he demanded from the English Church, but also

mentioned that he was compelled, by the force of circumstances, to assent to measures of which, in a period of less difficulty, he would not have been able to approve.

Grosseteste combined in his person intellectual gifts of the highest order with the practical instincts and thorough grasp of facts which distinguish the statesman. He lived, probably, two centuries before his time. Hence, we are not surprised to find subsequent generations paying him that amount of homage which his contemporaries denied him. So true it is that genius is never discovered until he who possessed it is gone yonder to where beyond those voices there is peace. As Dr. Luard, who has done so much to perpetuate his memory, remarks:—

Probably no one has had a greater influence than Grosseteste upon English thought and English literature for the two centuries which followed his time. Few books will be found that do not contain some quotations from ‘*Lincolniensis, the great clerk Grostest.*’

Regarded as a man of action, no one can refuse him the expression of their homage. His whole life was vibrant with activity. Now in the schools, now in parliament. To-day preaching to his people; to-morrow exhorting his clergy, secular and regular, to put before them a higher, a purer standard of life and conduct. One moment advocating the rights and the liberties of the poor against an overbearing king; the next, warning the Vicar of Christ of the imminence of that flood of iniquity and worldliness which threatened to submerge the Church.

He was [says Matthew Paris, the Benedictine historian] an open confuter of the king, the corrector of monks, the director of priests, the instructor of clerks, the supporter of scholars, a preacher to the people, a persecutor of the incontinent, the unwearied student of the Scriptures. At the table of bodily refreshment he was hospitable, eloquent, courteous, pleasant, and affable; at the spiritual table devout, tearful, and contrite. In the episcopal office he was sedulous, dignified, and indefatigable.

To Mr. Stevenson, an Anglican layman, we owe our grateful thanks for what is destined to be the standard life of one of the leading Catholic bishops in mediæval times.

RICHARD A. O’GORMAN.

‘RETRENCHED’ HOLIDAYS AND THE ‘MISSA PRO POPULO’

AT one of our recent Advent Theological Conferences in Dublin, a question of some interest was raised in reference to the obligation of Parish Priests to apply the Mass *pro populo* on ‘retrenched’ holidays.

A Decree of the Synod of Thurles seems to treat the obligation as practically extinguished in Ireland:—‘In festis Apostolica auctoritate reductis apud nos, ex dispensatione Sedis Apostolicae, Parochi Missam pro populo applicare non tenentur, habito Episcopi consensu. Non sunt tamen exempti iis diebus ab obligatione Missam celebrandi, cum in Rescripto Apostolico jubeantur commemorationem populi praedictis diebus in Missa facere’ (*Statuta de Parochis*, n. 4).

In a petition from the Fathers of the Synod to the Holy See, the obligation of applying the Mass *pro populo* is similarly referred to. The petition has reference to the obligation of saying Mass on those days. It says:—‘Cum vero sine magno incommodo Missae in pluribus ecclesiis celebrari non possint, supplicandum arbitramur Sedi Apostolicae ut Parochi ab obligatione celebrandi praedictis diebus eximantur: licet eodem tempore optemus ut Parochi, cum id commode possint, celebrare non omitant.’¹

This petition was granted by the Holy See on the 4th of May, 1851.²

The question then arises: Was it from an oversight that, at the Maynooth Synod of 1875, the obligation of not only saying Mass on the suppressed holidays, but also of applying it *pro populo* on those days, was treated as being in full force in Ireland?

A petition seeking power for the Bishops to dispense

¹ See the 1851 edition of the Decrees, Appendix III., page 72.

² *Ibid.*

Parish Priests in their respective dioceses from this twofold obligation was sent forward by the Synod to the Holy See,¹ and the reason stated as the ground of the petition was precisely that which was stated in the petition from the Synod of Thurles, the prayer of which had been granted in 1851. This petition from the Maynooth Synod was favourably received. But the Apostolic Indult, dated 1st September, 1876, limits the concession to ten years—'benigne annuit juxta petita *ad decennium*, pro arbitrio et conscientia Episcoporum, qui tamen Apostolico Indulto utantur *perpensis locorum et personarum adjunctis*.'²

Even apart from the express limitation of the grant to ten years, there is in the wording of this Indult an indication that dispensations given by virtue of it are to be given with considerable reserve: 'pro . . . conscientia Episcoporum, . . . perpensis locorum et personarum adjunctis,' these last words stamping upon the later concession a decidedly restrictive character, from which the concession of 1851 was altogether free.

A question, then, very naturally suggests itself:—Was the petition from the Maynooth Synod sent forward in error? And if so, has the Indult, with its limitation of time, and its generally restrictive character—granted as it was in response to the petition of the later Synod—the effect of over-riding the concession of 1851, more ample as that earlier concession was in every way.

The question—as every one who is acquainted with the facts of the case can see—presents no difficulty. But, my attention having been directed to the matter, I thought it worth while devoting some little time to the task of collecting all available information about it. As it happens, I had previously had occasion, within the last few weeks, to get together whatever information was within my reach in reference to the gradual reduction of the number of holidays of obligation in Ireland. It occurs to me that the informa-

¹ *Acta et Decreta*, etc., Appendix XVIII., pag. 300.

² *Ibid.*

tion in reference to both points, thus got together, may perhaps be of interest to others than those on whose account I felt called upon to go to some trouble in collecting it.

I set it out now under two heads:—(1) the gradual reduction in the number of holidays of obligation in Ireland; (2) the obligation, as regards Ireland, of applying the Mass *pro populo* on retrenched holidays.

§ 1. *The Gradual Reduction in the Number of Holidays of Obligation in Ireland.*

A list of the obligatory Feasts of the Church is to be found in any ordinary manual of Moral Theology. The number of those Feasts is practically determined by the Constitution *Universa*, of Urban VIII. (13th Sep., 1642), only one Feast having since been added to the list,—the Feast of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin, which was added by Clement XI. in his Constitution *Commissi Nobis*, dated 6th Dec., 1708.

The Feasts of obligation, as thus determined, number 36. They are as follows:—

I. In honour of our Lord (8). These are: the Nativity (Dec. 25); the Circumcision (Jan. 1); the Epiphany (Jan. 6); Easter Monday; Easter Tuesday; the Ascension; Corpus Christi; the Finding of the Holy Cross (May 3).

II. In honour of the Holy Ghost (2); Whit Monday; Whit Tuesday.

III. In honour of the Blessed Virgin (5): the Conception (Dec. 8); the Purification (Feb. 2); the Annunciation (March 25); the Assumption (Aug. 15); the Nativity (Sep. 8)

IV. Dedication of St. Michael the Archangel (Sep. 29).

V. Nativity of St. John the Baptist (June 24).

VI. Feasts of the Apostles (10): SS. Peter and Paul (June 29); St. Andrew (Nov. 30); St. James (July 25); St. John (Dec. 27); St. Thomas (Dec. 21); SS. Philip and James (May 1); St. Bartholomew (Aug. 24); St. Matthew (Sep. 21); SS. Simon and Jude (Oct. 28); St. Matthias (Feb. 24).

VII. Feasts of other Saints (5); St. Stephen (Dec. 26);

St. Lawrence (Aug. 10) ; St. Sylvester (Dec. 31) ; St. Joseph (March 19) ; St. Anne (July 26).

VIII. Feast of the Holy Innocents (Dec. 28).

IX. Feast of All Saints (Nov. 1).

X. Feasts of Patrons (2) : the Feast of one of the principal Patron Saints of the Kingdom or Province ; the Feast of one principal Patron of the City, Town, or District.

All the Feasts thus enumerated were of strict obligation in Ireland down to the middle of the eighteenth century. As regards the Feasts of Patrons, the *Ordo* for any year about that time marks as holidays in the various dioceses the feasts of their respective Patrons. Thus, for instance, on the 8th of January, this being the Feast of St. Albert, the Patron of the diocese of Cashel, we find the day marked as a holiday of obligation for that diocese, and so on, in all similar cases. Frequent applications had been made to the Holy See by the Irish Bishops, acting sometimes individually, sometimes collectively, to have the number of holidays of obligation reduced. But successive Pontiffs were steadfast in refusing to yield upon the point.

The first concession ¹ was made by Benedict XIV. His letter granting the relaxation is dated the 15th of December, 1755 ; it is addressed to 'the Archbishops and Bishops of the Kingdom of Ireland.'

The concession made by Benedict XIV. regarded only the obligation of refraining from servile work. This he removed as regards all Feasts other than the following :—

I. The Nativity of our Lord ; the Circumcision ; the Epiphany ; Easter Monday ; the Ascension ; Corpus Christi (6).

II. Whit Monday (1).

III. The five Feasts of the Blessed Virgin enumerated in the preceding list (5).

IV. The Feasts of St. John the Baptist, SS. Peter and Paul, St. Stephen, St. Patrick, and All Saints (5).

The number of fully obligatory holidays was thus reduced from 36 to 17.

¹ See Dr. Reuehan's *Collections on Irish Church History*. Edited by Dr. McCarthy, (Dublin, 1861), pp. 317, 318.

But no change was made in the obligation of hearing Mass. This remained in force even as regards the 19 days from which the obligation of refraining from servile work was removed. On this point the Pope refused to relax the law in any way, as he had firmly refused to do on former occasions, in answer even to petitions presented to him by powerful princes, on behalf of their subjects.

The next concession¹ was made by Pius VI. in 1778.

By an Indult dated the 29th of March in that year, the Sovereign Pontiff extended in two directions the concession granted by Benedict XIV. For (1) the new concession included three Feasts of the Blessed Virgin,—the Conception, the Purification, and the Nativity,—in respect of which no concession had been made in 1775; and (2), in addition to removing, as regards those three Feasts, the obligation of refraining from servile work, it removed also, as regards both these and the Feasts comprised in the concession of 1755, the obligation of hearing Mass.

Thus the number of Feasts on which it was still of obligation in Ireland to hear Mass and to refrain from servile work, was reduced to 14. It is unnecessary to enumerate them. The list differs from the list of 17 already given, in the omission only of three out of the five Feasts of the Blessed Virgin.

In an editorial note in the work already referred to,² it is mentioned that the concession thus made by Pius VI. was not universally acted upon in Ireland. In the diocese of Kerry, the Feasts of the Conception, the Purification, and the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin were observed as holidays of obligation, both to hear Mass and to refrain from servile work, down to the year 1826. In that year, on the application of the Bishop of the diocese, a new Indult was obtained, declaring the faithful of the diocese free from both obligations. The Indult is dated 24th June, 1826. From a letter written by the Bishop of Elphin

¹ See Dr. Remehan's *Collections*, pp. 318, 319.

² *Ibid.*

to the Bishop of Cork in September, 1803, it appears that in the diocese of Elphin also, those three Feasts were still observed as of obligation, and, in addition, the Feast of St. Stephen and that of St. John.¹

Several entries in the *Ordo* from year to year record the continued local observance of several of the retrenched holidays as days of obligation.

Thus, for instance, in the *Ordo* for 1828, under the entry for the 26th of December, the Feast of St. Stephen, the following note occurs :—

In AD. Tuamensi, DD. Corcagiensi, Elphinensi, et Laonensi, Festum S. Stephani est de praecepto.

And under the entry for the next day, the Feast of St. John the Evangelist :—

In D. Elphinensi Festum S. Joannis est de praecepto.

Except as regards three days, the discipline of the Church in reference to holidays in Ireland, as thus modified by the concessions made by Benedict XIV. in 1755, and by Pius VI. in 1828, was identical with that in force at the present day.

The three days which then were still retained on the list of holidays, but have since been removed from it, were Easter Monday, Whit Monday, and the Feast of St. John ~~the~~ Baptist.

In 1829, Pius VIII., in compliance with a petition from the Irish Bishops, added Easter Monday and Whit Monday to the list of retrenched holidays. But he declined to accede to their request to add St. John's Day also to the list.² If the Bishops were unanimous on the point, the Pope would remove the obligation of refraining from servile work : but he would make no concession as to the obligation of hearing Mass.

In 1830, the application for the removal of the obligation of hearing Mass on the Feast of St. John was renewed, and the Holy See again refused to grant the relaxation.

¹ See Dr. McCarthy's note in Dr. Renehan's *Collections*, p. 319.

² *Ibid.*

Again, in 1831, the Irish Bishops petitioned the Holy See, pointing out that, in a country such as Ireland then was, with but few churches, and a population widely scattered over the country, to retain the obligation of hearing Mass was equivalent to making no change at all. On this occasion they succeeded. By a letter dated the 7th of August, 1831, Gregory XVI. made the concession, but—it may be interesting to note—only in the form of giving power to the Bishops themselves to grant to the faithful of their respective dioceses a dispensation from this precept, to the observance of which, as an act of devotion to the Precursor of Our Lord, such special importance was attached by the Holy See.¹

I have thought it better to reserve to the close of this section of my paper a point of some interest, arising out of one of the Papal Indults to which I have referred—the origin of the Advent fasts in our Irish Church. Out of place as this subject may seem to be in a paper concerned, not with fasts, but with feasts, it is nevertheless so intimately connected with the subject of this paper, that it may claim at least a brief reference.

I assume it to be well known that, unlike the fast of Lent, the Advent Fast—with the exception of the three days comprised in the fasts of the *Quatuor Tempora*—forms no part of the general discipline of the Church.²

The present obligation of fasting on two days in each week in Advent, outside the week comprised in the *Quatuor Tempora*, is of comparatively recent origin in Ireland. I have before me as I write, copies of the Dublin *Ordo* for 1767 and 1778. In neither of these is there a reference to any days of fast in Advent, except, of course, the Wednesday, Friday and Saturday of the week of the *Quatuor Tempora*, and the Vigil of the Nativity.

The Advent fast, which is now a settled portion of the

¹ As to all this, see Dr. McCarthy's note already referred to.

² See, for instance, the section *De Jeuniis* in the Treatise *De Præceptis Ecclesiæ*, in Gury, or any other manual of Moral Theology.

discipline of the Irish Church, was not introduced until 1778. It was imposed in that year by Pius VI., in compensation for the removal of the fasts from the Vigils of a number of the retrenched holidays. The words of the Indult are :—

Vigilias autem festis, ut supra dispensatis, adnexas Sanctitas Sua mandavit transferri in IV et VI feriam¹ uniuscujusque hebdomadae Adventus, in quibus jejunium idem servandum erit quod in Quadragesima et Quatuor Temporibus anni servari debet.

In the *Ordo* for 1773, in which, as I have said, the Advent fast is not mentioned, the following are marked as fasting days :—

| | |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Feb. 23, Vigil of St. Matthias | Sept. 20, Vigil of St. Matthew |
| June 23, „ St. John | Oct. 27, „ SS. Simon and Jude |
| July 24, „ St. James | Nov. 29, „ St. Andrew |
| Aug. 9, „ St. Lawrence | Dec. 20, „ St. Thomas. |
| Aug. 23, „ St. Bartholomew | |

As substitutes for these, the Advent fasts—which in no case could amount to more than 6—were introduced in 1778.

§ 2. *The Missa pro populo on Retrenched Holidays.*

There is, of course, no doubt that all priests who have the *cura animarum* are bound, not only to say Mass, but to offer it *pro populo*, on all holidays, including those from which the precept binding the faithful to hear Mass and to refrain from servile work has been removed.

It would be superfluous to quote authorities on a point so plain. It may, however, be interesting to note that the point was raised, and a decision given upon it, in reference to the retrenched holidays in Ireland, in the very year in

¹ I may here incidentally mention that, many years after the Wednesdays and Fridays of Advent had been made fasting days by the Indult of Pius VI., the Irish Bishops sought for, and obtained, a transfer of those Wednesday fasts to the Saturdays. This was done in order to render the obligation less burdensome to the faithful. At that time, all the Saturdays of the year were days of abstinence from meat.

In 1875,—the Saturday abstinence having been removed many years before,—the Fathers of the Maynooth Synod petitioned that the Saturday fasts in Advent might be brought back again to the Wednesdays. It was generally felt that the occurrence of fasts on two successive days involved a considerable inconvenience, without any corresponding advantage. This change was sanctioned by the Holy See.

which the Indult of Pius VI. was issued. It would seem evident, indeed, from the documents bearing on the matter, that the point was raised in Rome itself, rather than in Ireland, and that it was raised for the purpose of having the point officially decided before the Pontifical Indult removing the obligation as regards the faithful in Ireland was issued.

In the Dublin *Ordo* for 1790 the following decree is published :—

DECRETUM SACRAE CONGR. DE PROPAGANDA FIDE, HABITAE
DIE 23 MARTII, 1778.

Relato per Eminen. et Revmum. D. Card. Boschi dubio : Utrum nempe iis diebus in quibus reducta in Hibernia festa recurrunt, Parochi debeant Missae Sacrificium agere, idemque pro populo offerre? EE. Patres decreverunt, Parochos aliosque curam animarum exercentes in quolibet ex reductis festis, tum ad celebrandam, tum etiam ad applicandam pro populo Parochialem Missam, ut antea, omnino teneri.

Quam S. Congr. sententiam, SS. D. N. Pius VI, per R. P. D. Stephanum Borgia Secretarium relatum, in Audientia habita die 29 praedicti mensis et anni, Sanctitas sua benigne approbavit et Apostolica auctoritate munivit.

Datum Romae, die 11 Aprilis 1778.

J. M. CARD, *Praef.*
STEPH. BORGIA, *Secr.*

Here we find the question considered and decided at a meeting of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda on the 23rd of March, 1778. The decision come to by the Sacred Congregation was referred to the Pope : it was ratified by his Holiness at the official audience of the Secretary of Propaganda on the 29th of the same month. And, as we have seen, it was at this same audience, on the 29th of March, 1778, that the Indult of Pius VI. was granted.¹

In the same issue of the *Ordo*, amongst the diocesan regulations then usually published from year to year by the Archbishop, under the heading, 'Monita Illustriss. Archiep. Dublinien. a Clero sibi subjecto stricte observanda,' I find the following paragraph :—

7. Ut erga Sanctos, a quorum Festivitatibus per . . .
Decretum Apostolicum, postulantibus Episcopis, ablatum est

¹ See *ante*, page 52.

praeceptum audiendi Missam, conservetur et augeatur devotio, dies speciali eorumdem cultui in Calendario designati populo notificandi sunt singulis Dominicis unumquodque ex dictis festis immediate praecedentibus; simulque excitentur fideles ad audiendam *Missam illis diebus celebrandam* in Capellis oppidanis, et aliis quae non longe distant ab aedibus Parochorum, *nisi aliter dictis diebus in sacro ministerio occupati fuerint Parochi et Sacerdotes parochiis inservientes.*

It is noteworthy that the *Ordo* for 1790 is the first in which this particular paragraph appears amongst the *Monita*. It is not unreasonable to suppose that the Archbishop had become aware of some tendency amongst those having the *cura animarum* to regard the Feasts in question as no longer of obligation as to the saying of Mass and the offering of it *pro populo*, and that he had the decree of 1788 thus published with the view of reminding the clergy of an obligation which otherwise possibly, in course of time, might come to be lost sight of by some amongst them.

In a memorable Encyclical, *Amantissimi Redemptoris*, issued on the 3rd of May, 1858, Pius IX., writing of a much later time, has the following:—

Minime ignoramus, pluribus in locis, id [celebrare Missam pro populo sibi tradito] a parochis jamdiu praetermitti solere aliis illis diebus qui antea veluti festi de praecepto erant colend juxta Constitutionem felicitis memoriae Urbani VIII. (Constit. 'Universa per orbem,' Idib. Septembr. 1642), et quibus haec Apostolica Sedes, annuens variis Sacrorum Antistitum postulationibus, ac prae oculis habens causas rationesque ab ipsis expositas, non solum permisit ut populi servilibus operibus vacare possent, verum id indulsit, ut ipsi ab obligatione audiendi Sacrum essent exempti.

Ubi enim haec benigna Sanctae Sedis Indulta in lucem prodierunt, statim plurium regionum parochi, existimantes se, hisce diebus ita reductis, solutos esse ab obligatione peragendi Sacrum pro populo, obligationem ipsam implere plane neglexerunt.

Hinc porro invaluit consuetudo ut earumdem regionum Parochi commemoratis diebus sacrosanctum Missae sacrificium pro populo applicare cessaverint, nec defuere qui ejusmodi consuetudinem tueri ac defendere non dubitarunt.

Whether for the reason thus described, more than half a century later, by Pius IX., or for some other reason which

influenced him at the time, the Archbishop (Most Rev. Dr. Troy) continued for many years to republish amongst his *Monita* to the clergy of the diocese the paragraph which I have quoted.

After 1790 there is nothing to be noted in the history of this section of our ecclesiastical and liturgical discipline for nearly twenty years.

In 1818, apparently for the first time, an application was made to the Holy See by the Irish Bishops for power to dispense the Parish Priests of their respective dioceses from the obligation of offering Mass *pro populo* on the retrenched holidays.

The power sought for was granted. I find the Indult in the *Ordo* for 1819. The grant, it will be observed, is for ten years only.

The following is the document, as published in the *Ordo* for 1819 :—

EX AUDIENTIA SSMI. HABITA DIE 8 FEBRUARII, 1818.

Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Pius Divina Providentia Papa VII., referente me infrascripto S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Secretario, omnibus et singulis Archiepiscopis et Episcopis Hiberniae ad decennium benigne indulsit, ut quisque in propria Dioecesi cum suis Parochis dispensare possit, ut in iis festis diebus, quibus Fideles ab obligatione audiendi Missam Apostolica auctoritate soluti sunt, ipsi ab onere applicandi Missam pro Populo in posterum exempti sint, pro quo tamen Populo in iisdem Missis specialiter orare teneantur. Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

Datum Romae, etc., etc.

In connection with a point to be noted a little further on, it is to be borne in mind that the power of dispensing thus given to the Bishops regarded only the obligation to apply the Masses *pro populo*. So far from including a power of dispensing in the duty of saying Mass on the suppressed holidays, the Indult expressly required this obligation to be fulfilled. For it enjoined that there should be a special commemoration made at Mass of the faithful flock for whom the Mass would have been offered up, if sufficient grounds to justify the Bishops in dispensing with the fulfilment of the ordinary canonical obligation, had not existed.

I quote the words in which this was enjoined: ‘pro quo tamen populo [Parochi ab onere applicandi Missam pro populo exempti] in iisdem Missis specialiter orare teneantur.’

In 1827, the power originally granted, in 1818, for ten years, was renewed for ten years more.

The second grant is dated the 29th of July, 1827. Leo XII. was then Pope. The word used in this renewal of the original grant is, not ‘indulset,’ but ‘prorogavit,’—‘ad decennium benigne prorogavit facultatem a felicitis recordationis Pio Papa VII. die 8 Februarii ad idem tempus . . . concessam.’

The Indult of 1827, like that of 1818, contains the clause ‘pro quo tamen populo [Parochi] in iisdem Missis specialiter orare teneantur.’

Shortly after this, in 1832, a curious question was raised. It regarded the interpretation of the phrase, ‘circa ecclesiasticas functiones nihil innovetur,’ which occurs in one of the Indults issued by Pius VI. (23rd March, 1779) in connection with the reduction of the number of *Festa in populo* in Ireland. The question was: Whether priests—those not having the *cura animarum*—were exempted, as the laity were, from the obligation of hearing Mass, or were they bound to say, or to hear, Mass on the retrenched holidays? The Sacred Congregation of Rites (7th April, 1832) answered *Non teneri*.¹

In 1838, the power of dispensing which had been renewed in 1827, was again renewed for a further period of ten years. The date of the renewal is the 2nd of December, 1838. It was granted by Gregory XVI. in terms precisely similar to those of the former renewal.

Again, in 1848, on the 6th of February in that year, the grant was once more renewed, Pius IX. being then Pope. The renewal, as before, was for a period of ten years, and it was made in terms in all respects similar to those of the preceding Indults:—‘Ad decennium:’ and again, ‘pro quo

¹ See Gardellini, n. 4540 ad 3, in *Hibernen*.

tamen populo [Parochi] in iisdem Missis specialiter orare teneantur.'

This, then, was the state of the case when the Synod of Thurles met. The expressions, 'ex dispensatione Sedis Apostolicæ Parochi Missam pro populo applicare non tenentur,' 'in rescripto Apostolico jubentur commemorationem populi prædictis diebus in Missa facere,' and 'supplicandum arbitramur Sedi Apostolicæ ut . . . ab obligatione celebrandi prædictis diebus eximantur,' all have reference to the Indult of 1848, which was the only Indult on the subject then in existence, and which must therefore have been the 'rescriptum Apostolicum' mentioned in the petition from the Synod to the Holy See. Furthermore, it may be noted, this Indult was published in the *Ordo* for the then current year, 1850, as the Indults successively in force at each period had been published in the *Ordo* from year to year,—from 1819, when the Indult of 1818 was first published, to 1858, when the Indult of 1848 was published for the last time.

The supplemental privilege, petitioned for by the Synod, of an exemption for Parish Priests from the obligation of saying Mass on the days upon which they were dispensed in the obligation of applying it *pro populo*, was granted, as we have seen, on the 4th of May, 1851. But now, for the first time, the form of concession was changed. Words were used which clearly implied that the additional power given to the Bishops was not to be indiscriminately or lightly used: 'SSmus. Dominus Noster . . . benigne petitioni Episcoporum indulsit, ita tamen ut res arbitrio et conscientiae Episcoporum remittatur.'

The powers conferred by the Indult of 1848 expired, of course, by lapse of time in 1858, when the period of ten years for which they had been granted had come to an end.

On this occasion, however, the Irish Bishops did not make the usual application for a renewal of the Indult, and thus matters were brought back to the position in which they had stood from 1778 to 1818. The faithful were exempt from the obligation of hearing Mass, as well as from

that of refraining from servile work, on the retrenched holidays; but those who had the *cura animarum* were bound to say Mass on those days, and to apply it *pro populo*.

It was, in all probability, more than a mere coincidence that the year in which the Irish Bishops thus for the first time abstained from applying for a renewal of the Decennial Indult was the year in which the important Encyclical *Amantissimi Redemptoris* was issued. This Encyclical deals mainly with the duty of Pastors to say Mass and to apply it *pro populo*, on retrenched holidays as well as on those as regards which the precept of hearing Mass is still in force. Deploing the laxity which seems to have crept in, about that time, in various parts of the Church, the Encyclical re-affirms the obligation, and, in language of special solemnity, impresses upon all who have the *cura animarum* the duty of fulfilling it.

This Encyclical was published in our Irish *Ordo* for 1859. It was republished in the *Ordo* for the following year, 1860, and in that *Ordo* there was published also the following instruction on the subject, issued by the Archbishop of Dublin for the information of the Clergy of the diocese:—

OMNIBUS SACERDOTIBUS DIOECESIS DUBLINENSIS ANIMARUM
CURAM HABENTIBUS SALUTEM IN DOMINO.

Ne qua sententiarum diversitas oriri possit ex interpretatione Epistolæ Encyclicæ S. Dni. N. Pii Papæ IX. die 30 Maji anno 1858 datæ, quæ in Ordine Divini Officii recitandi hujus anni pag. iv. edita est, opportunum erit animadvertere privilegium quo sacerdotes animarum curam habentes inter nos ex onere Missas celebrandi diebus festis abrogatis eximebantur, desiisse mense Februario an. 1858, et nunquam a S. Sede fuisse renovatum.

Hoc cum ita sit, ex contextu Epistolæ Encyclicæ patet omnes nostros Sacerdotes curam animarum habentes teneri Missam celebrare et pro grege suo applicare, non solum in diebus Dominicis et festis de præcepto, sed etiam in diebus festivis abrogatis, quorum Elenchus in Ordine Div. Off. habetur.

Quod si quis Sacerdos in iis adjunctis versetur ut Missam in iis diebus celebrare et applicare pro populo non valeat, res Summo Pontifici erit exponenda, ut ipse rationibus perpensis rite providere possit.

Dat. Dublini, die 4 Dec. 1859.

✠ PAULUS CULLEN, *Archiep. Dublinens.*

The facts so far stated show why it was that in 1875, when the Irish Bishops considered it advisable to obtain power to dispense in this matter, it was necessary to apply for an Indult to the Holy See. The application was made from the Synod of Maynooth, and the powers sought for were granted¹ on the 1st of September, 1876.

As in the case of all the earlier concessions in this matter, the grant was limited 'ad decennium.' And now,—for the first time in reference to the power of dispensing in the obligation of applying the Masses *pro populo*,—the form was employed, which, as we have seen,² was employed in the Indult of 1851, in connection with the power of dispensing in the obligation of saying Mass on those days, 'pro arbitrio et conscientia Episcoporum'—the important further clause being now added, 'qui tamen Apostolico Indulto utantur *perpensis locorum et personarum adjunctis*.'

At this point it may be noted that, year after year, from 1860 onward,—after the grant of this Indult, as well as before it,—the instruction, first issued by Cardinal Cullen in 1859, continued to be published in the *Ordo*. It was published for the last time in the *Ordo* for 1879, which was the last issued with the *Imprimatur* of his Eminence.

It remains only to add that the Indult, granted for ten years in 1876, was renewed for a further period of ten years³ in 1886, and was again renewed in 1896, for the period of ten years now current.⁴

✠ WILLIAM J. WALSH,
Archbishop of Dublin.

¹ See the Acts and Decrees of the Maynooth Synod of 1875, Appendix viii. p. 300.

² See *ante*, page 60.

³ See I. E. RECORD, Third Series, vol. vii. n. 11 (Nov., 1886), page 1063.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Third Series, vol. xvii. n. 2 (Feb., 1896), page 173.

OBER-AMMERGAU AND ITS PASSION PLAY IN 1900

WITH the last year of the century has once more come round the decennial performance of the Passion Play at the secluded village of Ober-Ammergau. Surely, never did so small a community of seventeen hundred souls ever gain so world-wide a fame as this Bavarian parish, which draws people of every creed from all the corners of the globe to spend a day in their midst. We say advisedly a 'day,' since the great bulk of visitors to the Passion Play come no earlier than the evening preceding the performance, and either flee away on the evening of the day itself, or, at least, the following morning. Yet what a pity all this haste, for thus these thousands of strangers hardly get to know—certainly never appreciate—so beautiful a spot, as it is in its own natural and peaceful state, when all its influx of visitors have departed.

I.—THE VILLAGE

And Ober-Ammergau is well worth being known, and well repays a leisurely inspection. Having seen the play twice in 1890, and twice in the past summer, the writer was determined, on the latter occasion, to spend a few days among the good folks who have made for themselves such a name, and to see more of the beautiful country in which their pretty village is, so to speak, enshrined. As a handsome frame always enhances the effect of a picture, and is even at times necessary, so in like manner the Passion Play would lose much of its value without its setting or framework of Ober-Ammergau, and its simple and devout inhabitants. Those lofty mountains which enclose this little Catholic Bavarian commune, and shut it off from the world in its rock-bound glen, are also a potent factor of the play's success. And why? Because the corruption of modern civilization has not as yet thrust itself into this quiet corner

of Germany, nor are the products of civilization seen here, viz., the immense riches of the upper class, and the hopeless squalor and neglect of the lower orders, which are so common a feature in the great cities of our own empire. During the intervening ten years between each performance of the Passion Play, the Ammergauers are continually thinking over the past representation, or looking forward, in their happy day-dreams, to the one that is to come, in which they hope to have a part.

Then, again, the fact that such a large proportion are engaged in carving, day by day, these artistic crucifixes, and other pious objects, which are without rival for their delicacy of workmanship¹—this fact tends, undoubtedly, to fix their minds on the subject of their play. Indeed, a large number of shop windows are so many ‘art exhibitions,’ which have a large assortment of crosses of every size, the expression on the face of Christ often varying considerably in expression, according to the individual taste of each family of carvers.

Yet it must not be supposed that they are not a gay and cheerful people, though, at first sight, their manner is somewhat grave and distant. Ober-Ammergau is a true picture of mediæval happiness and content, and recalls those happy days when throughout Christian Europe the Church festivals and popular holidays were so connected together as to make the people a united and happy family. The very way in which the village is laid out is at once romantic and singular. In but few instances are houses grouped together, and there is no real street in the usual sense of the term. The pretty white-washed cottages are scattered about in the midst of a delightful medley of trees and gardens, and, by the way in which people are allowed to pass hither and thither, there seems to be no laws against trespassing in this primitive spot. The wooden roof overhangs the house, like a Swiss chalet, and a well-carved cross surmounts the gable. A Bible subject is often painted in brilliant colours

¹ The instruments, about twelve in number, are of the chisel type, and bear on them the magic name of Sheffield! The wood used is, for the most part, sycamore and pear.

over the door or windows, and seems to relieve the monotony of the white-washed walls.

On the western side of the village flows the Ammer, a clear stream of greenish tint, which gives its name to this and the neighbouring village of Unter-Ammergau, *i.e.*, the Under (or Lower) Ammer district, which is about a mile distant. This rippling mountain stream, as it flows by, is partly diverted so as to turn the wheel of a saw-mill, and many a pretty house and garden lines its left bank which is connected with that opposite by a rustic bridge of the most fragile kind. There are many walks up the surrounding mountains, and at every coign of vantage, where a view is best obtained, these thoughtful people have fixed a rustic seat under the shade of the trees.

On the eastern side of the glen, opposite to the lofty rock Kofel, there is an interesting walk up the valley of a mountain stream, whither in the space of about three miles no less than five well carved wooden crucifixes are passed on the road-side. On a green mound to the left hand of this stream, stands in a conspicuous spot the small chapel of St. Gregory, which has, for an altar piece, an oil-painting of a bishop standing with his pastoral staff fixed on the bank of a river. This is that St. Gregory, surnamed the 'Thaumaturgus,' or Wonderworker. In winter this insignificant torrent becomes a most dangerous flood of angry waters, which have more than once threatened destruction to the peaceful village on the Ammer. However, the bed of the stream has of late been partly built up; and this chapel, to which processions come on stated occasions, was erected to beg the protection of that saint, at whose prayers a mountain was once moved, a swamp dried up, and a river changed in its course.

The people of Ober-Ammergau seem to have many interesting rites and customs, peculiar to their own little commune. Thus, after a wedding, if any person crosses the path of the bridal pair on their homeward journey, he or she is taxed for want of respect. At the wedding breakfast, there is a special speech, or rather a sermonette delivered, which treats of the 'Marriage of Cana in Galilee,' at the conclusion of which a Pater and Ave are recited. Each guest then

makes an offering of money to a plate on the table, and a smaller one to the bride, which is placed under her napkin. The former collection often amounts to a respectable sum, and goes towards the expenses of the feasting, but the latter is the private 'pin-money' of the wife, and is not made known.

Though it is true that there are about nine publichouses or rather restaurants in Ober-Ammergau, yet these are in the best sense of the word 'public' houses. Here there is plenty of room for the good villagers to sit down and enjoy a quiet talk, or play a harmless game of cards, or dominoes; but no noise, or swearing, or intoxication. Yet, the men take a glass of beer with their meals, but it is of a light nature, and in nowise the stupefying rubbish swallowed in such large quantities by our English peasantry. Thus, the Ober-Ammergau *Gast-haus* (Guest-house), is a thing as far removed as possible from the British beer-house or gin-palace, and all their accompanying horrors.

If the countenance be the index of the soul, then assuredly the fine open, honest faces of these Bavarian youths bespeak clearly the irreproachable lives which they lead, and the Edelweiss flower, worn in the button-hole, or green felt hat, is indeed the 'white flower of a spotless life.' Let but the Angelus ring from the church-tower, and the gayest party of these young fellows will immediately uncover their heads, and silently repeat the well-known prayer. So, also, if the wayside cross is passed, it is always saluted; and if anyone is met, the first word is *Gruss Gott!*—God's greeting to you! What a contrast all this is to the behaviour of the well-dressed rowdies, that throng everywhere and push everywhere on an English bank-holiday?

As to their burial-rites, nothing can be more edifying than the rubrical manner in which they are carried out. Here, in this little village, the choir can sing a Requiem Mass, with full orchestral accompaniment (I heard them do so on two occasions in one week of last June), and at the grave, the people can chant the *Benedictus* and proper responses, a custom apparently unknown to the Catholics of the British Isles. They each bring their own wax candle,

which is burnt at Mass during the time prescribed ; and when all the funeral rites are over, each one passes by the holy-water vat, held near the open grave by an acolyte, and sprinkles the coffin lying therein.

The people of Ober-Ammergau not only keep with becoming reverence the chief festivals of the Church, but others which possess for them a great local interest. Thus, on a certain day in spring and autumn, the whole village makes a pious pilgrimage to the neighbouring monastery of Ettal, where there is venerated a well-known miraculous Madonna.¹ On Rosary Sunday, there is a procession of the Blessed Sacrament through the fields around the parish. Later on, in the same month of October, there occur, on two separate Sundays, the annual harvest thanksgiving, and the *Kirch-Weih*, or Dedication Festival. This latter, which is a temporal as well as a spiritual feast, akin to our English 'wakes,' is now kept by all the neighbouring parishes, whatever be their patron saint, on the same day, because, when one village used to visit another, so much pleasure-making led to much waste of time and loss of work.

Amidst the innocent merriment which reigns supreme during the three or four days of the festival, the dead are not forgotten, and on the Monday a solemn Requiem Mass is sung for those who have fallen in war. Those who have at any time served in the army, march to church with the village band, headed by the burgomaster and standard-bearer. The catafalque, in the middle of the chancel, is adorned with the national flag, guns, and swords, and is surrounded with candles and flowers. Every tenth year, however, at the end of October, there occurs a day of solemn thanksgiving to Almighty God for the Passion Play of the four previous months, on which occasion there is a special sermon and the *Te Deum*.

Considering the thorough way in which these good folks carry out everything they undertake, it can easily be gleaned

¹ There is a peculiar fitness in this pilgrimage to Ettal, since the old Bavarian chronicles tell us that when the pious King Louis, early in the fourteenth century, was bearing this sacred image, and looking for a suitable site for a monastery, it was a native of Ober-Ammergau, a huntsman, who guided him to Ettal.

from these remarks that their daily life is leavened by earnest faith and cheerful devotion. This decennial representation of the Passion Play is, without doubt, a great responsibility laid upon them, but, by their lives of simple goodness, they are ever trying to make themselves worthy to pourtray so awful a theme for the edification of the thousands who come from all parts of the globe in order to learn, in this secluded spot, a lesson that will last a lifetime.

The writer can add his own humble testimony to that of many others, during visits made in 1890 and 1900, to their courteous manner towards strangers. In Ober-Ammergau, there is none of that squalor or ragged poverty which shocks and pains the eye in so many streets of our large cities, nor are there any signs of that street-begging which is a source of continual irritation in the towns of southern Europe. As one strolls about in the pleasant entanglement of cottages and gardens of this ideal village, he will notice that the children, though at times barefooted, are scrupulously clean; and should a priest pass by, they will pause in their merry romp and place their right hand in his—their peculiar way of asking for a blessing.

In a few words, then, I have tried to explain the inexpressible charm which lingers around this happy village in the valley of the Ammer, and to show, also, that this is chiefly on account of the scenes enacted in its theatre, which recall holiest memories of Bethania, Olivet, and Jerusalem. It would, indeed, be a disaster if Ober-Ammergau became, in any sense of the word, a mere holiday resort, or if it ever acquired a publicity, which might in the smallest way spoil its pious inhabitants, or detract one whit from that ineffable charm which captivates the stranger at first sight.

II.—THE PASSION PLAY

In writing on this theme, which has been treated by the press, both Catholic and non-Catholic, with respect and even enthusiasm, we may lay it down at the outset, that it is almost impossible to exaggerate the power for good exercised by the Passion Play, on all who have been present at it, and, furthermore, the lasting impression left on the greater

number. Of course, the subject is one so broad in character, and so Catholic in the widest sense of the term, that it appeals, as no other can, to the vast and expectant audience, which embraces nearly all religious denominations, so widely divergent in feeling. And here it may be stated, that this famous drama does not only treat of the Passion Play itself but of the entire events of Holy Week, beginning with the triumphal entry into Jerusalem amidst the palm-bearing multitude. To this is suitably added, by way of a grand finale, the two short scenes of the Resurrection on Easter Day, and the Ascension.

The question naturally arises here: What is that something, so indescribable and mysterious, which makes the Ober-Ammergau Passion Play exercise such a charm and fascination, as no other tragedy in the great theatres of Europe can for a moment pretend to? From the thousands who have been present there comes the common answer, that the theme is so lofty, so full of pathos, and, as such, it is sufficient to touch the heart of the most heedless and even irreligious. But this is by no means enough, for it is quite possible that the holiest subject might be handled in good faith, and yet so clumsily, as to produce an effect neither pleasing nor religious.

Hence, by a wise law of our country, it is absolutely forbidden to produce, in a public theatre, any drama whose subject is taken from the Holy Bible. The old 'mystery-plays' of the Ages of Faith, though they taught theology in a rough and ready way, were never quite free from a certain coarseness, which tickled the humour of the unlettered crowd who witnessed them. Such a scene as the devil carrying Judas off the stage cannot be tolerated in this age of culture, though it taught a good moral lesson. It is the vocation of the village of Ober-Ammergau to present to the world a truthful example of the old 'mystery-play,' but purified and ennobled in such a way as none can imagine but those who have been fortunate enough to have been present at it. Dramatic art has always possessed a subtle attraction for the human race, even since the time when, in the early morning of European history, the first Greek tragedies were

crudely mounted and acted on a lorry in the streets of Athens. To drive the lesson home of each scene of the drama, and to prepare the audience for the one coming, was the special duty of the Greek chorus, and, as history continually repeats itself, this feature of the chorus constitutes one of the chief charms of the Bavarian Passion Play.

But there is something more than the mere theme of the Passion Play, sublime as that is, which has given it a world-wide popularity, and that is the perfect manner in which the play is set forth, and in which it is acted. For, as more than one writer has observed, that great gathering of men, women, and children, some seven hundred and fifty in all, each of whom discharges his *rôle*, however small, with earnestness and intelligence, are bound together by a religious vow, handed down to them from their ancestors in 1634. From that date, when a merciful God removed the plague from their midst on their promising to represent Christ's Passion every ten years, they have been discharging this holy duty with an *esprit de corps* that no other actors can lay claim to.

First of all, this marvellous drama is so carefully planned, that notwithstanding it lasts for eight hours, it never flags for a moment either in interest or variety. By this original plan there are exhibited, in addition to the scenes from the Gospel, sundry others which are taken from the Old Testament. These latter are represented as *tableaux*, or living groups, whilst at the same time the choir explain in harmonious music the connection between these types and the different parts of the Passion, which they foreshadow.

Secondly, the devout manner in which both singers and actors discharge their various and often wearisome duties convince everyone that they regard the entire affair as a special religious rite, and that the idea of a play, in the common sense of the word, is a thing furthest from their mind. The whole population considers the Passion Play as the great event of their village life, and there is hardly one who does not indulge in the hope of taking part in it.

How few of that crowd of visitors to Ober-Ammergau know of the preparations made for the play, and how, in

addition to every possible care being taken to make it a success, the patronage of heaven is invoked upon it.

Preparation.—After the village has spent some five or six years in discussing the previous representation, they begin to turn their minds to the next. As the auspicious tenth year gradually draws near, hearts beat high with expectation as to the approaching performance, for, apart from the few chief characters, it is esteemed a privilege to take the humblest part, even as one of the 'Jewish mob,' which will appear in many of the scenes. But certain formal business must be transacted before even the remote preparation for the play can be begun. In the case of the recent representation of 1900, the process was as follows:—The first meeting of those villagers, who have a right to vote in this matter, took place as early as March, 1898, and as it decided, as it always does (and probably always will do), that the Passion Play was to be given, the customary petition for the right to act it was duly sent up to the sovereign, the Prince-Regent of Bavaria. As, for some reason, the requisite permission was a long while coming, the special committee lost no time in assembling in November of the same year, 1898. By an ancient custom nineteen persons are entitled to sit in this council, viz., ten burghers, chosen by the village, to which others are joined, the whole presided over by him who is their 'guide, philosopher, and friend,' the parish priest. On the arrival of the royal permission, as late as January, 1899, which exacted every precaution for order, safety, health, and morality, and with a proviso that a third of the profits must be spent on purposes of public utility, the committee set to work in real earnest for the great work on hand. This entails no slight trouble, comprising, as it does, the preparation of the costumes, the music, the plans for lodging and feeding the vast influx of visitors, a supply of books, photographs, etc.

So far, all is merely preliminary; but now the eventful day dawns which has to decide who are to be the fortunate seven hundred actors, and what their parts are to be. After a special service in the village church of SS. Peter and Paul,

on December 21st, the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle, the committee meet in the *Rath-haus*, or town hall, to make the long looked-for selection of the performers. Human ambition sways the hearts of the good people of Ober-Ammergau as it does even those of their betters, and party feeling naturally runs high. Those who have borne a part already hope to retain it; those who have not done so are buoyed up with the thought that now their turn is come. Hence, the committee have clearly a serious work cut out for them that will tax their prudence, tact, and good nature. The choir and band are already in existence, but in the selection of the performers, of whom so few comparatively will be required to take an important rôle, the greatest care and fairness can never prevent some disappointments. It is but natural for a villager to aspire to the part of Christ or Mary, and to shun that of Judas or Barabbas, but all must accept the verdict of their own chosen committee as inevitable. The changes brought about by a ten years' interval may necessarily require an entire change of character. Thus, how few of those who have admired the spirited and highly realistic acting of John Zwink as Judas, in 1890 and 1900, would imagine that the same man, in 1871 and 1880, took the gentle and pathetic part of John, the 'Disciple of love.'

At last, however, all is settled. The principal, as well as the minor characters, are all allotted, not forgetting the 'Jewish mob,' of which two hundred and seventy-three children take part in this great national celebration. The stage-manager at Ober-Ammergau has no easy task to drill and prepare those seven hundred villagers, whose ages vary from seven to seventy years. At first they are told off into groups to read together their parts and commit them to memory, and afterwards, by frequent rehearsals, to 'suit the action to the word, the word to the action.' Besides being required to be of unimpeachable character, they all promise, and that, too, under certain penalties, to conscientiously prepare their parts, signing an agreement to that effect. For greater convenience in rehearsing the play, and in practising the choral pieces, the village has gone to great

expense in building a special house near the theatre for this purpose. This, along with the new theatre, a vast but simple structure of wood and iron, which shelters the audience of four thousand, has entailed a heavy expense of over £10,000. The outside walls of this huge edifice have been very effectively decorated with fresco-paintings from Bible history. Those on the side facing the river Ammer portray Abraham's sacrifice, Christ and the Samaritan woman, and the four Evangelists; whilst on the opposite side appear Moses before the burning bush, Moses crossing the Red Sea, the Flight into Egypt, and figures of Christ blessing, the Blessed Virgin, and SS. Peter and Paul. Beneath the gable facing the village, and visible to a great distance, is a finely-carved crucifix, whilst lower down, are wooden statues of Moses, Isaias, Jeremias, Caiphas, and Pilate.

We now come to the immediate preparation for the play. The evening previous to a performance cannon are fired at regular intervals from an adjacent hill, the booming of which echoes amidst the mountains around, and the village brass band marches to the theatre and back, playing some lively music. As early as four next morning the merry chime of the church bells, mingled with sound of cannon, usher in the eventful day. At six o'clock High Mass is sung, with full orchestra, in the presence of the Blessed Sacrament, at which the actors receive Holy Communion, and Benediction immediately follows. A warning gun, at a quarter to eight, bids the visitors hasten to the theatre; and as soon as another loud report is heard at eight o'clock, the solemn strains of a beautiful overture break forth from the unseen orchestra in front of the stage. Behind the curtain of the inner or central proscenium the entire body of performers are at this moment on their knees, reciting along with their pastor the Lord's Prayer. This over, the bright-robed choristers make their appearance before the expectant audience, and walking with stately tread from opposite sides of the stage, they stand in row, ready to begin their sacred song.

For the sake of brevity and clearness we will now

describe the Passion Play under four heads, viz., chorus, tableaux, music, and drama.

1. *Chorus*.—The singers, styled 'Guardian Angels,' comprising fourteen women and eleven men, wear an embroidered alb and girdle, over which is fastened a long flowing loose cloak of some brilliant hue. A gilt and jewelled crown completes this imposing costume. Their duty is to sing, between each act of the sacred drama, for about the space of fifteen minutes, and when the curtain, drawn from the centre stage, reveals the tableau, they divide, and retire to each side, but without any interruption of their music. Like the old Greek chorus, to which their functions are analogous, they explain the tableau or type from the Old Testament, and point out its special reference to the next portion of the Passion Play. Their share in the day's work is thus very important, as they have to appear on some nineteen occasions; and the chorus may fairly, we think, be allowed to divide the honour of the day with the actors themselves. The latter may be under cover or not, but the singers are always in the open air, and on many occasions have been drenched by the heavy showers. Yet, despite these serious drawbacks, brilliant choruses, mingled with solos the most artistic, are given in a faultless manner, supported by an orchestra of thirty youths whose playing is simply perfect. Another special charm is the varied gesture of the singers, as they pour forth, in touching strains, their sacred story. At one moment their hands are uplifted, at another extended or joined upon the breast; and amid this continual change of posture there is ever present the most perfect grace and dignity.

2. *Tableaux*.—During these choral interludes are shown the tableaux or living groups, each representing some well-known type from the Old Testament, which has a reference to a scene in the Passion. As a small bell is heard the curtain is withdrawn and the choir retire, half to either side; and whilst the tableau or immovable group remains in view they describe, with outstretched hands, the meaning of it and its application to the next scene of the play. As regards these types from the Old Testament, it must be clearly

understood that they are not chosen for the sake of variety, but from their intimate connection with particular portions of the Passion of Christ. Perhaps of the entire series the manna-scene is the finest, since it is the most brilliant in colour and statuesque in effect. Here, massed together, is a wonderful group of over three hundred figures—men and women, with children in their arms; boys and girls—all of whom form an immovable crowd, which extends gradually upwards to the very back of the inner stage. In the centre, conspicuous by the rays of glory from his forehead, stands Moses, the Lawgiver, and near to him Aaron, the High Priest; and during the four minutes that this beautiful living picture is exhibited a shower of glittering snow falls gently the whole time. After a short pause the curtain is again withdrawn, and the same tableau is given; but this time there appear in the foreground the two messengers from the 'Promised Land,' bearing between them a huge bunch of grapes. The chorus, meanwhile, in melodious refrain, sing of the manna from heaven and the wonderful grapes, as typical of the Eucharistic mystery of the New Law.

It may seem somewhat ungracious, and even presumptuous, to suggest any change or improvement in so far-famed a work as the Passion Play of Ober-Ammergau; but there is one very important type which we are surprised has never been introduced before the scene of the Last Supper, and that is the sacrifice of Melchisedech. Whilst, as above described, the manna and grapes from Chanaan are types of the Holy Eucharist, familiar to every Catholic child, yet, on closer consideration, they do not present the actual 'matter' for the 'clean oblation' of the New Law.¹ Now, such a tableau as that of Melchisedech, king and priest, offering up bread and wine in the presence of Abraham and his victorious army, is a yet more forcible type, because it also prefigures the royal priesthood of the New Law, and of Him who is the centre figure of the entire Passion Play, as foretold by David: 'Thou art a priest for ever according to

¹ Malachias i. 11.

the order of Melchisedech.'¹ It may, indeed, be urged that there are already two elaborate tableaux—the one of the manna the other of the grapes. If, however, these were arranged as *one*, there would be no loss thereby; and room would thus be made for this fresh subject of the royal priest of Salem, which would be simpler in design, and even more efficacious in its meaning.

Two very remarkable tableaux are those in which our first parents appear. During the choral prelude with which the day's performance opens, at eight o'clock, the first tableau is Adam and Eve fleeing in terror from the angel, who, with uplifted fiery sword, guards the gate of Paradise. It is fitting that, when Christ is about to begin His Passion at Gethsemane, Adam and Eve, whose fall was the cause of that Passion, should again appear as a type of toil and suffering. Adam is represented as at work, spade in hand, while his sons are tearing up thorns and briars at his side. Eve sits, with downcast face, upon a log of wood, embracing two little girls and holding a babe in her lap. There is a pathetic look of great desolation over the entire scene, which speaks too plainly of the primeval curse.

Of the remaining tableaux we single out one more, viz., that of the brazen serpent uplifted in the desert by Moses. This wonderful group, in which most of the actors take part, portrays three hundred suffering men, women, and children, each one of whom is attacked by a serpent, and is a wonderful example of a colour-picture. It precedes the chief scene, the Crucifixion; for this type Christ especially applied to Himself: 'As Moses lifted up the serpent in the desert, so must the Son of man be lifted up.'²

3. *Music*.—One feature of considerable importance for the success of the Passion Play is, undoubtedly, the music, which takes up so large a portion of the day's work. This, like the play itself, is of native growth, and was entirely composed by Roch Dedler, at the age of thirty-five, in the short time between Pentecost and Christmas of the year 1814. This remarkable man, when a boy, left Ober-

¹ Ps. cix. 4.

² John iii. 14.

Ammergau to be a chorister in the neighbouring abbey of Rottenbuch. He originally meant to become a priest, but finding he had no vocation he received, at the early age of twenty-three, the important positions of schoolmaster, parish clerk, choirmaster, and organist, in his native village, at the not very handsome salary of thirty-four pounds. Tradition says that Dedler was blithe and gay, yet a man of unaffected piety, who, after his daily duties of school were over, used to retire to church for prayer and never missed the public evening rosary, which is at this day a pious custom in the village. He left behind him many Masses, antiphons, and minor pieces, all of which are rich in melody and lovingly valued by the people of his native village.

Those who have attended the Passion Play will probably admit that the music for both choir and orchestra are thoroughly German in style and most devotional, some fine solos being occasionally mingled with the choral pieces. Thus, the Hosanna chorus, in the opening scene, is in bold and martial style, and is sung in unison by the large crowd as they advance slowly on to the stage, bearing palms of welcome. It is supported by a well-harmonized accompaniment for the orchestra, in which the cornets are utilized ingeniously to support the singers.

In strong contrast to this is the piece sung before the scene in which Christ is bearing His cross to Golgotha, which is a sad and plaintive chorale, worthy of Sebastian Bach.

Praise we now, and Christ we thank,
That He the cup of sorrow drank :
And as He the Cross-way trod,
Reconciled the world to God.

One other instance worthy of mention is that of the thrilling effect produced by a hidden chorus, sung without accompaniment, during portions of the scene of the Last Supper. This sweet melody fills up, on three occasions, what would otherwise prove to be a long pause in the

¹ Translation by Mr. F. Drew.

narrative. During the rather lengthy ceremony of the washing of the Apostles' feet, and again, during the administration of communion under both kinds, the effect of this distant chorus, rising and falling in tones hushed and subdued, is in the highest degree beautiful and devotional.

4. *Drama*.—As is well known, the Passion Play had its origin in the year 1633, when a plague was depopulating the little village. In their affliction the people made a vow to Almighty God that, if this sad scourge was removed from their midst, they would represent the Sacred Passion every ten years for the edification of Christendom. Tradition says that their prayer was instantly heard, and that thereupon, in the year following, they fulfilled their vow for the first time. For some years the performance would not be free from a certain crudeness, peculiar to the mediæval 'mystery-plays,' and it was reserved for the late venerable parish priest, Father Daisenberger, to give us the Passion Play, as it is in its present perfect state. With real dramatic genius, he recast the entire libretto of the play. During his thirty-five years of pastoral rule, in Ober-Ammergau, he threw his whole soul into the work, and devoted his labours to continually refining, improving, and perfecting both the drama and the actors. Thus it was, that the Passion Play became to the people of this secluded Bavarian village the highest form of education. From tenderest years, the thoughts of all were ever fixed upon it: and the noble example of their predecessors was a constant motive for emulation, in carrying out what was not a mere spectacle, but a holy duty and religious rite. To those who have been present at the play, it must have been evident that the deep religious feeling of the performers seems to become infused into the audience. Hence, every head is uncovered, and no applause of any kind is allowed. The silence and positive awe, which holds everyone captive, whatever be his religious belief, is only broken by the long-drawn sigh, or stifled sob, as the various scenes of the world's saddest story slowly run their course.

The Passion Play has been so frequently described of late, that it will suffice to point out one or two of the salient features most interesting to our readers. The opening scene of Palm Sunday is held to be one of the finest, on account of the striking effect produced by a large concourse of people, for which the spacious double stage of the theatre is admirably adapted. Here, slowly advancing from the back of the inner stage, and from each of the side streets of Jerusalem, we see some five hundred people of every age, singing their joyful Hosanna, waving palm-branches to and fro, and ever and anon glancing backwards. Soon there appears in the distance the dignified form of the chief character, riding slowly forward on an ass, which is led by John, and as the jubilant crowd press closer around, his hand is slowly raised from side to side in solemn benediction. Of that brightly-robed multitude, some bow down in lowly homage, or spread their outer cloak upon the ground, whilst others lift up their little ones, that they may see the Messias. But all is done with such quietness and certainty, that no one will deny the artistic power of these good villagers. In fact a certain assurance on the stage seems to have been born with them.

From this moment, until the conclusion of the play, the calm and reverent face of Anton Lang fascinates the entire audience. The attentive gaze of those four thousand strangers follow his form from scene to scene, as he appears at one time, with the white fool's garment cast around him; or again, in the red mantle of a mock king; or finally, as rising from the tomb in robes of dazzling white.

In the opinion of many, the most affecting scene in the Passion Play, though not drawn from Holy Writ, is the parting of Mary from Christ on the road to Bethania. This occurs in Act III., which contains four scenes, cast in or near Bethania, all of them being brief but full of beauty. When Christ, on His road to the house of Simon, meets Lazarus and his sisters, Mary and Martha, the former cries out, 'My Lord! Vanquisher of Death, and life-giving Lord! I see Thee once again and hear the voice that called me from

the grave !' On entering the house, Christ exclaims, 'Peace be to this house,' and the Apostles add in a lower tone, 'And to all who dwell therein.' Shortly afterwards, as Martha is ministering to the whole company as they sit at the table, Magdalene glides softly in, and kneeling before Christ, pours out her ointment on His feet and wipes them with her long golden tresses. After defending her against the complaints of the murmuring Judas Iscariot, He extends His hand in blessing over the kneeling penitent. Then, rising up from the table, and thanking Simon for his hospitality, Christ exclaims, 'Farewell, dear peaceful Bethania, never more shall I tarry in thy quiet vale!' At this moment Magdalene utters sad and fearful forebodings, but the Master soothes her with these touching words: 'Stand up, Magdalene, the night cometh, and the wintry storms bluster overhead. But be comforted, for in the early morning, in the garden of spring, thou shalt see Me again.'

The parting-scene occurs on the road to Bethania, of which village a charming view appears in the background of the stage. A figure in dark blue and brown, with a long white veil, followed by a group of women, advances from the left and meets Christ, who is surrounded by the Apostles. By the manner in which she eagerly clasps His hand, you instinctively feel that it is the mother meeting her son. The sad tone of her clear but tremulous voice thrills the entire audience, and when she raises her tearful eyes to heaven, and recalls the venerable Simeon's prophecy, 'That a sword should pierce her heart,' the feelings of many in the theatre get beyond control. Then asking her Son that she may die with Him, He replies, 'Dear mother, thou wilt suffer with Me: thou wilt fight with Me in the death-struggle, but thou wilt also rejoice with Me in My victory: therefore, be comforted.' She declares that she will go up to Jerusalem with Him; but no—this favour is denied to her; at least, for the present. Christ now tenderly embraces her, and thanks her for her tender care and love of Him for thirty-three years, but, 'The Father calls,' He cries, 'farewell, best of mothers!' To her piteous question, as to

where she shall see Him again, there comes slowly the sad reply : ' There, mother, where the Scripture shall be fulfilled, " He was led as a lamb to the slaughter ! " ' As Christ now moves slowly away, along with His Apostles, whose down-cast looks reveal the sad forebodings which fill their breasts, the ' Mother of Sorrows ' sinks into the arms of the holy women, who gaze in tears after the retreating form.¹ As the curtain falls upon this scene of inexpressible grief, many moments elapse before the pent-up feelings of the large audience can be brought under restraint, so intense is the passion of human sympathy which has been evoked.

Some critics have thought the play ought to end with Christ's death, but this would surely be a huge doctrinal mistake, as well as unfairness to the audience. After one's feelings have been at such a high tension for full eight hours, the scenes of the Resurrection and Ascension come as a pleasing relief. If the chief character has drawn all to him from the beginning of the Passion Play even till the Crucifixion, it is but fitting that the great closing tableau of the Ascension should give us comforting thoughts, wherewith to leave the theatre.

There is said to be nothing more sad in the life of an actor in the Passion Play than the final day of performance. When he has returned to the dressing-room for the last time, it is with feelings of real grief that he lays aside those beloved robes, whether they belong to a greater or minor character. He sometimes begs to be allowed to take some portion of it home with him to preserve as a souvenir of the one great event of his village-life. Then again, the actor often feels that when his cherished play comes again he will probably never take that part again ; and some of the older ones ask one another if they will be alive. The High Priest lays aside his golden tiara and jewelled ephod ; Pilate and Herod doff their crown and royal purple. Apostles

¹ Mr. Stead, Editor of the *Review of Reviews*, writes in his work on the Passion Play, ' Let persons gaze upon this sad leave-taking with dry eyes if they can : ' and he declares, ' that the most pathetic character in the play is not Christ, but His Mother. '—Page 11.

and Rabbis equally with Roman guards and Hebrew children, all must now return to the quiet routine of daily life and daily toil. The great outside world has come and gone, and it will not visit their peaceful village till another ten years have flown.

We cannot do better than conclude with those lines, which are inscribed on the organ of the village, given by certain English admirers in the year 1894 :—

May those who sing the praises of Christ
In the power of His Sacred Passion !
Be one with Him and the Father !

WILFRID DALLOW.

Notes and Queries

LITURGY

I.—THE FEAST OF THE DEDICATION OF THE CHURCHES OF IRELAND

REV. DEAR SIR,—Would you kindly give in the I. E. RECORD an interpretation of the Feast of the Dedication of all the Churches in Ireland (second Sunday of October).

Most likely in the decree for Ireland, 16th April, 1842 (*Corpo*, pars. i., n. 299), it must be explained, how and by whom this feast is to be celebrated. I should be very glad if I could get the tenour of that decree.

Here is my *dubium* :—

In three different religious communities, outside Dublin, the Feast of the Dedication is celebrated in three different ways : in one, of first class *with* octave ; in another, of second class *without* octave, and in the third, it is omitted altogether.

Well, who is right ?

One community claims the approval of its directory (*Ordo*) by the S. R. Cong., in which the Feast of the Dedication of the Churches is mentioned as of second class without octave ; the other community (which does not celebrate the feast at all) has stated in its *Ordo* that regulars dwelling outside the boundaries of the cathedral city, are not bound to keep this feast.—*In iis tantum conventibus qui intra limites civitatis Cathedralis degunt.*

I think there is a mistake in the interpretation of the indult granting the celebration of the dedication of the churches in a diocese or country on the same day, with the obligation of celebrating the dedication of the cathedral of a diocese, where there is no indult to keep that feast on the same day in the whole country. *Corpo* (pars. i., n. 299) speaks about the indult. But I do not perceive what is meant by the words *respectivo clero* and *ab illis etiam (respective) quorum, etc.*

I respectfully beg the I. E. RECORD to treat this question and bring on uniformity in the celebrating of the dedication.

I hope you will kindly give me an answer also to the other

enclosed questions, and excuse my ignorance. Anyhow, I think I found the right way of getting information.

‘REGULAR.’

I. According to the general law of the Church the anniversary of the dedication of every consecrated church should be celebrated as a double of the first class with an octave in that church itself, and by all the clergy attached to it, as well as by the laity, whose proper place of worship it is. This anniversary is either the anniversary of the day on which the solemn consecration of the church took place, or the anniversary of the day fixed during the ceremony of consecration by the consecrating prelate. Now, in order to observe this law, it would be necessary for the pastor of each consecrated church to make out, or to have made out for himself and the other clergy attached to the church, a calendar indicating the changes to be made in the general calendar by the introduction of a feast having the rite of a double of the first class with an octave. This, to the uninitiated, is somewhat difficult, and would, doubtless, be often overlooked. Again, the feast of the dedication of a church should, according to the common law, be a holy-day of obligation—in the parish of which the church in question is the parochial or *quasi* parochial church. This multiplication of local holy-days was not looked upon with favour in Ireland any more than elsewhere, and hence another motive for collecting the anniversaries of all consecrated churches into one celebration, and for assigning that celebration to a Sunday.

Finally, before heresy destroyed or stole our Irish churches very many consecrated churches existed in Ireland, the record of whose consecration, as well as of the date of the anniversary, has been lost. To preserve the connection with the past, and to remind us of the glorious inheritance which is ours, the commemoration of the dedication of these long-lost temples is also included in our Feast of the dedication of all the churches of Ireland. Now, if these be the motives which influenced the Holy See in granting one national feast to commemorate the dedication of all the churches in Ireland, it would follow that the anniversaries

of particular churches, whether already consecrated or to be consecrated in the future, should be disregarded, and that all should coalesce in this one annual feast.

It is evident, however, that the Irish bishops did not at first put this interpretation on the new feast; for some of them continued to celebrate as a special feast the anniversary of the dedication of their cathedral churches, at least. This practice elicited in the year 1842 a number of questions from Father Francis Joseph Nicholson, an Irish Carmelite, which were addressed by him to the Congregation of Rites. The third and fourth of these questions bear on the point now under discussion.

3. Utrum Regulares qui Sedis Apostolicæ indultum impetraverint dedicationem omnium Hiberniæ nec non suorum Ordinum Ecclesiarum celebrandi, possint et debeant dedicationem quoque Ecclesiæ Cathedralis illius qua degunt dioecesis, absque Sedis Apostolicæ speciali indulto celebrare, cum Clerus Sæcularis, ut jam dictum est dedicationem omnium Ecclesiarum Hiberniæ quotannis celebrat?

4. An teneantur vel possint, præterea, Cleri Sæcularis Sacerdotes, et alii propriæ suæ Ecclesiæ dedicationem celebrare sive Cathedralis illa sit, sive quavis alia?

Resp. ad 3 et 4.—Dilata et ad mentem. Mens est up per Sacram Congregationem de Propaganda Fide scribatur Archiepiscopis Dublinensi et Tuamensi, nec non Episcopo Galviensi per modum Instructionis, qua dicatur ad eandem Sacram Congregationem perlatum esse in eorum Dioecesibus præter festum Dedicationis omnium istius regni Ecclesiarum, quod habetur Dominica secunda Octobris, celebrari etiam diem anniversarium consecrationis propriæ Ecclesiæ Cathedralis, et quatenus ita se res habeat, *hujusmodi morem consonum non esse et Decretis Sacrorum Rituum Congregationis et ipsi rationi*, eo quod propriæ particularis Ecclesiæ Dedicationis Officium intelligitur comprehensum et celebratum in Festo consecrationis omnium Ecclesiarum; ac propterea eandem Sacram Congregationem vehementer optare ut prædictum Officium Dedicationis propriæ particularis Ecclesiæ ex Kalendariis proximi anni expungatur.¹

From this statement made by the Congregation of Rites, and which lacks neither strength nor clearness, it follows that in Ireland the anniversaries of the dedication of

¹ This decree of 1842 is not to be found in the new editions of the *Decreta Auth.*

particular churches should not be celebrated ; that to do so in fact ' would not be in accordance with the decrees of the Congregation of Rites, nor even with reason itself.' For, as the Congregation adds, the anniversary of the dedication of each particular church is supposed to be included in the general celebration. In France also there is a general feast of the dedication of all the churches in France. This feast was granted in the year 1802 when the number of feasts hitherto of obligation was being reduced, and according to the tenor of the indult granting this feast, it is quite evident that it was intended to replace the anniversaries of the dedication of particular churches, whether already consecrated or yet to be consecrated.

We have now sufficiently established the proposition, that in Ireland the feast of the dedication of all the churches excludes the celebration of the anniversary of the dedication of particular churches. It remains to be seen by whom this feast is to be celebrated, and under what rite.

In our opinion the answers to these two questions are obvious, if we bear in mind the object of the feast. Its object is to commemorate the anniversaries of all the consecrated churches of Ireland, past, present, and future. As such, then, it is a truly national feast, and appeals to the regular as much as to the secular, and binds both by an identical obligation to celebrate it, as it is celebrated by the secular clergy of Ireland, as a double of the first class with an octave. The regular clergy in Ireland cannot, any more than the secular, celebrate the anniversaries of their own particular churches. Therefore they are bound to celebrate the feast of the second Sunday of October under the same rite as they should, were they allowed, celebrate the anniversaries of their own consecrated churches.

II—VOTIVE MASS OF THE SACRED HEART ON THE FIRST FRIDAYS

Is there a special indult for Ireland, to celebrate the votive Mass of the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus, on the first Friday of each month, with *Gloria* and *Credo*, for all the Masses said in the same church, whenever there is no feast

duplex major and above? According to the decree given in 1889, I think only one Mass is privileged, even when the rubric permits a votive Mass. I ask this question, because several priests rely upon an indult giving the privilege for each Mass; but they cannot say in what year the indult has been granted.

II. There is no special indult in this matter for Ireland, or, as far as we know, for any other country. The general indult to which we have over and over again referred in these pages, grants, under certain well-defined conditions, extraordinary privileges to a votive Mass of the Sacred Heart, celebrated on the first Friday of the month. The conditions are, that the monthly devotions in honour of the Sacred Heart be carried out on the morning of the first Friday, and that the parish priest or rector of the church have the sanction of the bishop for having them carried out at this time. These conditions being fulfilled, the privileges which the Mass enjoys are:—(1) That it is said with *Gloria* and *Credo*, and with only one prayer, all commemorations being omitted. (2) That it may be said on all days that are not doubles of the first class, or feasts of our Lord, or that do not fall on the privileged *feria* or vigils, or within the privileged octaves. These privileges, however, are attached only to the one Mass celebrated in connection with the devotions to the Sacred Heart. Hence, the priests, to whom our correspondent refers, are acting quite wrongly in celebrating votive Masses of the Sacred Heart on first Fridays that are higher than semi-double rite, or in saying the *Gloria* and Creed in any votive Mass of the Sacred Heart on a first Friday, with the one exception of the votive Mass said in connection with the devotions in honour of the Sacred Heart on that morning.

III.—THE 'DE PROFUNDIS' AND THE PAPAL PRAYERS AFTER MASS

Was there ever any reference made on the recitation of the *De Profundis* after private Mass, *before* the three Hail Marys? Whenever our Provincial comes to Ireland, he says that we ought to recite the *De Profundis* *after* the three Hail Marys. Is

there an obligation, in Ireland, to say the three Hail Marys in English?

III. Whether or not there was any previous discussion on this question is not, we suppose, of much importance to our correspondent, provided he gets an answer to his question. The obligation of reciting the *De Profundis* after Mass in Ireland was a venerable obligation centuries before the present Holy Father imposed the obligation of saying the *Hail Marys* and the other prayers, and had become, as nearly as custom could make it, a part of the very liturgy of the Mass. Now the prayers prescribed by the Holy Father are entirely extra-liturgical, and are to be said *after* Mass. It was only fitting then that our quasi-liturgical *De Profundis* with its hallowed sanction descending from the penal days, should retain its place immediately after the last Gospel, and be followed by the prayers which the Holy Father wishes us to regard as 'prayers after Mass.'

The action of the Father Provincial is no affair of ours. But we may remark, first, that he is not bound, when he pays a flying visit to Ireland, to say the *De Profundis* after Mass. This obligation is a local one and binds only those who are domiciled in the country. Secondly, we would say, that, if he elects to recite the *De Profundis* after Mass he would be acting more in harmony with the spirit of uniformity which the Church is so desirous of introducing into her liturgy, did he recite it in conjunction with the papal prayers in the same order in which the Irish bishops and priests recite it. But perhaps that is too much to expect from a foreigner.

There is an obligation in Ireland as elsewhere of saying the prayers after Mass in a language which the congregation understands, or, at least, in which they can respond.

D. O'LOAN.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE HEROIC ACT

REV. DEAR SIR,—I always thought the *Heroic Act* was so called because by it a man surrendered satisfactions which it was certain, or probable, or possible, he himself would need to escape the pains of Purgatory. Dean Kinane, in his new book on Purgatory, assures him an entrance into heaven all the more speedy for having made the act. Does not this take all the *heroism* out of it and reduce it to the condition of an ordinary act of charity? I cannot see anything heroic in an act that is certain to increase one's *merit* and *reward*, and at the same time to *shorten* his purgatory instead of *prolonging* it. If the Dean confined one to a mere *hope* of thus shortening his purgatory, there might be still room for heroism; but he gives him a *positive assurance* to that effect. What say you, reverend Editor?

A WOULD-BE HERO.

[The question is interesting, and the Editor is not unwilling to have it discussed.]

DOCUMENTS

SOLUTION OF SEVERAL LITURGICAL DIFFICULTIES

TIRASONEN

PLURA SOLVUNTUR DUBIA

Hodiernus Magister caeremoniarum Cathedralis Ecclesiae Tirasonensis nonnullos in eadem Ecclesia animadvertens inductos mores, Rubricis et S. R. C. Decretis minus conformes atque etiam contrarios, cupiensque scire quinam ex iis permitti possint, quinam sint eliminandi, insequentia dubia, annuente Rmo. D. Episcopo dioecesano eidem S. R. C. resolvenda humiliter proposuit, nimirum :

I. In omnibus Missis solemnibus Corporale non explicatur a Diacono tempore praescripto in Ritu servando in celebratione Missae (Tit. VI. 7), sed a sacrista antequam Missa inchoetur : an haec praxis possit sustineri ?

II. An possit servari consuetudo celebrandi Missas solennes Feriarum Quadragesimae, Quatuor, Temporum, Vigiliarum, quarundam de *Requiem* aliarumque peā annum sine ceroferariis, sine thurificatione, duobusque tantum cereis accensis in altari.

III. Estne tolerandum quod Subdiaconus in praedictis Missis maneat cum Celebrante, et non incedat cum Diacono eique assistat in pulpito ubi est canendum Evangelium ?

IV. Ex praesumpto privilegio Canonicus celebrans, lecto Graduali ceu Tractu, vadit ad scamnum ubi sedens et coopertus imponit incensum, dat benedictionem Diacono evangelium cantaturo, ibique manet quin legat evangelium usque dum Diaconus incipit cantum ipsius. Haec omnia possuntne retineri ?

V. Poteritne continuari praxis immemorabilis Cathedralis Ecclesiae Tirasonensis cuius titularis est B. V. Maria, nominandi ad litteram N. Orationis *A cunctis*, S. Attilanum patronum civitatis et SS. Prudentium et Gaudiosum patronos aequae principales Dioecesis ?

VI. An sufficiat ut in quibusdam Missis de *Requiem*, anniversariis late sumptis quae in hac Cathedrali cum Diacono et Subdiacono cantantur, Sequentia *Dies irae* legatur tantum a Celebrante, aut debeat cantari a Choro ?

VII. Utrum, attenta consuetudine, in Vesperis et Laudibus persolvendis Celebrans possit manere in habitu choralis usque ad Capitulum et tunc tantum assumere pluviale?

VIII. Estne permittendum quod dum quibusdam diebus canitur vespere Officium defunctorum in Choro, sedeat in scamno presbyterii Celebrans paratus Alba et Pluviali inter Diaconum et Subdiaconum sacris *indumentis*, uti ad Missam, etiam paratos?

IX. Cum organum alternatim pulsatur tam in officio divino quam in Missa non est cantor qui, ut statuit *Caerem. Episcoporum*, lib. I. cap. XXVIII., intelligibili voce pronuntiet quod per Organum figuratur cantari; sed unusquisque de Choro in Officio Divino, non vero in Missa, submissa voce dicit quae ad sonitum, Organi omittuntur. Quid in posterum agendum?

Et S. R. Congregatio, ad relationem subscripti Secretarii, exquisita sententia Commissionis liturgicae, omnibusque rite perensis, rescribendum censuit:

Ad I. Serventur Rubricae et Decreta.

Ad II. In Missis solemnibus cum Ministris paratis, *Negative*.

Ad III. Servetur *Caeremoniale Episcoporum*, lib. II. cap. VIII.
n. 45.

Ad IV. *Negative* et serventur Rubricae Missalis.

Ad V. *Affirmative* ex gratia in casu.

Ad VI. *Negative* ad primam partem, *Affirmative* ad secundam.

Ad VII. *Negative* et servetur *Caeremoniale Episcoporum*.

Ad VIII. *Negative*.

Ad IX. Stetur *Caeremoniali Episcoporum*.

Atque ita rescripsit, die 2 Maii 1900.

CAI. CARD. ALOISI-MASELLA *Pro-Datarius*,
S. R. C. *Pro-Praefectus*.

L. ♣ S.

D. PANICI, *Secret.*

DECREE PROHIBITING THE CLERGY FROM TAKING PART IN CIVIL WAR OR THE STRIFE OF POLITICAL FACTIONS

DECRETUM CONTRA CLERICOS INTESTINIS BELLIS ET POLITICIS FACTIONIBUS SESE CONTRA CANONICAS LEGES IMMISCENTES

In perturbationibus et intestinis bellis, quibus aliquoties civiles status exagitantur, ultimo hisce annis interdum accidit, ut ecclesiastici viri, partium studio abrepti, uni vel alteri politicae

factioni ultro se mancipient, et pro ea contra canonicas leges plura agere et moliri non vererentur, fidentes absolutionem in posterum se facile consequuturos.

Tam gravi malo occurrere cupiens SS^{mus}. Dominus Noster Leo PP. XIII., inhaerendo dispositionibus SS. Concilii Tridentini *sess. XIV. in prooem. et cap. IV.*, nec non *sess. XXII. cap. I. de reform.*, et prae oculis habita doctrina Benedicti XIV. in *Instit.* 101, per praesentes S. C. Concilii litteras statuit atque decernit, ut in posterum quisquis ex clero, ut intestinis bellis et politicis contentionibus opem utcumque ferat, proprium residentiae locum absque iusta causa, quae a legitima ecclesiastica auctoritate recognita sit, deseruerit, vel clericales vestes exuerit, quamvis arma non sumpserit, et humanum sanguinem minime fuderit; et eo magis qui in civili bello sponte sua nomen militiae dederit, aut bellicas actiones quomodocumque dirigere praesumpserit, etsi ecclesiasticum habitum retinere pergat; ab ordinum et graduum exercitio, et a quolibet ecclesiastico officio et beneficio suspensus illico et ipso facto maneat; et inhabilis praeterea fiat ad quaelibet officia aut beneficia ecclesiastica in posterum assequenda, donec ab Apostolica Sede restitutus non fuerit, sublata ad hunc effectum respectivis Dioecesium Ordinariis qualibet dispensandi potestate, etiamsi amplissimis, sive solitis (ut vocant), sive extraordinariis facultatibus rehabilitandi clericos gaudeant: contrariis quibuscumque minime obstantibus.

Datum Romae ex S. C. Concilii die 12 Iulii 1900.

A. Card. DI PIETRO, *Praefectus*.

✠ B. Archiepiscopus NAZIANZENUS, *Secretarius*.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

OLIVER CROMWELL. By the Right Hon. John Morley, M.P., D.C.L., LL.D. London: Macmillan & Co., Limited. 1900. Price 10s. net.

MR. MORLEY's book is not a history of Cromwell; it is rather an essay or appreciative study; it takes in the whole career of the *Protector*, and touches on almost every feature of it that could interest a statesman or politician. Some of Mr. Morley's reviewers have ventured on the rather absurd prediction that the time is drawing nigh when a study of this kind will no longer have any interest for the public. What they shall demand in future is facts; and from facts, narrated with scientific precision, they shall be as well able to draw their conclusions as Mr. Morley or anybody else. In other words, we must return to the days of the chroniclers, and a modern Notker or Muratori will put the Freemans, the Gardiners, the Lingards, the Gasquets, and all their sort, out of the field. Well, if some of the reviewers would proceed to write a chronicle, it might keep them from saying absurd things; and, as no one would be bound to place implicit confidence in their facts, there is no doubt they would have an occupation suitable to their talents. If we might be permitted in our turn to venture on a prediction, we should hazard the prophecy that the time shall never come when the frog shall reach the dimensions of the ox, or when the light of a farthing candle shall give as much satisfaction as the light of the sun.

The time will surely never come when a man of Mr. Morley's intellectual gifts, of his wide reading and receptive nature, of his experience as a statesman, of his power of sifting and comparing facts and of judging them in the light of philosophic principles, which may not be always sound but are always deeply rooted and honestly held, will not exercise over his fellow-men an influence commensurate with his powers. This is particularly true when the results of his investigations are transfused into a prose that is almost unique in its purity and distinction.

Mr. Morley had no idea of entering into competition with Gardiner or Firth. Neither does he challenge Carlyle either in rhapsody or sarcasm. Nothing could be more unlike the sour

Scotchman, the ex-dominie of Birkdale, as Lowell called him, who wanted to flog the world, as he once flogged boys beyond the Tweed. There is here none of Carlyle's deep disdain of human nature, none of his assumption of superiority over the world, or pretension to the possession of the prophetic flame. It is a calm survey of facts, a dignified yet brilliant discussion of events, a measured and impressive judgment, delivered with becoming gravity, yet lighted up now and again by some fine flashes of genius, on the merits of a great but wicked career.

The name of Cromwell is not loved in Ireland; indeed, it is doubtful if there is any name more hated in our midst. No worse misfortune could be wished to anyone that moves about on Irish soil than that the 'curse of Cromwell' might fall upon him. Some years ago, when there was question of erecting a statue to Cromwell within the precincts of the Houses of Parliament, Mr. Morley was surprised at the determined opposition given to the project by the representatives of Ireland, and could not understand how fires more than two centuries old could still burn with such ardour. He has probably realized since then that methods have been employed in England and Scotland to extinguish the furnace that have never got a chance in Ireland. At all events, in those parts of his work which deal with the massacres of Drogheda and Wexford, he presents the odious picture without endeavouring to excuse or palliate the crime of its author.

It is not, however, the Irish part of the work alone that will interest our readers. The chapters on the Civil War, the Breaking up of the Parliament, the Reign of the Puritans, are well worthy of attention, and give an unusually vivid insight into the tortuous career of the Lord Protector.

J. F. H.

OPUSCULUM DE RETICENTIA VOLUNTARIA PECCATORUM
IN CONFESSIONE, quod Conscripsit Ed. Brahm Mission-
arius C.S.S.R. Bruxelles: Oscar Schepens et Cie.

'VERBA aliorum excribit . . . speciales interpretationes non proponit . . . ne doctrinam Catholicam infermet.' These words of the learned Gaume in speaking of St. Alphonsus, Fr. Brahm with justice makes his own. In *De Reticentia Voluntaria*

Peccatorum he gives the teaching of saints and distinguished confessors, and leaves it to his reader to draw his own conclusions.

There are three chapters: i. *De Existentia Sacreliigarum Confessionum*; ii. *Causae Mali*; iii. *Quomodo malo occurendum sit*. In the first the author gives us the experience of St. Philip Neri, St. Vincent de Paul, St. Leonard of Port Maurice, St. Alphonsus and St. John di Rossi, all devoted to hearing confessions. To these he adds celebrated missionaries and theologians who had been engaged in the sacred ministry. He gives revelations of saints differing one from another, as St. Benedict Joseph Labre and St. Teresa, not indeed as proofs, but as something not to be set aside too lightly. St. John di Rossi did not hesitate to say of this subject: 'Hoc debet esse sal quo condiatur quaelibet concio nostra' (p. 15).

In the second chapter we have the causes of this evil, eight in number, and in the third the remedies. We venture to single out section 4 as well worthy of consideration. It treats of the liberty which the penitent should enjoy. We have the teaching of St. Thomas and St. Alphonsus, statutes of several dioceses, the prescriptions of Benedict XIV. with regard to nuns and those in *conservatoriis*, together with the later legislation of our Holy Father Leo XIII.

The matter is well arranged, and the treatment seems very complete. The work will lead confessors to pray: 'Sit in me lenitas non remissa, asperitas non severa . . . Fac me ad allicendos peccatores suavem, ad interrogandos prudentem, ad instruendos peritum' (p. 103).

J. M.

LIFE OF OUR LORD. Written for Little Ones. Mother Mary Salome, York. London: Burns and Oates, Ltd. 1900.

THE object of this work is to give a simple, touching story of our Lord's life, such as could be understood by children. A little child asks for a story, and the good nun endeavours to relate a true story—the story of a King and of a Hero such as children never heard of before. The authoress has evidently grasped the fact that simplicity and concreteness in language and illustration are essentials in the treatment of any subject for children. There is no one who has had any experience in the matter who is not

alive to the fact that the clear setting forth of the idea to be inculcated, the couching of it in the plainest language, the use, where admissible, of concrete images and illustrations calculated to appeal forcibly to children, are of the utmost importance. This is all very easy in theory ; in practice it is a matter of difficulty. Looking at the work before us from this standpoint, we say, unhesitatingly, the authoress has not been unsuccessful. The illustrations throughout, as a rule, are simple and striking. Perhaps, here and there, one might say, the book errs from excess in this matter rather than by defect. It is a question whether the following illustration of the great truth, the Incarnation, of the emptying it implies, how our Divine Lord stooped to our littleness 'when He came down from His throne in heaven, down even to our level, and took up our nature,' is not a little familiar :—

'Look at that little child, standing on tip-toe, trying to reach its father's face. Look at it stretching its baby arms as far as ever they can go. Poor little thing, how helpless it is ! Father is far off, and it cannot reach him alone. But, see, he bends down to it ; lower and lower he bends, till his face is on a level with the child's. Now, it can touch him, now it is happy. The fat hands are laid on his cheeks, the rosy lips kiss his with great love, and the father takes it up in his arms, and off they go together.'

Whatever may be said of this particular illustration, there can be no doubt that it is a concrete representation of abstract truths in some such way as this that children understand ; and for the recognition of this throughout the book we have nothing but praise.

Of course, from the nature of the case, the book makes no pretence to profound learning. It does not belong to the same category as Fouard, or Didon, or Father Coleridge's *Life of our Life*. Still it is a step in advance, from the point of view of learning, from Rosa Mulholland's *Prince and Saviour*. I am told that diocesan catechists feel the lack of some simple presentation of the facts of our Lord's life to put on their programme for the more advanced classes in the National Schools, and I think this book, although better if somewhat briefer, would be suitable.

J. M.

"*Omnes Christiani filii et Romani sumus.*" "As you are children of Christ, so be you children of Rome."
Ex Dictis S. Patrick, An Libero Armachani, fol. 9.

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FEBRUARY, 1901.

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Ex Statutis Synodi Maynutianas (p. 113).

"Habeant quoque librum Status Animarum in quo consignentur nomina, cognomina, aetas, conditio incolarum parociae et caetera quae notantur in Rituali Romano."

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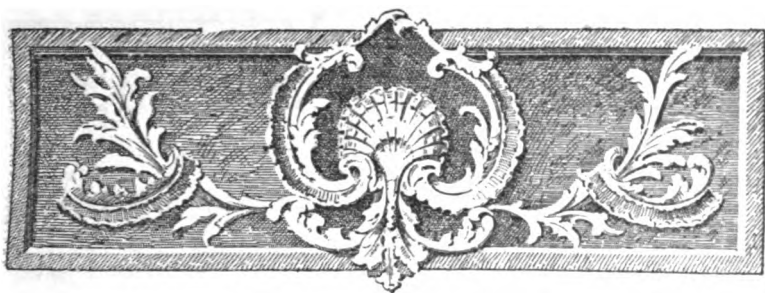
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A POLEMIC CHAMPION SOMEWHAT OUT OF DATE

IN the dining-hall of Trinity College, Dublin, on the twelfth of last November, there was held the seventieth session of the College Theological Society. The auditor read an address on the 'Church of Ireland and the Celt,' and some speeches were delivered by divines in connection with it, amongst which the speech of Dr. Traill, S.F.T.C.D., claims our special attention. A doughty Protestant controversialist of the old school, furbishing up weapons laid aside as useless by most of his compeers, and adopting an offensive tone towards Catholics and Catholicism (a mode of procedure expressly deprecated by the other speakers), was the picture presented by the doctor on that evening. As an incidental illustration of his offensive tone we may instance his use of the word 'Romish,' which is universally accepted as a word of contempt, and has fallen entirely into disuse, except amongst Protestants of a virulent type. Catholics who may have read the speech the following morning in the newspapers must have been also deeply pained and shocked by the flippancy of some of the doctor's remarks with regard to certain practices of devotion very near to their hearts. If the speech had been published only in some ecclesiastical paper, or if a mere short summary of it had been given in the daily papers, it might have been allowed to pass unnoticed; but, published as it has been in full in two daily metropolitan

papers,¹ filling up in each three closely-printed columns, it is nothing less than a gage thrown down before the Irish Catholic public by a polemic champion, and as such deserves an answer.

The whole burden of the doctor's discourse is to prove the validity of the title, 'Church of Ireland,' as used by the Protestant community. He finds that title without a flaw, because of the historical continuity of that Church and its 'orders' from the time of St. Patrick to the present day. He fixes his eyes on the two Churches, Catholic and Protestant, and sees the latter with an unbroken hierarchical succession for nearly fourteen hundred years—a strongly-built wall, without a break in any part, well-cemented, with every stone in its place. The former Church he discovers to be a modern structure imported from abroad, not quite three hundred years old, dating from the beginning of the seventeenth century, and with no connection with an earlier period except some chaotic attempts at establishment during the preceding century. To a Catholic having only a superficial knowledge of the history of Ireland, this theory carries its own refutation along with it, and brings an amused smile to his lips; and it is puzzling to understand how anyone can stand up before an educated and intelligent audience and propound it in detail. The solution of the puzzle will be found in the calibre of the doctor's mind, as revealed in his arguments, which show a deplorable absence of logical sequence in his ideas, and betray a want of critical acquaintance with the principal facts on which he bases his extraordinary theory.

He informs us that he made up the subject in 1868. Now, it is hardly possible, that when engaged in the laudable undertaking, he did not come across Dr. W. Maziere Brady's *Irish Reformation*, the most authoritative work ever written on the continuity theory. It was a book that made no little stir in its day in clerical circles, especially as

¹ The *Irish Times* and the *Daily Express* of November 13. The report of the meeting takes up nearly a full page in each paper. A reply was sent by the writer to these papers, containing the gist of this article, but was not inserted in either.

the very writing of the book so convinced the author, then an Irish Protestant clergyman, of the untenableness of this theory, that he shortly afterwards joined the Catholic Church. Assuming, accordingly, that he has read that book which embodies the results of careful and accurate research on the subject, he will find it difficult to rebut the charge of absolute dishonesty, as regards some of the reckless assertions he let fall during the course of his remarks.

It is unnecessary to follow Dr. Traill over the wide field of Irish history from every part of which he has drawn his materials, as to refute him on every point would require a volume. If we convict him of gross ignorance and dishonesty in that part of his discourse which relates to the episcopal succession to the See of Armagh during the period of the Reformation, the conclusion is plain as regards the rest. As leading up to this, we here present a specimen of the eccentricity of his reasoning faculty. He uses the curious argument that, 'the continuity of our [*i.e.*, the Protestant] Church was secured by the fact that he [Henry VIII.] remained a Roman Catholic,' and he tells us to 'look at King Henry's appointments,' triumphantly bringing forward the fact that he appointed Dr. Browne to the see of Dublin in 1534. That Henry remained a Roman Catholic after his breach with the Pope is open to question at least, but whether he remained a Catholic or became a Protestant, he had no more right than the Duke of Norfolk or the Earl of Warwick to appoint a bishop to the see of Dublin. The right of appointing is indeed the crucial question which Dr. Traill does not even touch upon. The seeds of Erastianism are sown so deeply in his mind, in spite of the favourable attitude he outwardly presents towards synods and episcopal elections, that he assumes as a cardinal principle, as an axiom that needs no proof, the right of Henry to make episcopal appointments in Ireland. Whenever the king appoints a bishop, even if the latter is execrated by the clergy and people and his ministrations rejected, as was the case with Henry's Irish nominees, that man becomes the true bishop of the see. But can even the most Erastian-minded find

a valid title to Browne's appointment? By what right did Henry appoint this man to Dublin in 1534? As 'Head of the Church in Ireland'?—but, laying aside all consideration of the questionable means employed, he did not get or assume this title till 1536. As 'King of Ireland'?—but he did not acquire that title till 1541. As king *de facto*?—but at this period his power extended over a very small portion of the country and it was not for some years later that Lord Leonard Grey was able, by his military achievements, to make the King of England *de facto* the King of Ireland. As 'Lord of Ireland'?—but, according to Dr. Traill's own showing, he held this title under the Pope, and it never carried with it the right of appointing bishops. The fact is that Henry never allowed rights human or divine to stand in the way of his royal will; the circle of his appointments in Ireland was measured by the power of the sword. There is abundant evidence in Browne's letters to prove that his preaching was in vain, and that his position was not cordially recognised by the clergy and people of Dublin, and the way in which both he and his royal master were abhorred receives an apt illustration on Henry's death, when Browne complains of the commotion raised because, as he expresses it, 'I had presumed to pray for my poor ould master's sole.' It was well for him that that royal master did not discover there was a Mrs. Browne in existence as well as some little Brownes, a circumstance that afterwards brought about his expulsion from the country in Mary's time.

The way is now clear for the consideration of the see of Armagh. Dr. Traill informs us, that after Primate Cromer's death, Henry appointed George Dowdall to the see. From scattered sentences in the speech, we make a fair presentment of the doctor's case for continuity thus:—King Henry a Roman Catholic appoints Dowdall, also a Roman Catholic, to Armagh—Dowdall, the real archbishop by this appointment, is rejected by the Pope—therefore there is no breach in the continuity of the 'Church of Ireland' and the Protestant bishops of the present day are the real successors of the pre-Reformation bishops. The mode of reasoning is

absurdly weak and inconsequential, nevertheless we assure the doctor that we have made up the chain of his argument as well as we could; it is for him now to supply the missing links, for they are nowhere to be found in his discourse. According to his unproven axiom, any man appointed by the king was the real archbishop, while the man appointed by the Pope was only a 'titular' archbishop, and 'here,' he says, 'the great breach in the continuity of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland occurred.' If the great breach of which he speaks were made by Papal appointments, we shall have to seek for it a couple of centuries earlier. Is Dr. Traill aware that every Archbishop of Armagh, to speak of that see alone, had been expressly appointed by the Pope since the beginning of the fourteenth century? How will he extricate himself from the difficulty, naturally arising from his titular theory, which logically leads to the conclusion that for the two centuries preceding the Reformation there were no real archbishops in Armagh, but only titular ones appointed by the Pope? 'The real situation at the period of the Reformation was that the Pope's action in appointing bishops and archbishops had the precedent of centuries in support of it, in Ireland as in other countries, while King Henry's despotic mode of procedure was altogether novel and unprecedented.

Having made our acquaintance with the doctor's logic, with his inimitable power of drawing conclusions from nothing, let us now examine some of his historical 'facts,' relative to the succession in the see of Armagh. In the first place, he gives Dowdall's appointment by Henry VIII. the priority to Archbishop Wauchope's appointment by the Pope, thus exhibiting the latter in the light of a rival to the former. The fact is that Wauchope had been appointed by the Pope spiritual and temporal administrator of the see, four years before Cromer's death, owing to the latter having been suspected of heresy. He had the right of succession, no other appointment being made afterwards, and came into possession of the see *ipso facto* on Cromer's death. So that there was no vacancy even for an hour between Cromer and Wauchope. Dowdall then and not

Wauchope was the rival archbishop. Next, the doctor confidently asserts that all the suffragan bishops of the Province of Armagh rejected¹ Wauchope and accepted Dowdall, an absolutely unwarranted statement, and we defy him to bring a single fact in proof of it. Here again is another reckless assertion:—'None of the prelates of the Church of Ireland were deprived of their sees by the Reformation statutes, and so the continuity of our "orders" has been preserved.' Was not Wauchope of Armagh deprived when Dowdall was appointed and he himself driven out of the country? Was not Leverous of Kildare deprived, in January, 1559-60, for refusing to take the oath of supremacy? (Cotton.) And other instances could be cited if necessary.² But other bishops, whom it was not convenient or politic at the time to deprive, were allowed to remain in their sees, in full communion with Rome, and both teaching the doctrine and practising the rites of the Catholic Church. Their successors were Catholics not Protestants, for they neither consecrated men to form part of the new Protestant establishment nor gave 'orders' to men to enable them to preach the doctrines of the Reformation. When many years afterwards, their sees were occupied by Protestant intruders, the latter could by no manner of means be regarded as their successors, for they held no communion with them, and therefore in the case even of those Catholic bishops who were not deprived of their sees, the argument of continuity by reception of 'orders' is founded on a myth.

It does not come within the convenient scope of Dr. Traill's historical survey to mention that Dowdall, after Wauchope's death, became a Pope's archbishop, or, as the doctor would express it, a 'titular' archbishop, receiving

¹This is taken from King's *Primer of Church History of Ireland*, which says, page 1227, that 'he was entirely rejected by the Irish Romanists.' It is curious to find on the same page that Wauchope was engaged in friendly and intimate intercourse with the Irish chieftains, O'Neill, O'Doherty and others.

²Another inaccuracy he falls into in this place is his statement that Dowdall was banished. It is quite clear that he left Ireland voluntarily, for he wrote to the Privy Council on his departure that he 'wolde never be bushope where tholie Masse was abolished.'—*Cal. Doc. Ireland (1509-1573)*, p. 115.

a gentle reminder in the Bull of appointment that at one time he had acted as a schismatic in the very see of which he was now receiving the pastoral charge and care from the Pope. It must be puzzling, even to Dr. Traill, to fit the continuity theory in with this peculiar situation. Here is Dowdall receiving his Bull of appointment from the Pope in 1553, and implicitly acknowledging that his former appointment by King Henry, ten years earlier, had been null and void.

Let us now come to the claims of Adam Loftus, whom the doctor calls the successor of Dowdall in the see of Armagh. He insists on the fact that he was consecrated by Curwen, Archbishop of Dublin, who at one time 'held the peculiar doctrines of the Romish Church, and afterwards adopted the principles of the Reformation, remaining continuously Archbishop of Dublin.' Therefore, according to the theory we are discussing, the 'orders' were transmitted from a Catholic bishop of the old *régime* to Loftus, one of the bishops of the Reformation. But a very important circumstance is omitted by the doctor—a circumstance that changes the very nature of the fact thus triumphantly paraded, and disposes of the consecration of Loftus as a worthless sham in the eyes of all Christendom outside the Anglican Church. Loftus received no 'orders' at all from Curwen, as he was consecrated according to the new ordinal of Edward VI., the first time it was ever used in Ireland. 'In this case also,' adds the doctor, 'a titular primate, Creagh, was appointed by the Pope as a rival to Loftus, A.D. 1565.' Loftus was appointed in 1563, yet here, as in the case of Wauchope and Dowdall, priority of time, which counts for something in the argument, was with the Papal and not the Crown appointment. We will charitably attribute it to ignorance, rather than to his usual ingenuity in twisting historical facts to suit his purpose, that the doctor takes no notice of Primate Donough O'Tighe (or MacTeige), the immediate successor of Dowdall, who was appointed primate by Pius IV. in 1560, and about whom there is an account in Brady's *Irish Reformation* and his *Episcopal Succession*. Dowdall died in 1558; O'Tighe succeeded in

1560, and died in 1562; and he was succeeded by Creagh in 1564 (not 1565). So that whereas the intervals between Dowdall and O'Tighe, and between O'Tighe and Creagh, were respectively of only two years' duration, five years elapsed between the death of Dowdall and the consecration of Loftus. Yet the doctor has the courage to add that 'all this time there was no second duly-organized Church in this country,' meaning the Catholic.

Dr. Traill's ignorance about O'Tighe, as well as some other lamentable slips we are about to take notice of, show that his reading of Irish ecclesiastical history has not been up to date. Since he first made up his subject, in 1868, he has been content to remain ever since on the same intellectual plane. Quite oblivious of the labours in the meantime of Cardinal Moran, Brady, and other historians, which have softened and subdued, even when they have not convinced, many belonging to his communion, he has not advanced a step beyond Robert King's virulent and bigoted *Primer of Church History of Ireland*, which he has made his guiding-star. The majority of the uncritical and undiscerning public who read his speech in the newspapers may regard him as an oracle of historic lore; but to the intelligent and learned audience who had the doubtful pleasure of listening to him, he must have appeared a veritable Rip Van Winkle, opening his eyes (and, alas! his mouth, too), after a sound slumber of thirty years. They must have found it hard to keep their countenances, as, with all the gaiety and self-confidence of an amateur, he launched forth, plunging wildly about in a sea of historical inaccuracies. The great hit of the evening was the following argument which must have 'brought down the house.' Not long after his complaint that the 'Church of Rome tampers with history for her own purposes' came his triumphant exhibition of a brand-new forgery (carefully swathed in quotation marks in the printed speech), brazened by him on to the forged Bull of Adrian IV. As the passage is not in the original Latin of the Bull nor in any known translation, it must have been in his fertile imagination that he discovered the bargain made by the Pope with Henry 'to bring the Irish within the pale

of the Catholic Church.'¹ 'This,' added the doctor, raising himself to his full height, 'in itself is satisfactory evidence that the Church of Ireland had been previously independent of the Church of Rome.'

To return to Armagh, he has evidently taken his cue from King's book when he speaks of an interregnum of fifteen years between Edmund MacGauran and Peter Lombard, two Catholic archbishops of Armagh; whereas in reality the interval was of only eight years, MacGauran having been killed in 1593 and Lombard succeeding in 1601.² To the influence of King's book may also be clearly traced his unfair and misapplied quotation from Lombard, whom he makes to describe the Irish clergy who had come to Rome for mitres as a 'disgrace to their country.' It is quite plain that Lombard's description applies to a very exceptional number, and he takes care to add that such might be found in any country—*paucorum quorundam vitia quales in omni gente facile est ut inveniantur*. Brady's *Irish Reformation* gives the original Latin side by side with an English translation, but it is clear that Dr. Traill prefers to take the quotation second-hand. That quotation, and the one from Stanihurst,³ over both of which he seemed to gloat, added

¹ The phrase is not to be found even in King's translation of the Bull, vol. iii., p. 1045.

² 'After the death of the titular primate, Magauran, which occurred as already recorded in A.D. 1594, no papal primate was appointed in Ireland for the space of nearly fifteen years,' etc.—*Primer, etc.*, vol. iii., p. 889.

³ Also slavishly copied word for word from King's translation (*Primer, etc.*, vol. iii., p. 912) though it is rather a free version. See Stanihurst *De Rebus Hibernicis prefatio*, p. 8. To show the utterly blind manner in which the disciple follows the master in his mistakes, we may instance the translation given in the speech, of the so-called eighth Act of the Synod of Cashel:—'That all divine matters shall for the future in all parts of Ireland be regulated after the model of Holy Church, according to the observances of the Anglican Church' (*Primer, etc.*, vol. iii., p. 518). It is strange that the doctor did not reflect on the anomaly of calling the Church in England at the time, the 'Anglican Church.' If he had looked into King's third volume, p. 1054, he would have got the old English version of Giraldus, which King admits he had not at hand in the first instance. It is as follows:—The 8 that all men and women worshiþe holy Churche and ofte goe to churche and holye church in all sarvice be governeþe one the manner that is in England. Gir. MS. F. 4, 4, (in T.C.D.) p. 24. But the most curious part of the matter is that there was no eighth Act at all, the sentence beginning with *Itaque* and having merely general reference to the seven preceding Acts. *Expug. Hiberniæ*, lib. i., chap. xxv.; Girald. Cambrensis, vol. iv., p. 283.

no weight whatever to the general tenor of his argument, and were brought into the speech for the sole purpose of holding up the Irish priests and bishops of the past to contempt and ridicule.

It is hard to have patience with him as, still under King's guidance, he traces the origin of the present Catholic hierarchy in Ireland to 1614, stretching that unproven theory out with his own extravagant assumption, that for more than eighty years (*i.e.*, from 1534 to 1614), no duly-organized Church existed in this country except the Protestant. He brings the usual second-hand Roman Catholic authority in support of the theory, for:—

The Romish historian, Philip O'Sullivan, in his 'Compendium of the Catholic History of Ireland,' written in 1621 A.D., describes the 'new hierarchy, new succession, new orders, new canons' as 'an entirely new establishment for Ireland.'

This supposed quotation surpasses anything the doctor has done yet. He should have read his author in the original before daring to quote him in public, and, if he had done so, he would not have been guilty of making up a quotation from King and attributing it to O'Sullivan. The words quoted are King's own, and it is hard to conceive how a man in his senses could make such a blunder, as more than three pages are devoted, immediately after the sentence in which they occur, to an examination of Philip O'Sullivan's work.¹

¹ It is positively laughable to watch the doctor at work in his laboratory, distilling quotations from 'Roman Catholic authorities.' For the benefit of those who have not access to King's work, we here subjoin the passages in question, to show by what mental and mechanical process the quotation was manufactured:—

PHILIP
O'SULLIVAN'S
ACCOUNT OF THE
NEW
ARRANGEMENTS,
A.D. 1621.

It appears therefore that at this time the clergy of the Romish persuasion in Ireland were busily engaged in organizing their newly-formed communion in this country, appointing 'vicars-general,' 'deacons,' 'parish priests,' etc., a new hierarchy, new succession, new orders, new canons, and, in short, an entirely new ecclesiastical establishment for Ireland. A still more comprehensive and interesting account of their proceedings, for the accomplishment of this object, is furnished to us by the famous Romish author, Philip O'Sullivan, etc.—*Primer of Church History of Ireland*, vol. iii., p. 899.

Whether this was a blunder of the doctor's or a piece of trickery will beget much difference of opinion. The advocates of the blunder theory will

We will now take up the assertion that for more than eighty years (that is, from 1534 to 1614) no duly-organized Church existed in the country, except the Protestant. We have not been able to find these figures in King, where, indeed, we have discovered some slavish copying, given as his own words by the doctor in his speech; so we will at last give him credit for some little originality of thought. In making his statement, however, did he forget or ignore the reign of Queen Mary, when the country was publicly reconciled with Rome, those sees filled with Catholic bishops to which appointments had been made by Henry VIII. and Edward VI., and Dr. Browne and others expelled by Dowdall, then a Pope's archbishop, and other delegates, for being married? The Catholic Church was also, in spite of wars and persecution, in a well-organized state during most of the long reign of Elizabeth:—

Twenty-six bishops [says Brady¹], recognized both by the Crown and the Pope, were in possession of Irish sees in 1558. Four of these prelates, namely, the Bishops of Meath, Kildare, Ossory, and Limerick, were deprived by Queen Elizabeth. The Bishop of Killala was translated by the Pope to a different Irish see. Thirteen other bishops, namely, those of Clogher, Kilmore, Ardagh, Down, Dromore, Derry, Raphoe, Cashel, Emly, Ross, Ardfer, Killaloe and Achonry, died in full communion with Rome, as is testified by the Italian records appointing their successors, which speak of the vacancies as having occurred *per obitum* or *per obitum bonae memoriae*, and not *per deprivationem*.

point out that the doctor was deceived by the marginal heading which was placed exactly opposite to the first sentence though it had no reference to it. Those who on the other hand are strong supporters of the *trick* theory will say that the doctor could not have read the second sentence, without seeing that the marginal heading had no reference to the first. They will remark on the transfer of the quotation marks from priests, deans, etc., to the words immediately succeeding, and lastly they will point out the very neat change of 'and, in short,' into 'as,' effected by the doctor to make his case the stronger. As to ourselves we have given up the problem in despair. We have not felt much difficulty with the doctor's 'continuity' theory, or the 'eighty years' theory, or the 'succession of the orders' theory, but this problem is so much for us that we refrain from taking either side, and merely suggest as a solution mixture of both theories, in carefully measured proportions. For once, indeed, the doctor has put a nut between our teeth that we cannot crack. But whatever solution turns up as the better, what will be thought of the doctor's reputation for scholarship after the exposure!

¹ *Irish Reformation*, p. 166.

When a bishop died the see was administered by a vicar, regularly appointed, or by a neighbouring bishop, till the see was filled up. Deans and other officials also exercised jurisdiction in the ordinary way. The succession to the sees was duly kept up, as, for instance, in the primatial see, it was kept up regularly during the whole of Elizabeth's reign, the only interval of any note being the one of eight years already mentioned. During the long imprisonment of Primate Creagh, the see was administered by Redmund O'Gallagher, Bishop of Derry, who held his own see without molestation for thirty-two years. In the Rawlinson MS., c. 98, folio 26, printed in the *Kilkenny Archaeological Journal* for 1856-7, there is the following account of O'Gallagher from a State Paper, dated 28th of July, 1592 :—

First in Ulster is one Redmundus O'Galligher, buishopp of Dayrie, alias Daren, legate to the Pope and Custos Armaghnen, being one of the three Irish Buishoppes that were in the Councell of Trent. This Buishopp used all manner of spirituall jurisdiction throughout all Ulster, consecrating churches, ordeyning Preists, confirming children and giving all manner of dispensacions, rydeing with pomp and company from place to place, as yt was accustomed in Queen Marye's dayes. And for all the rest of the clergy there, they use all manner of service there nowe, as in that tyme : and not only that, but they have changed the tyme according [to] the Pope's new invencion [i.e. the Gregorian Calendar]. The said Buishopp O'Galligher hath bin with diverse governors of that land uppon proteccion, and yet he is suffered to enjoy the Buishoprick and all the aforesaid authorities [jurisdiction], these xxvi. yeres past and more, etc.

In the same paper is an account of 'Doctor Creagh, Buishop of Cloven and Corck,' who 'useth all manner of spiritual jurisdictions in the whole Province, being the Pope's legate, consecrating churches, making priests, confirming children, deciding matrimony causes . . . one of the most dangerous fellows that ever came to the land,' etc.

All acknowledge that the people, with few exceptions, remained Catholic. In cases where the churches were taken from them, they built others or heard Mass in the open air. The sacraments were administered in private houses. Two

synods were held in the province of Ulster, one in 1568, from which Donald MacCongail, Bishop of Raphoe, excused himself on account of the war; and the other in 1587, attended by seven bishops, in which the Tridentine decrees were promulgated throughout all Ulster.

Now, let us contemplate the picture of the 'duly-organized Church' lauded by Dr. Traill. No Church can be said to be duly-organized without bishops; so, to prove that the Protestant Church in Ireland was not in an organized state during Elizabeth's reign, we here give the dates at which the *first* Protestant prelates were appointed to fifteen sees. We take the dates from Brady:—

| | | | | | |
|-----------------------|-----|------|---------|-----|---------------------------------|
| Down and Connor | ... | 1569 | Kilmore | ... | 1585 |
| Limerick | ... | 1571 | Killala | ... | 1591 |
| Kilmacduagh | ... | 1573 | Derry | ... | |
| Killaloe | ... | 1576 | Raphoe | ... | } 1605, to George Montgomery |
| Waterford and Lismore | ... | 1579 | Clogher | ... | |
| Ross | ... | 1582 | Dromore | ... | 1606 |
| Ardagh | ... | 1583 | Achonry | ... | 1603 |
| Elphin | ... | 1584 | | | |

It is abundantly clear from the foregoing table, that with the exception of Dublin, Cork, Cashel, and two or three other places, Elizabeth did not attempt even the semblance of planting Protestantism over a great part of the country, for many years after she came to the throne. Save for fitful acts of persecution and robbery, she allowed things in those places to remain as they were. When we turn our attention to the garrisoned towns and their immediate surroundings, where there was an attempt made to establish the State religion, we find from contemporary sources that it resulted in anything but a duly-organized Church. Primate Long, writing to Burghley, and afterwards to Walsingham, in 1585, draws a vivid picture of the chaotic state of the new religious establishment:—

But why [says he] should I name it a church? Whereas there is scant a show of any congregation of the godly, either care of material or mystical temple, in which men are brought to that pass, as taking away their shape, they are worse than the horse and mule that have no understanding, . . . the clergy are like the

people; nay, they have made the people like them *monstrum horrendum informe ingens cui lumen ademptum*. Your godly Parlamente in England hath somewhat, though not sufficiently bryddled the court of facultties, the corruptyon of the clergie; but in this poore lland yt sendeth old and young, clergie and layitty, in a wyld gallopp to the devyll . . . Many souls daily perish whose cure is committed to boys and to open wolves.¹

To this may be added the testimony of Davies given about twenty years later:—‘The country clergy,’ he says, ‘are idols and ciphers, and they cannot read if they should stand in need of the benefit of clergy,’ and he adds that serving-men and boys held benefices, and were dispensed by the court of faculties from all duty. Again, he says, that the churches were in ruins everywhere, and that there was ‘no divine service, no christening of children, no receiving of the sacraments, no Christian meeting or assembly, no more demonstration of religion than amongst Tartars or cannibals.’² These forcible expressions, let it be clearly understood, were used with respect to Protestants, not to Catholics. The latter, as we have seen, were zealously practising their religion. The former, as all contemporary records argue, were given up to impiety; bishops robbing their sees to enrich their families; clergymen put by force into parishes, living in ease and doing no duty; the laity practising no religion whatever. ‘Whatever disorders,’ says Spenser, ‘you may see in the Church of England, you may find in Ireland, and many more; namely, gross simony, greedy covetousness, fleshly incontinency, careless sloth, and generally all disordered life in the common clergymen.’³

We need not pay any attention to Dr. Traill’s further ‘quotations’ from O’Sullivan for they prove nothing. He thought he had got the bit in his mouth with the first one,

¹ Jan. 20, 1585, *Cal. Doc. Ireland* (1574-85), p. 548.

² Sir John Davies to Cecil, Feb. 20, 1604, and May 4, 1606. *Cal. Doc. Ireland*.

³ *View of the State of Ireland*, 1596. Richard Bagwell, in his *Ireland under the Tudors*, vol. iii., p. 459, *et seq.*, gives a candid account of the Protestant Church under Elizabeth, which is well worth perusal. It is a pity that this great work is not more widely known. The author has made an exhaustive study of the *State Papers* bearing on his subject, and elucidates the facts that they contain, with due candour and fairness throughout.

and could run off with a string of others ; but he is bridled now and for ever as regards O'Sullivan. With respect to his assertion that 'it was at this Synod [of Drogheda, A.D. 1614] that the jurisdiction and succession of the present Roman Catholic Hierarchy of Ireland was established,' we simply ask him to prove his outrageous proposition, either from the statutes of the synod or in any other way he finds open to him, but let him produce a real proof not a bungled forgery.

In conclusion, we respectfully beg to call the doctor's attention to that part of the auditor's address where he said that his ' Church must also lead her children to renounce that spirit of aggressive hostility towards their Roman Catholic brethren, which is still, alas ! very prevalent.' If he had taken that wholesome advice, he would have guarded himself from the flippant and disrespectful tone he used towards prayer to the Blessed Virgin and prayer for the dead, devotional practices specially dear and sacred to Catholics, and practised also in secret by many others who dare not openly avow the attraction they have for them. Let him bear in mind that he may have outraged the feelings of more than the mere Roman Catholics. Unwittingly, he proved by his irreverent attitude towards those forms of prayer, his own personal want of continuity, not only with the Church as it existed in Ireland immediately prior to the Reformation but as it taught and prayed in very early times, for it is very clear from the ancient Irish missals and penitentials, recently illustrated by learned monographs, that invocation of saints, especially of the Blessed Virgin, and prayers for the dead were common practices of the early Celtic Church. If the doctor had even merely dipped into such literature, he would have felt less sure of his ground, and, guided at least by a fear of slipping if not by a spirit of piety, have abstained from indulging in a flippant and arrogant tone, evidently born of ignorance. He may console himself that he has been able to make a fine show of learning in the newspapers before uncritical readers, by taking long periods of history into his speech, propounding unproven theories and drawing Catholic authorities on his side by ingenious 'quotations,'

but it is now quite evident he is too old-fashioned, too inaccurate, too fond of stereotyped arguments to be either a formidable antagonist or an able exponent of the historical position of his own Church.

AMBROSE COLEMAN, O.P.

The historian, James Anthony Froude, who may be taken in this connection as an impartial witness, states in his *History of England* (vol. x., p. 481, foot-note) :—‘I cannot but express my astonishment at a proposition, maintained by Bishop Mant and others, that the whole Hierarchy of Ireland went over to the Reformation with the Government. Dr. Mant discovers that the Bishop of Kildare and the Bishop of Meath were deprived for refusing the oath of supremacy. The rest, he infers, must have taken the oath because they remained in their places. The English Government, unfortunately for themselves, had no such opportunity as Dr. Mant’s argument supposes for the exercise of their authority. The Archbishop of Dublin, the Bishops of Meath and Kildare, were alone under English jurisdiction. When Adam Loftus was made Archbishop of Armagh, the Primacy became titularly Protestant. But Loftus resided in Dublin, the see was governed by a bishop in communion with the Pope, and the latter and not the former was regarded in Ireland, even by the correspondents of the English Government, as the lawful possessor of the see.

‘In a survey of the country, supplied to Cecil in 1571, after death and deprivation had enabled the Government to fill several sees with English nominees, the Archbishops of Armagh, Tuam, and Cashel, with almost every one of the bishops of the respective provinces, are described as *Catholici et Confœderati*.

‘The Archbishop of Dublin, with the Bishops of Kildare, Ossory, and Ferns, are alone reckoned as *Protestantes*’ (MSS., Ireland, Rolls House).

Again, Mr. Froude, writing to Dr. Brady, on the same question, says :—

‘I have examined, I believe thoroughly, all the *Irish State Papers* in the Record Office, during and from the time of Henry VIII. to 1574, and it is from them, in connection with the voluminous MSS. in Spain, on the same subject, that I draw my conclusion respecting the supposed conversion of the Irish bishops and clergy to the Reformation. I am thoroughly convinced that (with the exception of the Archbishop of Dublin) not one of Queen Mary’s bishops, nor any one of the clergy beyond the Pale, went over to the Reformation. Of the clergy scarcely any within the Pale went over. The English Government, as their powers extended, appointed new bishops to the Irish sees, but it was not till late in the reign of Elizabeth that even this was done.’—Extract given in *Irish Reformation*, p. 168.

ST. ADAMNAN OR EUNAN, PATRON OF RAPHOE

WHERE two such eminent and critical historians as Dr. Lanigan and Dr. Reeves are in complete accord, and no equally competent authority can be adduced in contradiction, a strong *prima facie* case is at once established in favour of their concurrent opinion on mere extrinsic evidence. Newman enunciates a truth, that has been frequently brought home to all of us in the experiences of life, when he states that there are many things of which we are thoroughly and justly convinced, and yet we could not, if called upon, specify the motives that have constrained this unalterable belief. That Adamnan, the illustrious author of the *Life of St. Columba*, and ninth abbot of Iona, and Eunan, first bishop and patron of Raphoe, were one and the same individual, is the contention which we shall here attempt to place on a firm and satisfactory footing, and for which, as its first prop of support, we gladly avail of the joint authority of the above-named great leaders of research and acute criticism in matters appertaining to ancient Irish Church history. It is true that they do not treat the subject at any great length, and that they content themselves with the statement of their mature opinion on the point, without particularizing the grounds of their judgment. In this they have acted wisely, and with thoughtful regard for the comfort of posterity. Many a pious and patriotic Irishman has heaved a heavy sigh of sincere regret that certain details of our national apostle's early life ever saw the light, since they have led to endless controversies, and equally endless disturbances of his *penates*, often effected with as little ceremony as the angel employed in transferring the Prophet Habacuc. If the present brief paper departs from the sage policy we applaud in those learned authors, it is because we feel our position is secure within the impregnable fortress of well-ascertained tradi-

tion. On the identity question, where local tradition cannot be traced far back, and where, undoubtedly, there has been a divergency of opinion among writers, we shall content ourselves with stating the arguments on both sides. Nothing could be farther removed from the object of these biographical notes than to provoke controversy. St. Adamnan is an historical figure that stamped its indelible impress on the discipline of the Irish Church, and on the annals of learning in Ireland and in Scotland; and the facts of his life cannot fail to be interesting to the readers of the I. E. RECORD.

A second argument in favour of this alleged identity is the incontestable fact that Adamnan of Iona died on the 23rd of September, the same day on which the feast of Eunan has been celebrated time out of mind. The two oldest Scottish calendars, and all ecclesiastical historians without any noteworthy exception, fix that date for Adamnan's death; and we know the extreme care with which the records of the deaths of distinguished bishops and abbots were kept, and the scrupulous exactness with which the anniversaries of such deaths were celebrated. Nor is it easily conceivable that the coincidence of these two feasts was merely accidental. Both saints bore the same name, *Eunan* being the phonetic spelling of *Adamnan*, which latter word, in the original Irish, has *d* and *m* aspirated; both were intimately associated with Raphoe and with St. Columba; both died on the same day of the same month of September; Eunan, distinct from Adamnan, is unknown to historian or annalist. Does not the inevitable conclusion force itself on our minds that the abbot and the bishop were one and the same person? This concurrence of feasts, and perfect agreement of name and of associations, would appear to dispose of all doubt on the subject. It is perfectly intelligible that, after the Plantation under James I., the phonetic form of the word should be almost exclusively retained in the district about the town of Raphoe, which was 'planted' with a vengeance; while the Irish-speaking people in other parts of the diocese, of course, pronounced the name *Eunan* at all times, as they do at the present day. Drighait-Eunan, or Adamnan's.

bridge, a few miles from the town of Raphoe, perpetuates the memory of the saint in the locality.

Thirdly, the Bishop of Raphoe is designated, in the old annals and biographies, the Coarb of Adamnan, and occasionally the Coarb of Columba and Adamnan, a title that can hardly be accounted for on any other hypothesis than that which is here advanced and defended; namely, that the well-known abbot was also first bishop of Raphoe. No doubt, his powerful relatives on his mother's side were the proprietors of the rich district around, called Tir-Enna, or the land of Enna, son of Nial of the Nine Hostages. They would naturally hold the saint's name in great reverence; but, why should they ascribe to him special patronage over Raphoe, and spiritual headship over the Bishop of Raphoe, if he was not the first bishop and the patron of the town and see? Adamnan was not born or reared in the immediate neighbourhood; his native Drumholme belonged to Tyrconnell, and Raphoe was, at this time, included in the territory of Tyrowen; and the age at which he became Abbot of Iona, forty-two years before his death, precludes the likelihood of his having been head of the Raphoe abbey for any lengthened period, before taking up his residence in Iona. All historians agree that he returned to Ireland in or about 701, sojourning most probably at Raphoe, and that his stay in his native land extended to four years at least, as he celebrated there the Pasch in 705, and went back to Iona only immediately almost before his death.

St. Ceolfrið, the Venerable Bede, King Nayto, King Alfred of Northumbria, and other zealous champions of uniform discipline in the Church, had inspired him with a holy enthusiasm for the extirpation of the scandalous abuse regarding the Paschal celebration in Iona, and in Ireland. Failing, for the time, in his mission in Iona, he undertook to enlighten, and to bring into harmony with the rest of the Church, on that question, the Irish bishops, priests, and people at home. To invest him with increased dignity and authority, it is almost certain that the same distinguished friends in Britain, who admired so much his learning

and humility, persuaded him to allow himself to be consecrated bishop, before he entered on this arduous and important mission. Bede describes him merely as a priest and abbot on the occasion of his visit to Ceolfrid, which took place, most probably, early in 701. His success in Ireland was as complete as it was rapid; bishops and abbots, kings and princes, all listened with respectful attention to his learned reasoning, and unctuous eloquence, and at once discarded the traditional usage he assailed, to which they had hitherto been tenaciously attached, chiefly out of reverence for St. Columba. Through his opportune intervention, a crisis, filled with endless possibilities of danger for the Irish Church, was happily terminated; and the saint was enabled to resume the tranquillity of monastic life in the abbey of Raphoe, on which he reflected the lustre of his world-wide fame for learning and holiness. Thus was the see of Raphoe founded by Adamnan of Iona, in 701, as soon as the Paschal controversy was effectively set at rest for ever in Ireland by that great saint; unless, indeed, we chose to believe that it was a different bishop of the same name who was the founder, and about whom all history and tradition, ancient and modern, are absolutely silent.

In recent times, the opinion we advocate has been strongly maintained by the successive bishops of the diocese, and by all local scholars, many of whom have given long and assiduous attention to Irish lore, and ecclesiastical antiquities. It is upheld with cogent and convincing reasoning by the present occupant of that historic see, who has been all his life a devoted and diligent student of ancient Irish history, and an untiring collector of local traditions. And it is embodied, with due precaution, in the new Office sanctioned, at his instance, by the Holy See, for the feast of Raphoe's patron saint.

It is, of course, perfectly possible that, even though Adamnan was a bishop, when he visited the court and the monks in the north of England, Bede might be unaware of his episcopal dignity, give him the distinctive and much-honoured title of Abbot of Hy, and merely state he was a

priest, either because the saint concealed the fact that he was a bishop, or to distinguish him from lay abbots like St. Benedict of Nursia. This supposition is, however, highly improbable, and quite unnecessary in order to justify our contention. All difficulty is avoided by the obvious suggestion already put forward, that it was only when the stubborn and unreasoning resistance of the Iona monks on the Paschal question, made him decide on leaving that celebrated monastery, for a time at least, that he was induced to accept episcopal orders. There was a bishop in constant residence at Iona; and, hence, the acceptance of consecration would be no bar to our saint's return among the community, at any time he might choose to terminate his stay in Ireland.

Alban Butler is largely responsible for perpetuating the story of a second Adamnan (or Eunan), of whom neither he nor any other writer can find fact or tradition. The Irish saints have received scant attention from this author; but his neglect of them has been largely repaired by the eloquent and sympathetic pen of Montalambert, and in some cases more amply still by Canon O'Hanlon.

Adamnan, like the great Columba, was a scion of the princely line of Conal Gulban, and first saw the light amid the rich and gently undulating slopes of Drumholme, midway between Donegal and Ballyshannon, about the year 630. Ronan, his father, was a descendant of Conal, and a kinsman of Columbkille, while his mother Ronata belonged to the house and district of Enna, as has been already explained. At an early age, the promising child was consecrated to the service of God and to the monastic life, in the Columbian foundation of Raphoe. He had received the advantages of an excellent education from the first dawn of intelligence under the parental roof and in a neighbouring monastic school. Drumholme was then, and for many long centuries after, the hallowed nursery of numerous saints and distinguished men of learning, who gave their talents and their time ungrudgingly to the cause of God's Holy Church.

St. Asicus, first bishop and patron of Elphin, was so fondly

attached to the sanctified soil of his birthplace in Drumholme that, in his waning years, he laid down the burden of episcopal cares to be transferred to younger shoulders, and returned to leave his bones to mingle their dust with that of the saintly monks near his natal spot, where his grave is still pointed out to the rare visitor. The illustrious St. Ernan practised by anticipation the sage advice suggested by the author of the *Following of Christ*:—*Qui multum peregrinantur, raro sanctificantur*. He appears to have spent his whole life in prayer and edifying works of charity in Drumholme and in a neighbouring abbey that is associated with his name. St. Hugh MacBrackan abandoned even his beloved Shangleann for the sweet tranquillity and sacred surroundings of Drumholme, whither he proceeded to yield up his pure soul to its Creator, and to seek the company of other chosen friends of God in determining the resting-place of his remains. Long ages after, the renowned Marianus Scotus resurrected, for a time, the decayed glory of Drumholme. But in recent days the sweet chant of the choral office is heard no more; the cowl and the habit, the prayers and the charity of the monks, no longer spread the fragrance of sanctity around the home of Adamnan. The big drum and the orange sash bring back forcibly to the minds of the inhabitants on each recurring Twelfth of July the doleful tale of impiety and plunder. Yet the old faith glows bright and unflickering in the hearts of the peaceful and respectable Catholic community, as their beautiful church and its magnificent congregation abundantly testify.

When the flush of boyhood's blooming freshness and growing strength gave an irresistible impulse and a definite form to the longing aspirations of Adamnan's generous heart to study and labour in solitude, and at a distance from the distracting pleasures and pleasing comforts of home, the monastery of Raphoe, where he had been solemnly offered by his mother when he was a mere child, was agreed upon by his parents and himself as the most suitable place to spend the novitiate of his religious life. It had been founded by Columba, and hallowed by his residence there; it had been endowed by his mother's wealthy relations;

many of the holy monks of that establishment were allied by blood with the gifted postulant ; he had often visited the several churches of Raphoe, had seen the monks, had been kindly treated by them when only a child, and had conceived an affectionate reverence for that home of sanctity. The renowned Columba was the great model he proposed to himself from the beginning, and he knew that in Raphoe the memory and traditions of their beloved founder were still fresh and constantly on the lips of his devoted disciples.

It was here he collected the nucleus of his immense stock of details, which he afterwards embodied in his invaluable biography of that saint ; it was here that many of Columba's miracles had been performed. His farmer-kinsmen in the neighbourhood loved to tell how the ' Dove of the Cells ' had shown their fathers the construction of a new and more effective form of plough he had invented, and how he had taught them to substitute the more elaborate and rapid machinery of the mill for the old wearying quern. While, within the precincts of the monastery, the strict discipline and the rule of life had been framed by Columba, the psalms that were sung, and the other sacred writings that were read each day, were copied either by the hand or by the order of the same beloved saint ; the churches were his work ; the bells sounded the praises of his heaven-inspired mission ; Columba's Cross and Columba's Well, the tranquil shades and rich gardens, recalled pleasing traditions of his labours and counsels ; the choir, the cloisters, and the altars commemorated vividly the zeal and taste of Tyrconnell's saint for the glory of God's house.

Next to his great hero and the subject of his principal work, the Irish saint, whose name stands out in boldest relief on Adamnan's pages, is Baithen, to whose memory he pays the highest tributes of affectionate admiration. Long years before he was called to fill the important and distinguished position of Abbot of Iona, in succession to Columba and Baithen, he had heard in Raphoe ravishing and marvellous tales of the miracles and sanctity of these two great servants of God. Baithen had been the first abbot

of the once famous monastery of the Laggan, another of Columba's foundations, about six miles from Raphoe. An old graveyard and some interesting ruins mark the spot, while the townland has been designated Taughboyne (Teach-Baithine), or Baithen's House, ever since those remote ages, when the beneficent works of saints were appreciated, and their memory perpetuated in local topography and in the titles of parishes and churches. The whole rich agricultural district around is now called the Laggan, and is mainly peopled by well-to-do Presbyterian farmers, who, like the present inhabitants of Iona, know little, and care less, about the interesting and widespread antiquities of that historic locality. The best known and best authenticated of Baithen's miracles, is almost an exact repetition of one performed by Moses, and familiar to our readers. The Irish immigrants and indigenous Scottish converts were being overpowered by the countless numbers and impetuous savagery of their Pictish assailants; the saint raised his hands to heaven, directing his eyes and prayers and heart towards the throne of the God of Battles; and the surging waves of terrific invaders, that threatened to sweep away, in their murderous rush, every vestige of the fast-spreading religion of Christ, rolled back harmlessly to concentrate their energies and volume for a fresh assault. Time after time did the manifest intervention of the Almighty ward off the menacing hosts at the prayer of Baithen, until at length it became necessary to send relays of willing soldiers to sustain his fatigued and drooping arms. The golden rays of the sinking sun reflected from the glittering pikes of the kilted Northmen, brandished in joyous triumph, conveyed to the retreating Picts, as by heliograph, the damping but indisputable tidings, that victory rested secure on the green banners of the Irish missionaries. Again, in the touching picture of Columba's death, Adamnan does not fail to give Baithen that prominent place, to which the esteem of the dying saint and his personal greatness clearly entitled him. It was only a few hours at most before he calmly resigned his spirit into the hands of his Eternal King and Judge, when he laid aside his pen with which he had just copied

the psalm *Benedicam* as far as : *Inquirentes autem Dominum, non minuentur omni bono* ('They that seek the Lord, shall not fail in every good,') and, smiling, whispered to the monks, who were around :—'I must stop here ; Baithen will do the rest.' Thus the mantle of Columba fell on the shoulders of his favourite and worthy relative, about whom Adamnan had heard so many edifying and fascinating stories in Raphoe, and, still more, in the Laggan monastery where he had lived and ruled, and was so dearly loved.

In his *Life of Columba*, he mentions a memorable visit of that saint to an old bishop, Brugach, who resided at Raymochy, about four miles from Raphoe in the Letterkenny direction. It is most probable that a successor of Brugach still lived and ministered at Raymochy until Raphoe was erected into a bishop's see by Adamnan, visiting the churches of Tyrconnell for confirmation and other episcopal functions, and conferring ordinations in the numerous monasteries of the Columbian and other orders in that populous territory. That self-effacement, which Bede so loudly extols in our saint, has left many regrettable *lacunae* in the history of ecclesiastical events, that were in any way associated with his own zeal and name.

After many years of untiring study and constant growth in holiness, our saint was ordered to Iona to assist in training young missionaries for the work of extending the dominion of the Church over souls, in Britain and in all parts of western and central Europe. He was at that time prosecuting his literary labours and combining therewith the most edifying devotional practices in the celebrated and extensive monastery that stood amid 'Derry's oaks' on the left bank of the Foyle, twelve miles from Raphoe. There his unobtrusive and genial presence had become familiar, and his brilliant gifts of mind and sympathetic heart had won the deep esteem and warm love of all ; but when the mandate of his superiors was conveyed to him, he hesitated not a moment to bid adieu to his dear relatives, and to all his fond brother-monks and idolising young students in the loved and lovely scenes of his happy boyhood. In the beautiful apse of the unrivalled college church of Maynooth,

over the arched entrance to St. Columba's chapel, a singularly fine painting represents the exiled saint embarking at Derry with his twelve companions, while the afflicted priests and brothers he is leaving, stand weeping and inconsolable on the shore. Many a time and oft since then, has the same bank of the Foyle witnessed a similar heart-rending scene; but the departure of Adamnan was, in all its surroundings and details, an almost exact reproduction of that heroic and fateful event. Voyages were then rarely undertaken, and attended with extreme peril; while the descendants of Niall, unlike their adventurous progenitor, were exceptionally warm-hearted and home-loving. D'Arcy M'Gee has most aptly and elegantly embalmed in verse the sentiment a well-known tradition ascribes to Columba, when he saw a bird winging its flight from Iona in the direction of Ireland:—

But you will see what I am banned
No more, for my youth's sins, to see,
My Derry's oaks in council stand;
By Rosapenna's silver strand—
Or by Raphoe, your course may be.

Failbè was at this time the Abbot of Iona; and, delighted as he was to receive Adamnan, a man of such celebrity and promise, at once so learned and so humble, he extended to him a warm Irish welcome, and treated him from the first day with the tender kindness of a father. His love of books, and his zeal for copying manuscripts, and for teaching; the chanting of the divine office, and the repeated visits to the Blessed Sacrament, which St. Columba's example had made a rigid and conscientious duty for all the members of that pious community, left him little leisure for revisiting, in regretful reverie, the pleasant haunts and associations of his earlier years in his dear old Donegal. The Sacred Scriptures were his favourite and ceaseless study; Bede assures us that Ceolfrid found him deeply versed in the inspired volume, and fondly regardful of its counsels as well as its precepts, its implied meaning as well as its explicit statements. Despite his unfeigned and earnest efforts to labour and pray

unobserved and undistinguished amid the immense multitude of devout monks, that then filled the vast monastery of Iona, his gentle mien, his striking figure, his burning charity, and his superior knowledge, unconsciously attracted the affection and esteem of all the members of the institution, and even of the countless pilgrims and other visitors.

The aged Failbè was called to his final account in 664; and, at once, without a dissentient voice, his predilection for Adamnan during life, and his anxious wish at death to have him as successor, were ratified by the entire community. Thus our saint was, by his brother monks, exalted, notwithstanding his energetic resistance, to a position, than which few were more enviable or more responsible in the Western Church of that day; and events proved the wisdom of their choice. He continued his exercises of piety with the same devoted assiduity as before; he taught theology and Sacred Scripture; he copied books, and composed original works; he gave wise counsel to bishop and friar, to king and to peasant. But there was one work of humility and love that he took a special delight in performing whenever the chance offered—that was the washing of the pilgrims' feet as soon as they landed on the shores of Iona, after the example of our Lord at the Last Supper, before conducting them to partake of the ungrudging hospitality of the monks. It was while engaged in performing this Christ-taught office of love that he once discovered, to his amazement, that the recipient of his attention was a French bishop, by name Asculf, who had lost his bearings on his return voyage from the Holy Land, and was driven ashore on Iona by a storm, after long and perilous wanderings over unknown waters. We take it that he was reseaking the north-east coast of France, where the Franks of that time were settled; else his mistaken course could not be easily accounted for, even on the double supposition of a great tempest and want of nautical skill and appliances. In any case, the guest of that evening supplied the learned abbot with interesting material for a book much prized in those days, and bristling with points of detailed information that throw a flood of light on the usages of the time and on some texts of Scripture.

Towards the close of the seventh century, Naito became King of the Picts, and soon developed a sincere and practical zeal for the spread and true observance of the Catholic religion, and an affectionate esteem for the worthy ministers of Christ. These laudable qualities had, naturally, brought him into close relations with the abbot and monks of Iona; and having important affairs of the nation to transact with Alfred, King of Northumbria, he selected the gifted and prudent Adamnan for the delicate office of ambassador.

Up to this time our saint had observed the Pasch according to the custom adhered to in his native country and Scotland; nor is it to be wondered at that, in matters of disciplinary usage, these islands differed from the body of the Church, seeing that communication with Rome, or even with France, was difficult and rare, and that the calculation as to the date, on which Easter should fall, was still most complicated and little known. The nineteen years' cycle of Dionysius Exiguus had only just begun to be adopted in the churches and monasteries of England, the old cycle of eighty-four years being still retained in Scotland and Ireland. Besides, the systems of computation were so unsatisfactory and inexact, that Palm Sunday was celebrated in one church, while, perhaps, in a neighbouring abbey or diocese, Easter Sunday was being solemnized on the same day. The Irish were never Quartodecimans in the strict sense, as they always kept the feast of the Pasch on Sunday, and not on the fourteenth day after the first new moon following the Vernal Equinox, unless that day happened to fall on Sunday. In Canterbury and in York, after the example of all the great seminaries on the Continent, one of the subjects studied with special attention was the method of calculating the date of the Pasch. The labours of Cyril of Alexandria, and, still more, those of Dionysius Exiguus, had simplified the old cumbrous and uncertain system a good deal; but perfect accuracy and uniformity were not everywhere secured, even in the Western Church, in the calculation of dates, until the Gregorian Calendar had been introduced and gradually recognised in the various Churches long centuries after. The Pasch was, no doubt, celebrated on the same Sunday,

and at the same time, everywhere, after the beginning of the eighth century, but the date or day of the month was different. Iona was almost the last Irish foundation to discard the old and erroneous computation, to which Irish missionaries on the Continent, notably the celebrated St. Columbanus, adhered immovably till their death. It must be remembered, however, that Columbanus had written twice to the reigning Pope, and had professed his readiness to abide by the Pontiff's decision with uncomplaining docility; nor is there any reason to believe that a different spirit prevailed in Ireland or in Iona.

Soon as the falsity of their system was clearly demonstrated—for the first time, by Adamnan in this country in 701, and in 716 by St. Egbert in Iona, where Adamnan's sudden rejection of the old method at the instigation of Ceolfrid and other Englishmen, had created a sinister impression prejudicial to his influence—when the revolution of feeling not unnaturally created by the attempt to suppress at once a cherished traditional usage in an isolated community, that had only a faulty calendar to guide them, had gradually given way to the calm spirit of reason, Adamnan's lessons and brilliant example of obedience produced their effect, nine or ten years after his death; nor did his hallowed memory suffer more than a mere passing eclipse of popularity and affectionate esteem. He had, moreover, compiled a learned treatise shortly before his death, entitled *De vero tempore faciendi Pascha*, which assisted materially, if it was not mainly instrumental in reconciling the Iona community to the acceptance of the reform he had so yearned and laboured to introduce among them.

A brief stay in Northumbria brought Adamnan into close contact with the learned ecclesiastics and courtiers, and, naturally, the Paschal question was fully and frequently debated, with the result that Adamnan was convinced that the Roman custom was right, and embraced it cheerfully, with the earnest determination to use all his energies to have it adopted in Iona. From the court of King Alfred he proceeded to visit Ceolfrid, the abbot of Waremouth

monastery in Durhamshire, and the most distinguished monk in England, in those days. This zealous advocate of the orthodox method of calculating the date of the Paschal Feast, was most agreeably surprised to find his illustrious visitor perfectly in accord with him on this important question, on which he was specially prepared with arguments and statements of the Popes and fathers, to bring conviction home to him at any cost. Ceolfrid had already written a most useful and instructive letter to King Nayto, which had been read in an assembly of ecclesiastics convened for the discussion and final settlement of that thorny question. Incidentally he had conveyed in that communication, replying to an inquiry of Nayto, that the form of tonsure, that was censured by many in the Iona monks, was a matter of secondary importance, implying no dogmatic error and infringing no explicit canon of discipline. Seeing, however, that Adamnan had disarmed him of all his powerful arguments on the subject of the Easter celebration, he proposed to himself the task of making him adopt also the Roman form of tonsure, with a view to enforcing the same form in Iona and all other Irish foundations.

'Brother' [said he], 'why is it that you wear an imperfect crown, since that distinctive feature of clerics is intended to symbolise the eternal crown to which you aspire? It is a perfect crown you labour for, and your wisdom, modesty, and piety, furnish every ground of hope for such a reward; why then do you persist in adhering to this singular and unmeaning badge? Do you expect to meet with a favourable reception at the hands of the powerful holder of the keys of heaven, when you shall present yourself disfigured with the tonsure of the magician, whom he anathematised?'

This homely argument and realistic description suppose that Simon Magus was the inventor of the Columbian tonsure, which took the form of a crescent or semicircle extending from ear to ear; while the Roman form is a complete circle having for its centre the crown of the head, and is commonly called the *corona* or *la couronne*. No trace, however, can be discovered of any such tradition in the numberless allusions by the early writers to Simon

Magus, and most probably the statement is nothing more than a pious invention, suggested by seeking a contrast with the traditional tonsure of St. Peter. 'Be assured, brother,' calmly replied Adamnan, 'that whether I wear the tonsure of Simon Magus or not, I do not yield to anyone in detesting his crimes and errors.' The Venerable Bede describes so graphically this edifying and touching scene, that his account has been almost verbally transcribed or translated by later historians. He concludes by telling us, that the Abbot of Iona, being full of every virtue and deeply read in the sacred writings and the fathers, immediately submitted to the enlightened persuasion of his brother abbot, and adopted the common practice of the Church. Looking at the context, one can hardly detect any shred of justification for the statement, not uncommonly met with in ecclesiastical histories, restricting Adamnan's compliance, even here, to the adoption of the orthodox Paschal observance.

Ceolfrid was a disciple of the illustrious Bennet, Bishop of Canterbury; and, in addition to the varied and extensive knowledge he had acquired from that gifted master, he had spent a considerable time at Rome, where he became thoroughly acquainted with all ecclesiastical institutions and practices, at the centre and source of spiritual authority. Moreover, his fame for sanctity and zeal had made his name known and beloved throughout Great Britain, it is not, therefore, a matter of surprise that King Naito had sought and obtained from him, a little before this time, an expression of his views in writing on the merits of the Paschal controversy and on the different forms of tonsure. The scholarly and exhaustive reply was read at a Scottish synod, and there it was decreed to adopt and to enforce the Roman discipline on both subjects. But, apart from these controversial matters, Naito had conveyed a request, that presents to us an aspect of great interest. He begged the saint to send him some builders, who could plan and erect commodious stone churches, such as existed at Rome. Obviously, no such edifice, that could serve as a model, had yet been erected in Iona or in any part of Scotland. Bee-hive cells of

stone, such as we see in an excellent state of preservation in Innismurray, and small houses of that shape, like the house of Columba at Kells, were already well-known; some small churches of stone, oblong in shape and graceful in their simple architecture, had been built in Ireland; but church architecture in these countries was only in its infancy. The name Raphoe (Rath-both) signifies fort-of-cottages or huts, which probably consisted of clay walls covered with a roof of wattles. Of course, the churches were more substantial and more ornate, and probably of stone like the little chapel of Columbkille still in perfect preservation at Gartan, within a mile of the spot where that great saint was born, and generally classed, with Raphoe church, among the numerous sacred edifices he everywhere erected. The ruins in Iona represent a church of later date; no vestige remains to mark the site of many of the widespread apartments of the monastery, which were largely constructed of perishable material.

The embassy of Adamnan was a brilliant and unqualified success. He bade an affectionate good-bye to the saintly Ceolfrid and the good King Alfred, promising to use all his energies and to spend the remainder of his days in establishing uniformity of discipline, and in uniting more closely than ever, in spirit and in external form, the Churches of Scotland and Ireland with Rome, the Mother and the Mistress of all the Churches. But the bright crown that awaited him in heaven and the perpetual honour and homage which he was destined to receive from the Spouse of Christ, were not to be gained without a keen struggle and bitter sufferings. When he returned to Iona, happy in the consciousness that he had done a great work for the glory of God's Church, what was his dismay and torture of heart to find his own beloved monks turning a deaf ear to all his gentle persuasion and his cogent arguments alike; condemning most emphatically, if not by words at least by looks and conduct, his adhesion to the discipline of the Church in the matter of the Paschal celebration as well as in that of the tonsure; and obstinately determined to resist any attempt to change their old traditional usages in regard to one or other

of these observances. He saw with undisguised emotion that lowering clouds were gathering around the sunset of his hitherto serene and happy life, and to prevent the storm from bursting and defeating his mission of conciliation, he cheerfully resigned the wand of office into the hands that had forced it upon his reluctant acceptance, and prepared to return to his native country.

It was at this gloomy crisis in the history of the great monastery of Iona, that, according to a well-supported belief, the humble and zealous saint yielded to the persuasion of his numberless friends and allowed himself to be consecrated bishop. He took up his permanent residence at Raphoe, but visited many other parts of Ireland, and was everywhere received and listened to with that profound and admiring respect, that was due as well to his personal piety and rare attainments, as to the praiseworthy object of his zeal.

The nineteen years' cycle and the correct calculation and observance of Easter were at once adopted by church and state; and provision was amply made to ensure the careful teaching of this subject in all colleges and monastic schools. Thus the indomitable energy, gentleness, and scholarship of our saint, strengthened and enlightened by divine grace, rescued the Irish Church from possible schism; nor were his national services limited to the spiritual order. His advice and persuasiveness healed many a gaping wound of offended jealousy among princes, and infused a pacific spirit into the enactments and administration of monarchs. In synod and in council, in monastery and in church, his voice was ever raised to preach peace and unity, charity towards all, and pardon for the repentant sinner.

In face of the most abundant evidence supplied by contemporary writers of undoubted truthfulness, that Adamnan possessed an angelic sweetness of temper, and invariably supported the cause of the weak against the strong, it is alleged that he encouraged the descendants of Airmire, high-kings of Ireland, in their attempts to extort the oppressive Borumean tribute from the Leinstermen.

No proof of the statement is anywhere discoverable, and all well-ascertained facts leave little room for doubting that the charge is utterly groundless. About 674, while Adamnan was still a young abbot, living in the tranquil seclusion of his monastery away in Iona, the high-king Finnaghta generously renounced all claim to this obnoxious tribute on his own part and on the part of his successors. Thus the doubtful right was expressly waived, and the matter lay in abeyance till 722, long after Adamnan's death, when the claim was renewed by Fergall with most disastrous results. It is, therefore, impossible that the holy abbot should have taken any part in discussing the justice or iniquity of this tribute, at all events during the last thirty years of his life. If further evidence were needed, it is abundantly supplied in the canons, which he had been carefully studying and collecting during his long residence in Iona, and which he circulated as widely as he could, in manuscript copies, before his death. Some of these canons are expressly directed against the horrors of war, forbidding women, for instance, to take the field in any circumstances, and guarding churches, ecclesiastics, and convents against desecrating assaults. St. Columba is said to have procured the enactment of the humane prohibition first alluded to, and the name of St. Adamnan himself was associated, in ancient times, with many salutary and prudent regulations.

The most important and best known of Adamnan's literary works in his famous *Life of St. Columba*. A careful translation has been edited, with many useful notes and comments, in a very cheap and popular form, by the late Bishop of Kerry, Dr. MacCarthy, to whom the Irish Church is indebted for many publications of deep interest and usefulness. A work of still greater research and of profound scholarship, is Dr. Reeves' edition of *Adamnan's Life of Columba*, where all obscure passages are elucidated, and an immense collection of miscellaneous information about the early Irish Church is appropriately interspersed. This book is invaluable, but, unfortunately, it is very rare and entirely too expensive for the ordinary student. Fowler's edition is cheap and easily procurable; but, in the preface and in some

of the notes, it manifests a strong anti-Catholic bias, and is dangerously untruthful in statement and suggestion. This interesting biography is largely founded on a previous work written by Cummenens Albus, but is much more extensive and detailed. Contemporary scholars, like Bede, pronounced it, with unanimous accord, a very learned and useful compilation, and even at the present day, critics are agreed in regarding it as one of the best specimens of Latinity belonging to the middle ages.

His *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae* was sought after and read with the keenest avidity everywhere throughout Great Britain and Ireland, for many ages after its first appearance. Its accomplished author brought a copy of this much-prized work for presentation to King Alfred, on the occasion of his embassy to that monarch, and it was in this way, that it came to be transcribed and circulated among all classes of educated Christians in these countries. The Venerable Bede constructed from it the whole framework of his larger treatise *De Locis Sanctis*, as he generously acknowledges; and together with Bede's less handy compilation, it continued to be the only accessible source of authentic information on the geography, Christian antiquities, and customs of the Holy Land, until the crusades gave England a new and more acute interest in those distant and inhospitable regions. It consists of three books, and is written in a most entertaining and story-telling style. The first book describes Jerusalem and the immediate neighbourhood, devoting much space to an enumeration of the many relics and memorials of our Lord's Passion and Death, that were preserved in or near the famous Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The chalice used at the Last Supper is stated to have been kept there in a room, and is described as a silver vessel, with two handles, and of pretty large dimensions. The sponge was also shown, that had been dipped in vinegar and gall, and offered to our Lord on the cross to alleviate the pain of His agonizing thirst. The tombs of St. Joseph and of St. Simeon were also visited by pilgrims and much revered, and in the Valley of Jehosaphat was pointed out the tomb of the Blessed

Virgin, an object of still greater attraction and deeper reverence. It is on that same spot that the Archbishop of Metz solemnly laid on Sunday, October 7th, 1900, the foundation stone of a superb new church in the course of erection to mark the scene of the 'Dormition.' He describes with exact minuteness, the Mount of Olives, whose summit was then covered by a spacious and beautiful church, differing entirely in outline and finish, from the Basilica of Calvary.

The second book treats, in detail, of Bethlehem, and of the country about the Jordan. Here we are supplied with a most graphic description of the grotto, where the Saviour was born, and all its surroundings. The tombs of David, St. Jerome, and many other saints, were much frequented by pious pilgrims; the entire locality presented to the Christian visitor, at every step, some memorial of his redemption, or of striking events and great saints of the old and the new dispensation. The exact spot where our Lord was baptized in the Jordan, was easily recognised by the well-used passage through an untilled field leading up to it; and then, as at the present day, pilgrims often bathed in that historic stream. He further recounts the rather curious fact, that young people, and the poor frequently boiled and cooked with oil, insects called locusts that were to be met with in great abundance in the deserts near the Jordan. On certain trees, moreover, in that district were to be found large soft leaves, from which was expressed a thick substance resembling milk in colour, and tasting like honey. This is Asculf's account of the locusts and wild honey, on which the Baptist subsisted. But Adamnan was well aware that many commentators took a widely different view, explaining the locusts as fruit, and the wild honey as the casual products of bees to be found in the mountainous wastes, where bee-cultivation was unheard of. In support of Asculf's account, he assures his readers that he had compared his statements with St. Jerome's expositions and comments, and that he found them to agree perfectly throughout. This important observation occurs in connection with curious traditions about Mount Thabor and Tyre, but it manifestly

proves that Adamnan was quite conversant with the writings of St. Jerome and the early fathers. Alexandria is briefly treated of, the principal object of attraction in its vicinity being the tomb of St. Mark, which was greatly revered.

The third book gives a lengthy and delightful account of the sights and religious ceremonies witnessed at Constantinople. There a large portion of the True Cross was enclosed in a rich case on an altar of gold, in a church called Rotunda from its circular shape, and exposed for adoration on the three last days of Holy Week. On the first day, the emperor, his generals, and nobles, and then the ordinary rank and file of the male population, having approached the altar, reverently bowed their heads in homage to the instrument of their redemption. The empress, her suite, ladies of rank, and then the ordinary women, performed the same devotional ceremony on the second day; while Holy Saturday was reserved for bishops and priests. Mount Aetna belching forth its heavy volumes of sulphurous smoke, with an occasional glint of red, burning fire, lending beauty and picturesqueness to the dark mass, and its frightful subterranean murmurings, is described in vivid and realistic language, that few modern guide-books can surpass.

We have already referred to the learned and opportune little volume, which our saint compiled, *De Vero Tempore faciendi Pascha*, to serve as a useful text-book for students. Its accuracy and utility were very soon recognised, and it acquired a wide-spread and lasting popularity.

The garbled citations and scattered allusions that can be traced in ancient writers, furnish only the most meagre and unsatisfactory data, on which to attempt a critical analysis or enumeration of the ecclesiastical canons collected by this zealous and devoted churchman. But we are safe in asserting that this work was the first of its kind that had appeared in these countries, and that it was compiled with that scrupulous precision that characterised all his numerous and excellent productions.

The magnificent new cathedral at Letterkenny, unrivalled

in gracefulness of architecture and in symmetry of rich decoration, will be solemnly consecrated and opened for public worship in the course of the coming summer, as a suitable tribute of honour to the glorious saint—whose life and labours are here briefly, but we trust faithfully outlined—from his coarb and the priests and people of his ancient see,

Congaudet omnis civium
Nobis chorus caelestium,
Magni videns perennia
Nunc Eunani solemnia.

E. MAGUIRE.

ARE THERE CONTRADICTIONS IN CHRIST'S TEACHING?

IT may be questioned whether many of us read the Gospels as a consecutive whole. Perhaps this is to be attributed to the artificial division into chapters, or to the breaking up of the sacred narrative into sections according to the ecclesiastical year. Hence it is, that even those who habitually pore over the sacred text fail to see its greatest difficulties, and yet these difficulties are so patent, and lie so near the surface, that the chance reader is often the first to discover them.

The difficulties we now refer to are of the class known as 'contradictions.' Every student of the Bible is familiar with a certain set of contradictory statements, particularly such as arise from the seemingly conflicting accounts furnished by different persons of the same event. We need only instance in the Old Testament the case of the two lists of Esau's wives,¹ or the contradictory statement that Saul was one year old when he began to reign;² while in the New Testament, the account of St. Paul's conversion, or of his visits to Jerusalem, have always constituted a Gordian knot for commentators.

But we wish in the present instance to dwell particularly upon certain apparent contradictions in the teaching of the Master Himself, and this because, in the first place, it is *His* teaching and not that of His disciples; and, in the second place, because in certain portions of that teaching as handed down to us, we really do seem to find not merely isolated conflicting statements, but what, on the face of it, seem to be contradictions in principle.

To begin with, then, according to the common interpretation of St. Luke ii. 49, the Boy-Christ, when found by His sorrowing parents in the Temple, recalls to them the object for which he came into the world: 'Wist ye not,' He said

¹ Gen. xxvi. 34-5; xxxvi. 2-5.

² 1 Sam. xiii. 2.

to them, 'that I must be about My Father's business?' And what this divine 'business' was He declared more fully at the outset of His sacred ministry: 'I must preach the good tidings of the kingdom of God to the other cities also, for therefore was I sent.'¹ His later teaching insisted upon this point: 'Is the lamp brought to be put under the bushel, or under the bed, and not to be put on the stand?'²

In view, then, of such definite statements as these we cannot but marvel when St. Matthew says:—

And He spake to them many things in parables, . . . and the disciples came and said to Him, Why speakest Thou unto them in parables? And He answered and said unto them, Unto you it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven, but to them it is not given . . . therefore speak I to them in parables, because seeing they see not, and hearing they hear not, neither do they understand. . . . And all these things Jesus spake in parables unto the multitudes; and without a parable spake He nothing to them; that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, saying: I will open my mouth in parables; I will utter things hidden from the foundation of the world.³

This seems to our human wisdom a stultifying process. He came to teach, yet He hid His teaching under the veil of parables. He came into this world as 'the true light which lighteth every man as he cometh into the world;'⁴ He taught His disciples, saying: 'Let your light shine before men, that they may see your good works;' and yet He Himself hid His light under a bushel, and that so effectively that His disciples wondered, and failed to understand His teaching.

We may be permitted in passing, to draw attention to the use which the first evangelist makes of the quotation from the seventy-eighth Psalm as given above: 'I will open my mouth in a parable, I will utter dark sayings of old.' The word rendered 'parable' is *ἔπος* (*mashal*). If we look up the word in our lexicon, we do not find that it means an enigma or a veiled form of speech, but rather a proverb, a satire, or even a poem.⁵ Nay more, it means most often

¹ Luke iv. 43.

² Mark iv. 21.

⁵ Cf. 1 Sam. x. 12; Isaiah xiv. 4; Job xxvii. 1.

³ Matt. xiii.

⁴ John i. 9.

an apothegmatic way of enunciating great truths, and it is in this sense that the psalmist used it, for he continues: 'Which we have heard and known, and our fathers have told us, we will not hide them from their children.'¹ The psalmist then had nothing further from his thoughts than to announce anything mysterious or of veiled import. He merely wished to recall to his countrymen the events so familiar to all of them, the Lord's wondrous mercies in the past. 'Telling to the generation to come, the praises of the Lord, and His strength, and His wondrous works that He hath done.' The words, then, which the evangelist quoted meant the very opposite of that which he meant them to illustrate. Who shall explain this?

But this is digressing. Let us return to the Master Himself, and let us now take an instance where He would seem to flatly contradict Himself. 'What I tell you in the darkness, speak ye in the light: and what ye hear in the ear, proclaim upon the housetops.'² That our Divine Saviour did so speak to them in secret is evident from the instances we have referred to above, where He explained the parables to His disciples apart; but the instance which will occur to everyone is that of the long and beautiful but absolutely private discourse to His disciples at the Last Supper.

When we turn, then, to the scene of the trial before the high priest, we cannot but be amazed when we hear the Eternal Truth saying: 'I have spoken openly to the world; I ever taught in synagogues, and in the Temple, where all the Jews came together; and in secret spake I nothing.'³

A more familiar, and, in one sense, more important instance, is that of our Saviour's declarations touching the speedy coming of the last judgment. We cannot say that the seeming contradiction about the speaking in public or in private involved any particular mistaken beliefs on the part of the early Christians. But the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians is a standing witness to the enervating effects upon many of the idea that the second advent of Christ was

¹ Ps. lxxviii. 2-4.

² Matt. x. 27.

³ John xviii. 20.

immediate. Nor can we blame these early Christians for their belief. Did not Christ's words bear this interpretation and, seemingly, only this one? We might almost say He positively taught it: 'Verily I say unto you, Ye shall not have gone through the cities of Israel, till the Son of man be come.'¹ 'The effect of this teaching on St. John was striking. 'If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?' Thus Jesus had spoken of him, and St. John treasured up the words. The others misunderstood them, they thought he was never to die, but the evangelist gives us his own intimate conviction as to the Lord's meaning, for he adds: 'Yet Jesus said not unto him, that he should not die; but, If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?' How this thought echoed through the Apocalypse! 'Behold He cometh with the clouds and every eye shall see Him;'² 'Repent therefore; or else I come to thee quickly;'³ 'That which you have, hold fast till I come;'⁴ 'I shall come as a thief and thou shalt not know what hour I will come upon thee;'⁵ 'I come quickly, hold fast that which thou hast.'⁶ Six times he puts before us the Judge as saying: 'I come quickly,' and twice as coming 'as a thief,' while his last words would seem to hark back to that promise ever ringing in his ears, and with which he concluded his Gospel, 'Yea, I come quickly. Amen: come, Lord Jesus!' for had not the Master said: 'If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?'

The Christ was very God, and therefore He knew, not merely that the judgment was by no means immediate, but that His disciples and the early generations of the faithful would interpret His words wrongly. On other occasions when misunderstood He corrected the erroneous impression and gave the true explanation, but it is difficult indeed to point to any passage in the Gospels which taught that the second advent was really remote.

Now, it goes without saying that these seeming 'incompatibilities' have been discussed in every age, and by none more than by the early fathers of the Church, who have

¹ Matt. x. 23. ² Apoc. i. 7; ³ ii. 16; ⁴ ii. 25; ⁵ iii. 3; ⁶ iii. 11; ⁷ xxii. 20.

proposed solutions of various kinds. Some of these solutions would probably provoke a smile in this wiseacre age, though that may not perhaps be to the credit of the age; others, however, are very lucid and compel our assent: thus St. Augustine casts real light upon the difficulty mentioned above anent our Saviour's teaching in private. His words are worth giving in full. When commenting on our Saviour's words before the high priest 'I have spoken openly to the world,' the saint says: "A question arises which we cannot pass over in silence; how could the Lord Jesus say: 'I have spoken openly to the world,' and more than all, how could He say: 'In secret spake I nothing'? Had He not just said in the very last conversation He held with His disciples at the Supper: 'These things have I spoken unto you in proverbs: the hour cometh when I shall no more speak unto you in proverbs, but shall tell you plainly of the Father.'¹ If, then, even to His own intimate disciples He did not speak plainly but promised them a time when He would speak plainly, how did He speak plainly to the world? And again, as the other evangelists bear witness, He spoke much more plainly to the disciples when He was with them alone withdrawn from the crowd, for then He explained to them those very parables which He had spoken without any explanation to the rest. What, then, is the meaning of that expression of His: 'I have spoken openly to the world'? We must understand Him to say 'I have spoken openly to the world' meaning 'many have heard Me.' For that word 'openly' in one sense was 'open' but in another it was not 'open.' It was 'open' indeed because many *heard* it, but again it was not 'open' because many did not *understand*. Nor because He conversed with His disciples 'apart' are we to say that He conversed with them 'in secret.' How could He be said to converse 'in secret' when He spoke before so many? It is written: 'In the mouth of two or three witnesses every word shall stand.'² We must remember, too, that what He said to those few He wished others to learn from them: 'What I tell you in the darkness, speak

¹ John xvi. 25.

² Deut. xix. 15.

ye in the light ; and what ye hear in the ear, proclaim upon the housetops.'¹ Thus, then, what seemed to be said by Him in secret, in a certain sense was not said in secret, because it was not so spoken that those to whom it was addressed were to keep silence about it, but rather that they should preach it everywhere. A thing, then, may be at one and the same time said 'openly' and 'not openly,' 'in secret' and 'not in secret' according to the way in which it is said."²

St. Hilary, however, and St. Jerome, offer solutions of the same difficulty which are neither so luminous nor so convincing. Thus the former in his commentary on St. Matthew x. 7, says : 'We nowhere read that the Lord was wont to discourse by night, or that He delivered His doctrine when darkness had fallen ; but He rather meant that to carnal men His every word was darkness, while to unbelieving men it was a true night.' Most of us would quarrel with the opening statement and point to the Last Supper discourses ; while the mystical explanation would perhaps hardly come home to our nineteenth-century minds. Still more would latter-day critics be inclined to reject St. Jerome's suggestion that Christ only spoke in a relative sense ; He meant that the Judæa in which he was then teaching was but a small or 'secret' place compared to the whole world.

We are not here concerned with the truth of these explanations, though we think there is a great deal more in them than is generally allowed ; but what does concern us is that they were considered satisfactory at the time they were written. They may not have been 'for all time,' but they were 'of an age.' Does not this suggest that this was precisely the purpose of the Divine Wisdom ? Every age has its standards, and what more fluctuating than the canons of criticism, or of ethics, or of good taste ? So it may be with these seeming discrepancies ; they may be just one of those means by which the Inspired Word provides good for every century, be men's minds what they will ; if

¹ Matt. x. 27.

² *Tractatus* 113 in Joann.

mystical, then, St. Hilary's explanation will appeal to them; if more matter-of-fact, then, perhaps, they will take to St. Jerome. What, then, is the twentieth-century canon by which we are to know whether a point of exegesis is to be accepted with a smile, or to be declared to have 'the true ring about it'? In other words, what would now be accepted as the rationale of such strange inconsistencies as we have mentioned?

Remembering that we are dealing with a divine message inspired by Him Who said: 'My thoughts are not as your thoughts,' we must feel, firstly, that everyone of these difficulties is soluble, though men may never, perhaps, be brought to agree as to the solution; secondly, that a divine purpose lies behind the seeming enigma. He Who called Himself 'the Alpha and the Omega, the first and the last,' knew that those seeming inconsistencies would constitute an enigma for the human mind, He knew that many would begin to lose faith because of them, and would say 'this is a hard saying.' Why, then, did He leave them there? Nineteen centuries of human thought have been expended upon them, and yet they still remain. Why? A simple answer suggests itself, perhaps the more likely for its simplicity: They have been silently teaching their lesson and fulfilling their purpose almost without the world's perceiving it. What impression have they left on our minds? 'There are also many other things which Jesus did, the which if they should be written everyone, I suppose that even the world itself would not contain the books that should be written.' Such is the conclusion of the fourth evangelist; and is not such the conclusion forced upon us by these much-talked-of contradictions? Are we to take the Gospels as complete records? 'Many other signs, therefore, did Jesus in the presence of His disciples which are not written in this book, *but these are written that ye may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God.*' That is the be-all and end-all of the Gospel records. They are not literary efforts; they are not carefully-compiled biographies; there is no attempt to bring the sayings of the Divine Teacher into harmony, they carry their meaning

writ upon the surface; and yet they are mines into which we may dig deep and never touch bottom. These very inconsistencies, seemingly so bald, so glaring, so staggering at first sight, so potent a solvent of weak faith, serve as a warning: 'My thoughts are not your thoughts.' They forbid us to take a purely human view of the Gospels. A man's mind we can, perhaps, fathom. We can, it may be, form just appreciations of his work, though the workman himself would be the last to allow this. But the simple words of the Gospel, their artlessness, their unveiled candour and truthfulness, at the very moment that they attract us, warn us that we are dealing with the unfathomable. God is One. He is complete simplicity. Yet is He also an unfathomable abyss. '*Accedet homo ad cor altum*,' says the psalmist,¹ and he adds, '*et exaltabitur Deus*.' Man gazes up at Him, presumptuously it may be, but the reply is '*Abyssus abyssum invocat*.'² We may say the same of His written word.

Surely here is a purpose worthy of the Divine Author. Surely it is no small thing that we should be driven to confess the profundity, and, therefore, the divinity of His message. St. Thomas,³ in one of his brief answers to a difficulty, gives us a hint of this office of the written word. When discussing the question as to whether the new law has sufficiently regulated our external as well as our internal acts, he proposes to himself this difficulty: The new law proposed for our acceptance, on faith, several mysteries not contained in the old law, as, for instance, the mystery of the Most Holy Trinity. Why, then, did it not also add to our moral obligations? The saint answers: 'Those things which are articles of faith are above human reason, hence we cannot get to the knowledge of them except by grace; and, therefore, when (under the new law) grace was given more abundantly, it was fitting that more truths to be received on faith should be unfolded before us.' He concludes by showing that moral precepts, being a matter of reason, do not call for any greater numerical development under the law of grace.

¹ Ps. lxxiii. 7, 8.² Ps. xli. 8.³ 1^a 2^{ae} 108, 2 ad 1^m.

St. Thomas thus suggests to us the real purport of the Gospel message. It is essentially a call upon our faith; and that, not only in the mysteries it puts before us, but even in the very mode of proposing them to us. Another and more awe-inspiring purpose may, perhaps, be discerned in these same inconsistencies. They have ever been the happy hunting-ground of the agnostic and the infidel; from Celsus to Huxley the 'glaring inconsistencies' of the Gospel records have been held up to scorn; and equally, from Celsus to Huxley, have those who realized the purpose of the Gospel records, who realized that 'they were written that ye may believe,' risen up against such attacks. Thus has the Divine Teacher, as it were, secretly compelled His chosen to 'search the Scriptures,' to work them as quarries whence to draw the precious metal of His unsullied truth.

HUGH POPE, O.P., S.T.L.

DISPUTACIO INTER MARIAM ET CRUCEM SECUNDUM APOCRAFUM

MODERNISED (1900) BY E. M. CLERKE

PART II.

STANZAS XXIV. TO XL.

XXIV.

THEN said the Maiden, Meek Marie :
 Cross, thou dost rend my Rose all red ;
 Three Jews came down from Calvary
 The day that Christ our Lord hung dead,
 And said that they were full sorry,
 All overcome by swooning dread ;
 Wherefore and why, they told all three,
 Their hearts were cold as lumps of lead.
 The First then told his tale :
 When Christ was knit with cords on stock,
 His Body bled against the block,
 And nails through feet and hands 'gan knock ;
 Then 'gan my heart to fail.

XXV.

Not that (the Second then 'gan tell)
 With sorrow did my bosom heap ;
 But when the Rood arose and fell,
 The nails through hands and feet tore deep ;
 His hurtful hat then did impel
 The thorns into his flesh to creep ;
 His joints disjoined saw I well,
 And tears and water did I weep ;
 To grief inclined was I ;
 In clots of Blood his hair was clung,
 The Flesh from off his bones was wrung,
 All parched and drouthy was his tongue,
 His lips were cracked and dry.

XXVI.

The Third said : Less was I distressed
By all those griefs ; but this I know
To me seemed worse than all the rest ;
Flayed was his Flesh with weal and blow,
His Mother Mild close by him pressed
And upward gazed, and she was woe ;
A sword pierced through and through her breast ;
The knife came from the Cross, I trow—
This sight I saw full sore ;
The Sword of Love her heart did lance,
Down fell she swooning through that chance,
To mock at her the Jews 'gan dance
By ten and twelve and more.

XXVII.

Since these three Jews made moan so great,
To see my Son bound on the tree,
I must in grief be desolate
All stained with gore my Child to see ;
Fathers and mothers joined by fate
Should love their children verily ;
Both loves are mine, nor separate,
Since Sire and Mother here I be,
And these two loves in me are one ;
The Father of his Flesh was I,
With tender Mother's heart thereby,
To grieve with tears that never dry,
In weeping woe-begone.

XXVIII.

In me were mingled sorrows twain,
That might not in the Father bide,
For he in rest and peace doth reign,
In joy for aye beatified ;
I sorrowed sore and did complain ;
I say what time my Darling died
With buffets done to death amain,
His Body on a tree was tied ;
When truth is full imparted,
God of all joys is source and well,
Nor sorrow e'er in him could dwell ;
I sorrowed sore as clerks do tell,
My woe hath not departed.

XXIX.

The hotter love the colder care,
 When friends find their fair fruit despoiled ;
 The Jews malicious did not spare,
 Till the rich Fruit were torn and spoiled ;
 Ne'er Maiden greater sorrow bare ;
 I saw my Child all stained and soiled,
 A Sword of Grief my heart cleft there ;
 I saw my Son with Blood bemoyled,
 As Simeon did declare ;
 The Sword of Sorrow sharply ground,
 Should deal my heart a wound ;
 Nor greater woe than I did sound,
 Did woman ever bear.

XXX.

The dead 'gan worthily to wake,
 The day to night turned dark and dun,
 The murky moon 'gan mourning make,
 The light all leaped from out the sun,
 The Temple walls 'gan reel and shake,
 The Temple veils in twain were spun ;
 Cross, why didst thou not quake
 When righteous Blood on thee did run,
 And kin as less than kind was kenned,
 When on thy wood my Child was fast—
 Cross, wherefore wert not thou aghast ?
 Thou stoodest stiff as any mast
 When his Life made an end.

XXXI.

When that fair Prince of Paradise
 Bled both from breast and back,
 A heathen clerk was Saint Denys,
 He said this world went all to wrack ;
 He saw the planets show likewise,
 And the bright sun wax dim and black ;
 The clerk that was so wondrous wise
 Then words of wonder spake,
 Denys, this great clerk, said :
 The day of dooms draws to an end,
 All things against their kin offend,
 Till God for man his Life did spend,
 And for mankind hung dead.

XXXII.

Fowls of the air dropped in their flight ;
Beasts bellowed loud their stalls within ;
Cross, on whom Christ hung in such plight,
Why didst thou not to mourn begin ?
The Cross then said : O Lady bright,
I bore thy Fruit for man's dire sin,
More to amend man's forfeit right
Than for wealth's sake that I might win ;
With Blood God bought his brother ;
When Adam transgressed God's decree,
Blackened by bite he, bit were we,
Till Fruit with nails was tied on tree ;
One Fruit paid for another.

XXXIII.

Since Christè's Cross had kept the gift
The Father granted and made good,
It was ordained I should uplift
God's Son and Maiden's Babe on Rood ;
No man had shield of sain or shrift ;
The fiend like lion rampant stood,
And many flung in hell's deep clift,
Till the Cross dealt him buffet rude ;
My deeds were bound and booked of old,
And all the works that I have wrought
Foreshown were in the Father's thought,
Wherefore me, Lady, lacketh nought ;
I wrought as was foretold.

XXXIV.

Through Blood and Water well was wrought
Christ's Flock, as Holy Writ doth say,
And in belief by soothfast thought
A man may christened be alway ;
That Blood hath us all dearly bought,
That worthy christening save us may ;
At christening Christ did grudge us nought,
His blessed Blood for us did pay ;
Mother, yet Maid no less,
Thy Son on us his baptism shed,
Christened we were in fountain red,
When on the beam his Body bled,
Of olive and cypress.

XXXV.

As Christ to Nicodemus said,
Save twice born be a man, the morn
That Doomsday shall his horn have brayed,
He may be left a knave forlorn ;
First of a woman, helpless laid,
Then in a font where sin is shorn ;
A Cross was I for man's joy made,
I bare the Fruit thou first hadst borne
For thy burial alone ;
But if I had not borne him then,
Of happy rest bereft were men,
Left in a lone lorn lodge and pen,
For aye to sigh and groan.

XXXVI.

Thou art yecrowned of Heaven the Queen,
Through birth that thou didst bear,
Thy garland is of graces green,
Empress of Empire fair ;
A Relic I, that shineth sheen,
Would men know when and where,
At Parliament shall I be seen,
And shall be seen on Doomsday there ;
When Christ with majesty shall say :
Truly on Rood and Tree,
O Man, in pain I died for thee ;
Man, what hast done in turn for me,
My friendship to repay ?

XXXVII.

In Parliament shall plaint be made
How Maiden's Son on me they slew ;
Sharp nails and spear and sponge upbraid,
The head the hard hat shall pierce through,
On rightful King such torment preyed,
Woe like to thine what man shall rue ?
To rest shall rise the just arrayed,
But wrong and sin to hell fall due :
O Maiden Meek and Mild,
God hath in thee man's vesture ta'en ;
I bare thy Fruit in woe and pain ;
'Tis just the Rood then to arraign,
Wretches have slain thy Child ;

XXXVIII.

The Queen did with the Cross agree,
 And unto him spake no more speech;
 The Queen the Cross kissed lovingly;
 Love's Lady did for Love beseech,
 Though slayer of her Son were he,
 When rending ropes did rive and breach;
 Christ's Cross from loss hath kept us free,
 Through Mary's prayers and God our Leech;
 The Queen did with the Cross accord,
 First bare the Queen, Cross afterward,
 To fetch mankind from helleward,
 On holy stairs high heaven toward,
 To reign with God our Lord.

XXXIX.

The clerk who wrought this figure rare
 Of Mary's woes to teach us some,
 The bitter throe had witnessed there,
 When God's own Arms were strained and numb;
 A creature cold and unaware,
 The Cross hath aye been deaf and dumb;
 Although this tale be brodered fair,
 I found it in Apocrafum,
 For witness ne'er hath written;
 Christ's Cross to speak was never heard,
 Nor blamed our Lady him by word;
 But that the devil be deterred,
 We speak how Christ was smitten.

XL.

In fleshly weed God hid indeed,
 Of Mild Maid May,
 Was born to bleed, as Christè's Creed
 Doth soothly say;
 On wooden steed he rode, we read,
 In red array
 From the devils' dread that Duke us led,
 At Doomèday;
 When men shall parted be apace,
 To heaven's bright hall or to hell's wood,
 Through Christè's Cross and Christè's Blood,
 And Mary's prayers that be full good,
 Grant us the life of grace. Amen.

Explicit Disputacio inter Mariam
 et Crucem, Secundum Apocrafum.

THE ACTIVE AND THE CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE

POINTS OF VIEW

'Every one hath his proper gift from God; one after this manner, and another after that.'—(1 Cor. vii. 7.)

SLUSHTON is not quite the most exhilarating of places even at best of times, but in the depth of winter, when snow and sleet are falling through a smoke-begrimed atmosphere, it is dreariness itself. The very air is murky and black, with wandering smuts. 'On a fine day,' as a visitor once remarked, 'it is like looking *up* the chimney, and on a dull day it is like looking *down* the chimney;' so the difference is not striking.

On the day that Father Ajax gave his little dinner party, however, it was not only preternaturally gloomy and dismal, but the rain rattled and beat against the casement in a most defiant and threatening manner as though all the elements had leagued together on a work of general destruction. Perhaps this was why his two clerical guests quietly seated themselves near the blazing fire, instead of running off immediately their meal was over, as was their custom. Father Ajax soon drawing his chair between them, demanded in a casual way:—'By-the-by, what has become of Father Michael?'

'Oh! have you not heard? He has gone to St. Placid's Priory. He has entered the novitiate.'

'You don't say so! What? Abandoned his miserable mission at Dismalair, and his rickety house, and his crowd of poor artisans, mill-hands and half-timers?'

'Yes. He set off last Tuesday.'

'Then how are they going to manage now?'

'Oh! The bishop has secured the services of some zealous foreigner to fill up the breach; at least for the time being.'

'What! A foreigner. Do you mean that fellow who came into the diocese last year? Do you mean Father Vaneyetwinkle?'

‘That is the very man.’

‘Well, then,’ he rejoined, rubbing his hands, ‘they will have a nice time of it. Why, he can hardly speak English yet, and knows no more about the lives and the habits and characteristics of our people than the man in the moon.’

‘It does, indeed, seem a pity; but he will pick up their language, and get into their ways in time.’

‘That is all very well; but how will these unfortunate people fare while he is learning his lesson? It strikes me that many souls may suffer in the interval. Why, on earth, could not Michael stick to his guns like a man, instead of going off and burying himself in a monastery? I suppose he prefers a palatial building in the country to his little den in Miasma-street; and, perhaps, the society of refined and cultured brethren—I am told they are all born gentlemen there—is pleasanter than that of decrepit men, ragged women, and dirty children. But, tell me, did you see him before he left? What did he say?’

‘Oh! you know the style of thing. He was bent upon reaching perfection—or, at all events, upon aiming at it; and, therefore, he said he must, at least, give himself a chance, and take the best and most efficacious means. What, after all, is a secular priest, but a drudge! *He* was determined to aim higher. He would enter the more perfect state; he would become a religious, and take the vows and . . .’

‘I did not think he had so much pride in him.’

‘Not at all, my dear father. He showed no pride. He simply felt deeply what he said, and, whether rightly or wrongly, he certainly persuaded himself that he was doing the right thing. Oh! you should have heard him. He waxed quite eloquent. He would withdraw himself from the world, and from all the turmoil and distractions of towns and cities, and from the business, responsibilities, and vexations of the mission. He felt a longing for the peace and security of the cloister, and the calm stillness of the lonely mountain, with no sound to break in upon his contemplations but the tinkling of the bells, and the lowing of the herds in the neighbouring pastures. There, alone

with nature and nature's God, he would be able to sanctify his soul; and all would remind him of heaven and of holy things. The cloudless sky, untainted by smoke from factory chimneys; the lofty mountains, each like a sentinel pointing up to heaven; the waters of the lake, breathing of peace and tranquillity; all would . . .'

'Oh! do go on. Did he say anything about the incense of the flowers, and the glow-worm's midnight lamp, and . . .?'

'O, you are no poet! You cannot appreciate his enthusiasm.'

'Well, I can appreciate his taste, at all events. And if there were no souls to be saved, and no big cities full of sin and crime, and sensuality and wickedness, I would be only too glad to accompany him myself, and spend my days, too, in such a charming resort. But, bless me! I thought we priests were to be "the salt of the earth," and it appears to me somewhat strange that we should sprinkle this salt over the desert and mountain when there is so much greater need of it nearer home. I, for my part, have far greater respect for the zeal which will keep a man steadily working and plodding among countless difficulties and disappointments in the midst of a dirty quarter of Slushton or Fogborough; attending to his sick, consoling and relieving his poor, and watching over his little ones in the schools, year in and year out, than for the egoism—I can call it nothing else—that will relinquish all this work to hunt for personal sanctity on the mountain-top, even were it the summit of Mount Chimborazo itself.'

'But we read that our Lord Himself retired into the desert.'

'Yes—and if Michael is satisfied with forty days, I would not quarrel with him. But to spend the rest of his life there is too bad. It is shirking the battle-field for the peaceful hearth. Our Lord went into the desert only to show us how we should prepare and strengthen ourselves for the ministry. To spend one's whole life there is to turn the means into an end. What our Lord's purpose was we may easily gather from His life. The apostle

summarizes it when he tells us that, "He went about doing good." There was no inclosure for Him. No. He "went about."

'Ah! well, you want us all to imitate Martha. You would have us "solicitous about many things." Yet, it is well to note that Christ did not think so highly of all this bustle and activity. He distinctly assures us that, not Martha, but Mary; yes, Mary, the acknowledged type of the contemplative; had chosen the better part. The contemplative life must consequently be, in very truth, the better, and the higher. Now, sir, I have you on the hip.'

'*Quid ad rem?* What in the world has that to do with the question? Martha was busy. Certainly. No one is going to deny that. But she was not busy saving souls. The "many things" about which she was solicitous, were not preaching, catechising, hearing confessions, anointing the dying, building churches, erecting confraternities, and so forth. She was occupied in temporal work, and in supplying bodily and earthly and material needs. Had that been the kind of work abandoned by Michael, I, for one, would gladly admit that he had chosen the better part in taking to contemplation. But where it is a question of giving up the most sacred of all ministries, then it is not so clear that he has chosen the better part. In fact, I confess I cannot understand how a man, with an ardent love of God, can so readily abandon a work so dear to the Sacred Heart, as the saving of souls—a work for which the Incarnate God laboured and toiled and suffered so much, and for which He finally died an ignominious death. No, really, I have no wish that he should imitate Martha—not at all. I should feel far happier if he would imitate our Lord who "went about doing good;" the Divine Shepherd, who was ever seeking and bringing back the sheep that were lost or had gone astray. Who, in a word, lived and moved among the people, preaching, teaching, exhorting, healing, and comforting and consoling them, in their homes, in the open street, at the well-side, at the borders of the lake, and, in fact, wherever he chanced to meet them.'

'That is all very well, but my dear *Padre*, don't you see

that a man may so love God as to desire always to be occupied with Him and *Him alone*. The missionary life is almost necessarily full of distractions and anxieties and cares. Why! the mere struggle to make ends meet, and to secure funds sufficient to keep things going, to say nothing of the collecting, counting, and disbursing of shillings and pence is a burden, and a weight upon the soul, and more than enough to disturb and interfere with contemplation. Whatever may be said of the love of one's neighbour, the love, the direct and personal love of God in Himself and for Himself is something immeasurably higher—in fact, that is everything. It is the end, while all things else are but means. Love is the measure of all perfection.'

'Quite true. I admit every word you say. You speak like a sage. But tell me this: How can we love God without at the same time loving and longing to serve our neighbour? How is it possible to love Christ sincerely and not yearn to co-operate with Him in rescuing souls from the burning? Surely there is something in the question proposed by St. John, who asks how we can love God whom we do not see, if we don't love men whom we do see? We may learn the same lesson better still, perhaps, from the lips of infinite Wisdom Himself. When our Lord had asked St. Peter:—"Lovest thou Me, more than these," and had been thrice assured of his love; did He say:—"Then if you love Me so much, prove your love by hiding yourself in the seclusion of a monastery, and live the life of a recluse, and let the world hear of you no more"? Quite the contrary. He drew just the opposite conclusion. As a consequence, or rather as a test of the truth of his protestations, St. Peter was told to "feed the lambs and to feed the sheep" of Christ's flock. That is the kind of proof that satisfies my reason. There is a genuineness about it which raises it above suspicion. It has a ring of sterling truth about it.'

'Well, of course, no one will dispute the interest we ought to take in helping and pasturing souls; but may I in all humility suggest that possibly, running about from street to street, and from house to house, may not be the only nor even the best means of accomplishing our purpose? You

seem to overlook the wonderful power of intercessory prayer especially when accompanied by a life of severe penance, mortification, recollection, and solitude.'

'No; I don't forget it for one moment. I quite believe all that you can possibly tell me about it, and, perhaps, a good deal more. The only point upon which I feel a little sceptical is the particular value and the additional power conferred upon prayer by reason of its being said by a man with a black or a brown habit, or by reason of its being offered up in the pure mountain air rather than in the dingy atmosphere of the city. On this point, I acknowledge, I do need some further instruction. I have always understood—now, correct me, please, if I am wrong—that the greater or lesser efficacy of prayer, when properly said, depends upon the greater or lesser intrinsic virtue and holiness of the supplicant. The prayer rising from the Sacred Heart of the Man-God is ever of infinite value, because it is the prayer of an infinitely holy Person. The prayer of the ever Blessed Virgin is of greater value than that of any other mere creature. Why? Because, of all she is the purest, and the holiest, and the best. And so, in a similar way, the prayers of a simple, despised secular priest may be as good and as impetratory as those of any monk or religious you please, even though he be a Trappist or a Carthusian, provided only that his soul be as full, and as pure, and as burning with love for his Divine Master.

'Ah! Exactly. "Provided only that . . ." Everything hinges upon the terrible "provided that only."'

'Why, I should like to know, are we always to take it for granted that a monk's prayers surpass in excellence those of seculars? I am satisfied that they can seldom be said with as much earnestness and unction. Most men—or, at least, most unprejudiced men—will agree that a priest who has known his people personally, intimately, and who has lived among them for many years, and who has been the confidant of their trials, sorrows, and temptations, will feel a far greater interest and solicitude in the prayers he offers up for them than a person who knows them not, even by

name; and that a priest on the mission, who witnesses with his own eyes the havoc of sin and the awful ravages of evil, as well as the violence and force of temptation, is likely to put more fervour, and heart, and concentration of mind into his petitions for them than one who has, at best, but a very remote and indirect knowledge even of their existence.'

'I am not so sure of that. But, even granting it to be the case, you must be aware that earnestness and feeling are not quite the same thing as holiness; and, as you just admitted yourself, it is, above all, on the personal sanctity of the supplicant that the efficacy of prayer depends; i.e., not upon the intensity of his feeling, but on the greatness of his love for God. The Sunamite woman who lost her son probably put a good deal more feeling, and passion, and vehemence into her prayer for its recovery than did the prophet Eliseus, when he begged God to restore it to life; ¹ but it was through his intercession, and not through hers, that God restored it, all the same.'

'Even so; it is well to remember that prayer is not by any means everything. I may say, in my turn, that you seem to forget what St. Paul teaches, viz., "Faith comes by hearing." He even asks:—"How shall men hear without a preacher?" It is all very well to wish to save souls by clinging to your *prie-dieu*, and sighing out your soul in prayer for them, and doing nothing else. But that is rather your way than God's. "It pleased God"—and this we have on the authority of the Holy Spirit Himself—"It pleased God by the foolishness of preaching, to save them that believe." Do you hear? "By the foolishness of preaching." And yet you would give up preaching to take altogether to prayer!'

'O! no, I would not. I am merely defending Father Michael.'

'Then you are also forgetting the Sacraments, which act upon the souls of the receivers, quite independently of the virtue of the priest who administers them. Besides which, there are a thousand little attentions which a priest on the mission can show to the members of his flock, and

¹ 4 Kings iv.

which are extremely helpful and salutary in their effects. The look of approval; the encouraging word; the opportune visit; the prudent advice; the gentle admonition—nay the very presence of a good priest in a parish may be the source of incalculable good. Indeed I fail to see how Father Michael can conscientiously contrive to persuade himself that he is conferring greater benefits on souls, by retiring to a monastery, than by settling down quietly at Slushton. If you are considering his personal advancement in perfection only, that is, of course, a different question; but with that I am not now concerned.

‘I know this much, at all events; St. Teresa won more sinners to God by her prayers than ever the Curé of Ars or Blessed John Baptist de Rossi, with all their labours and toilings among souls.’

‘You know? How in the world *can* you know? How can anyone possibly know without a special revelation! Persons are too fond of making those sort of impossible-to-verify statements.’

‘Well; I have heard this said, or what is equivalent to it, over and over again.’

‘I dare say. And so we must conclude that it is true? Eh? Excuse me, but I want to have your proofs for such a startling theory—for that is what I call it, a theory—an unproved theory.’

‘Then you must continue to want them. I only repeat what everybody says.’

‘I’m weary of hearing statements based upon “what everybody says,” and cannot accept them on such grounds. But of one point I am pretty sure, and that is that, had St. Teresa not been a woman, she would have . . .’

‘Would have been a secular priest?’

‘Well, not necessarily a secular priest; but, at least, not a recluse.’

‘Your proofs.’

‘Oh, don’t be alarmed. You shall have them. Here they are’ (taking down a copy of the *Life of St. Teresa* from the shelf). ‘Here we have them in her own words. I will read out a few passages:—“To make one step in the

propagation of the faith, and to give one ray of light to heretics, I would forfeit a thousand worlds" (p. 158). In another place she writes: "I believe I should count my life as nothing if I might make others understand the truth of divine faith" (p. 159). Here is another passage in which referring to the awful penalties of sin, and more specially of hell: she says, "Certainly I believe that, to save even one person from suffering those overwhelming torments, I would, most willingly, endure many deaths." In other places she expresses her admiration of missionaries and apostolic men who are preaching the Gospel, and her envy of all who are labouring among souls for their sanctification and salvation.'

'Most likely these very missionaries owe considerably more to the prayers of St. Teresa and other holy souls than to their own efforts.'

'But, my dear father, to hear you, one would suppose that prayer were not merely an important factor in the salvation of souls, which nobody denies, but that it were everything. Don't forget that a priest on the mission is endowed with special spiritual powers and exceptional weapons far more effective than his poor prayers. There are the Sacraments with their *gratiae gratis datae*, which it rests with him to administer. Then his preaching and teaching, and exhorting, directing, and counselling are not so many substitutes for prayer, which you almost seem to imply, but they are in addition to prayer. They are so much extra weight thrown into the scales. Let the parish priest pray by all means, let him pray his heart out. The more he prays the better. Indeed, it is a means not sufficiently resorted to; but it is, after all, only one of his duties, and he must not neglect the rest.'

'But a religious may preach and hear confessions, and to some purpose too, as we all feel. Look at the Jesuits.'

'Now you are off to another point. We were speaking solely of immured monks. The Jesuits! Why they are the most indefatigable missionaries. Their churches are veritable hives of spiritual activity. In the pulpit and in the sacred tribunal their influence is immense. And the same, no doubt, may be said, *positis ponendis*, of many other religious.

But of religious—actively engaged in missionary labours—I do not speak.’

‘Well, after all, what do theologians teach on the subject of the contemplative *versus* the active life?’

‘My dear father, excuse my interrupting you. I was a priest before you were born, and though I have had a long life’s experience, I must candidly confess that I have never found it safe or wise to expect a disinterested decision on any point, from interested parties. Don’t try it. That is my advice. The best and the most sincere will, in spite of themselves, be biased and prejudiced. Yes, often even without being in the least degree conscious of it. Now the great theologians are almost all monks or friars or religious of some kind, and to appeal to them on a subject of this kind is very much like appealing to a Chinese for a decision on the respective merits of the Asiatic and of the European types of beauty. Of course, Chinamen will prefer almond-shaped eyes and high cheek bones, because they happen to possess them, to the large round eyes and dimpled cheeks of an English or Irish beauty. No! If you will allow me, I prefer a more impartial jury. If in ordinary civil suits we are unwilling to entrust our case to the mercy of a packed jury, I really cannot see why we should be expected, in a matter of this kind, to trust the verdict of religious on the superiority of the religious life.’

‘Now you are getting on dangerous ground. Gently; gently! If you are not careful they will dub you a heretic, or at least, a theological ignoramus.’

‘Ah! True. I am well aware that strong epithets are often the only available buttresses for weak arguments! But it is a poor case that needs such measures. Yes. Heresy! Ignorance! Stupidity! They are handy stones to fling about; but such a mode of warfare is a symptom of weakness.’

‘Let that pass. All I can say is, it seems to me you do not possess that profound admiration for monastic institutions which might have been expected of you, who have seen so much of them. Or is it, perchance, precisely because you know them too well? *Omne ignotum pro magnifico*. It may need a little distance to lend enchantment to the view! Eh?’

‘Well, as to that, one’s ideals are probably never fully realized anywhere. There is no doubt a halo of beauty and a glow of poetry hanging around and about the monastic life, which disappears on near acquaintance. But still—the poetry deducted—one cannot but admire and thank God for such glorious institutions, and the work they have done and are still doing for the Church, and I would be the very last to dissuade a man from putting on the hood of St. Benedict, or the cord of St. Francis, if he really had a vocation. Indeed, if one had only one’s self to consider one might very wisely closet one’s self in a monastery. There one would escape from many of the spiritual dangers and pitfalls of our present life, besides its trials, vexations, and annoyances which are about as plentiful as blackberries in August. In theory, it may be something far higher than what we poor parish priests are called to, but in practice—well, in practice, it is a great question.’

‘So you do really admit, that in theory at least, even the most severely enclosed religious is in a higher state of perfection?’

‘I will, at all events, not deny it. I am quite willing to cry:—*Transeat*. Theory we may well leave to theorists, we, as practical men, should consider the practical working of each system. In practice, I am well satisfied that a missionary priest; the rector, say, of a large parish, in any of our great cities, who does his duty—who does his duty well, and thoroughly, mind—is in a better position both to prove his love of God, and to increase it, than were he one of many brethren, chanting in the conventual church, or singing their evening song in the dim religious light of a monastic choir.’

‘That may be your opinion, but I do not agree with you one bit.¹ There is no time now to give you my reason, as I must hasten home. There—listen! The clock is now tolling out the hour of midnight, and I ought to have been home a couple of hours ago. Good-night.’

JOHN S. VAUGHAN.

¹ The view, here suggested, will be considered in the next issue of the I. E. RECORD, under the title of *The Contemplative Life*, by the kind permission of the Editor.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

JURISDICTION TO HEAR THE CONFESSIONS OF NUNS

REV. DEAR SIR,—A very important question of ecclesiastical law and discipline was proposed by 'Confessarius Monialium' in the November issue of the I. E. RECORD.

Your correspondent said he 'found it asserted in a recent work on Moral Theology,'—presumably Génicot—'that parish priests can, without special approbation or faculties, hear the confessions of nuns.' He stated, moreover, 'that he had read several other recent authors without finding any trace of this novel doctrine in them,' and then wound up his remarks by asking: 'Whether parish priests in Ireland have any special privilege in regard to the confessions of nuns?'

I have taken occasion, from the question here proposed, to consult Génicot's *Moral Theology*, Vol. ii., No. 339. I find that the learned author limits his teaching on this point to the case of nuns who are parishioners of the parish priests, and who are not exempt from their jurisdiction. 'Valide tamen,' he writes, 'Confessiones Monialium parocciam suam incolentium audit parochus . . . neque exemptione gaudent.'

Under No. 339 just referred to, Génicot distinguishes two classes of nuns and two classes of priests who hear confessions. The classes of nuns are those having solemn vows, and those who have only simple vows. The classes of priests are those who have only delegated jurisdiction or approbation, and those who have ordinary jurisdiction from the Church by reason of the office or position which they occupy in it. He teaches, and teaches rightly, that no confessor whatsoever—secular or regular—can (according to the Const. Inscrutabili Dei of Pope Greg. XV. and the Const. Superna of Clement X.) hear the confessions of nuns who have solemn vows, unless he has received special approbation from the bishop of the diocese to hear these confessions. 'Nullus ergo,' he says, 'Confessarius Monialium Confessionem excipere potest, nisi vel speciatim pro istis, vel generatim pro omnibus ejusdem diocesis Monialibus approbatus sit.'

With regard to nuns having simple vows the case is different. They are not nuns (*moniales*) in the strict sense of the word. They do not come within the scope of the Constitutions of Popes Greg. XV. and Clement X.; and, consequently, their confessors require no special approbation. Bishops however may, and indeed usually do, exclude these nuns from the general approbation which they give to the confessors—secular and regular—of their diocese. The confessors who have these limited faculties, and who heard confessions *vi delegatae jurisdictionis*, cannot hear the confessions of these nuns, for the reason that they are outside their jurisdiction. But parish priests, who need no approbation to hear the confessions of their subjects (Conc. Trid. sess. 23, C. 15, de Ref.), and who receive *jurisdictio ordinaria* from the Church by reason of the office they hold—*vi officii*—may hear the confessions of these nuns, when they belong to their parish; because they are their spiritual subjects and they have no exemption from parochial jurisdiction:—

‘*Quare invalidæ,*’ [concludes Génicot], ‘*erunt confessiones etiam Monialium quæ simplicia tantum vota edidere, nisi sacerdos specialem illam facultatem audiendi moniales obtinuerit quam Episcopi, concedendo approbationem, excipere solent, ut diserte in pluribus statutis synodalibus declaratur. Valide tamen Confessione Monialium paroeciam suam incolentium audit parochus: quippe qui ex munere suo approbatus sit ad excipiendas confessiones eorum omnium qui paroeciam incolunt, neque exemptione gaudent.*’

This, then, is the doctrine laid down by Génicot, and I must say, it seems to me to be the old doctrine always taught by theologians, and I certainly fail to see anything novel or surprising about it. To me it would sound novel to hear, that the ordinary jurisdiction of parish priests had been restricted, by the withdrawal of their faculties to hear the confessions of the nuns in their respective parishes. And I must here add, that I have never read or heard of any such wholesale withdrawal of faculties.

The principles on which Génicot solves this question are the usual ones given by theologians; viz.—(a) parish priests have ordinary jurisdiction over their subjects or parishioners; and (b) nuns with simple vows are their subjects. Bouix, the celebrated French canonist, says (*Jus parochi quoad Sacramentum Poenitentiae*):—

‘*Parochus—vi officii—ordinariam fori interni jurisdictionem*

habet in sua parochia ; et censetur quoad hoc a lege approbatus, absque ulla desuper sili facienda per ordinarium licentia, ut colligitur ex Conco. Trid. sess. 23, C. 15, de Ref. . . . , Quamvis ordinariam jurisdictionem suam habeat parochus a lege, eam tamen habet dependentem ab ordinario, quoad culparum reservationem.'

And Cardinal D'Annibale, in his classic work on Moral Theology, writing 'De Regularibus,' Tract. I., De Personis, has :—

'Regularibus aliquatenus accedunt Religiosarum Congregationum seu viri ceu SS. *Redemptoris*, seu mulieres, uti *Sorores Charitatis*. Viri et mulieres, hujusmodi simplicia nuncupant vota, nempe paupertatis, castitatis, obedientiæ. . . . Neque ex voto obedientiæ potestati ordinariarum eximuntur ; nisi id eis a S. Sede Concessum fuerit nominatim. Quod virorum Congregationibus concedi solet, foeminarum non item, licet generalis moderatricis imperio et potestate regantur, quæque idcirco redum Episcopis subsunt, *sed et parochis quæque suis*.'

It seems to me, therefore, that there can be little doubt as to the correctness of the conclusion which he draws, *i.e.*, that parish priests can, without special approbation or faculties, hear the confessions of nuns with simple vows who are their parishioners.

But, as a possible explanation of the doctrine advocated by Génicot, the learned writer in the I. E. RECORD, said :—'It may be that in those countries, which the learned writer had more prominently before his mind, the bishops are rightly understood to leave the jurisdiction of parish priests unrestricted as regards the confessions of nuns.' I may be permitted to say, that, in my opinion, this explanation is unnecessary and insufficient. Unnecessary, because the doctrine needs no apology ; and insufficient, because the explanation does not seem to tally with the circumstances of the case. If the learned writer had any place more prominently than another before his mind, it must surely have been the Archdiocese of Mechlin, to the statutes of which he refers in the very passage under discussion.

Now, turning to those statutes, I find the following Decree No. 275 :—

'Quælibet communitas religiosa foeminarum unicum habeat confessarium ordinarium et alium extraordinarium, qui universæ communitatis sacramentales confessiones excipiat, et sit a nobis specialiter approbatus.'

And Decree No. 280, the one referred to by Génicot :—

'Nemo, excepto confessario tum ordinario tum extraordinario, valide potest sacramentalem confessionem excipere religiosarum

quaruncumque in communitate viventium, sive in ecclesia monasterii illarum, sive in oratorio confessionibus destinato, sive in casu morbi, in alio quovis loco monasterii, sive facultate praevia ordinarii.'

This is, undoubtedly, very restrictive and exclusive legislation. Notwithstanding, however, its restrictive nature, Génicot does not hesitate to maintain, that though priests having delegated jurisdiction, cannot—without special approbation—hear the confessions of these nuns; still, parish priests—because of their ordinary jurisdiction—may hear the confessions of the aforesaid nuns, and absolve them. Of course the same doctrine holds good in Ireland, where our local legislation on this point, is not at all so restrictive.

What, then, it may be here asked, is the legislation in Ireland as regards parish priests and the confessions of nuns? We have parish priests who enjoy the fulness of their canonical jurisdiction. They receive their canonical institution (*institutio canonica*) in accordance with the following Forma I., Maynooth Synod, p. 286:—

'Cum Ecclesia Parochialis N. . . . vacaverit et vacet in praesens; Nos . . . Tibi . . . praedictam Ecclesiam Parochialem N. Cum omnibus juribus et pertinentibus suis universis per praesentes, conferimus et assignamus; in illaque Te cum juris plenitudine Parochum instituimus.'

We have also specially-appointed confessors, ordinary and extraordinary, of nuns. For in the same Synod of Maynooth, p. 105, Decree No. 172, we read:—

'Curent Episcopi ut moniales de idoneis confessariis, et bis vel ter in anno de confessariis extraordinariis providentur ad sensum Const. Bened. XIV. Pastoralis curae die 5 Aug. 1748. Si exemptae sint, deputatio confessarii pertinet ad superiorem regularem, cum approbatione tamen Episcopi, qui ex rationabili causa potest illum amovere.'

As a matter of course, the appointment of the latter does not remove the jurisdiction of the former.

In other words, it is in accordance with law, discipline, and usage that nuns of all classes should have specially-deputed confessors to hear their confessions; but, as far as I know, it is neither according to law nor custom that the appointment of these confessors should deprive parish priests of the jurisdiction which they hold *ratione officii*. To assert that there is no such law

extant would be a very daring thing—what modest man would assert it? It is not so presumptuous to say: If there is any such law, I am not aware of it.

To the question, then, 'Whether parish priests in Ireland have any special privileges in regard to the confessions of nuns,' my answer is they have no special privilege, and they need no privilege, to hear the confessions of nuns who belong to their parishes, provided those nuns have only simple vows. The question, in my opinion, should have been proposed in some such terms as the following: Is there any law or custom in Ireland limiting the ordinary jurisdiction of parish priests, so that they cannot validly hear the confessions of nuns who have only simple vows? A question of this kind might lead to an interesting discussion, as to whether parish priests in Ireland have any special privilege regarding nuns, who do not belong to their parishes or diocese. Such a discussion is, however, outside the range of our present inquiry.

But your correspondent furthermore remarked that he could find no trace of this novel doctrine in the several authors whom he consulted.

My answer is, the doctrine is no novel one; it is as old as the institution of canonical parish priests and the establishing of congregations of nuns with simple vows. It has surprised me, however, to hear that he could find no trace of the doctrine. It seems to me that good old Gury hits of the point nicely, when in reply to No. 567, *Quær.* 2°, he writes:—

'Quid intelligatur hic nomine monialium? Resp. Intelliguntur solae mulieres sub regula in clauistro viventes, non vero illae, quae claustrum servare non tenentur, v.g. quales sunt eae quae dicuntur *Sorores a Charitate* (*Soeurs de la Charité*). Certum est tamen Episcopos statuere posse, ut etiam pro talibus audiendis specialis approbatio sit obtinenda. Unde statutis Episcopalibus quoad illas standum est. Episcopi tamen, assignando talibus monialibus confessarios ordinarios et extraordinarios (ut expedit), non videntur tollere a parochis facultates ordinarias, quas vi tituli sui habent, excipiendi confessiones earum, quae in sua parochia versantur.'

I might here quote other theologians in support of the opinion that I have been advocating, but I do not deem it necessary to do so. The right of parish priests to their jurisdiction is in possession, and must, of course, be maintained, till it is proved that they have been deprived of it.

I have now written at much greater length than I at first

intended. The great practical importance of the question proposed, and its bearing on so many important points of ecclesiastical jurisdiction and approbation, must be my excuse for inflicting such a very long letter on you and the readers of the I. E. RECORD.

DEF. PAR.

It may be useful to recall briefly the substance of the short paper in the November I. E. RECORD which has occasioned this letter. In reply to a question regarding the power of parish priests, as such, in Ireland, to hear the confessions of nuns, we stated:—

1. That no priest has jurisdiction to hear the confessions of nuns with solemn vows, unless he is specially approved for that purpose by the bishop of the place where the confessions are heard.

2. That, according to the common law of the Church, there is no special restriction or reservation regarding the confessions of nuns with simple vows; that, according to the common law, therefore, parish priests, or other confessors, having jurisdiction in a parish, may absolve these nuns in any circumstances in which they may absolve other penitents.

3. That bishops can reserve, even from parish priests, the confessions of nuns with simple vows, and that, in making such a reservation, the bishops will be acting in conformity with the spirit of the Church, as evidenced in her legislation affecting nuns with solemn vows.

4. That according to the discipline observed—universally, as far as we know—in Ireland, parish priests, as such, do not hold faculties to hear the confessions of nuns with simple vows.

It is scarcely necessary to observe that throughout there was, and is, no reference to the confessions of nuns *in articulo mortis*, and that there is question of those nuns only who reside in community, and for whom a special confessor is nominated.

For the fourth assertion above made, we are taken to task. It is suggested that we are in error in thinking that the faculty to hear the confessions of nuns with simple vows is usually or universally withdrawn from parish priests in Ireland, so

that, like other confessors of nuns, they require special appointment. This is a question of fact, not of law. Whether or not parish priests, as such, can, in Ireland, hear the confessions of nuns depends on the will of the bishops. So much is rightly conveyed by Gury in the passage above quoted. Is it, then, the fact that the bishops in Ireland reserve the confessions of nuns from parish priests? Of course, there is only one decisive way of solving that question—by instituting inquiries in the various dioceses. We have made inquiries in almost half the dioceses of Ireland—twelve is the exact number. We were prepared to find that there may be dioceses in which the custom is different from what we had hitherto supposed. But what do we find? So far as our inquiries have gone, and they have been made in every province, and have extended, as we have said, over almost half the dioceses of Ireland, we find that there is not even one diocese in which the parish priests, as such, have the faculty to hear the confessions of nuns. No doubt, the parish priests are often appointed ordinary or extraordinary confessors of nuns; but in every case, bishops and priests recognise the necessity of a special appointment.

In the light of this testimony, we have not thought it necessary to pursue the inquiry. Nor, do we see any reason to modify the statement that we made in our former paper, regarding the country generally. We, therefore, repeat it as it stood: 'In Ireland, at all events, it is recognised—and universally, as far as we know—that the ordinary faculties of a diocese do not confer jurisdiction over nuns of the various congregations. Moreover, it is, we believe, equally understood that parish priests are affected by the reservation in precisely the same way as curates and other confessors.

This form of reservation is not, of course, confined to this country. Nor, is it a new encroachment on the rights of the parish priests of Ireland. For proof of the latter statement let one fact suffice. Among the statutes binding throughout the whole province of Dublin, as far back in the last century as 1831, we find the following:—

. . . declaramus quod cum facultatem confessiones excoipiendi

concedimus nullo modo intendimus includere potestatem absolvendi a casibus reservatis nisi talis potestas explicite conceditur.¹

And in a foot-note is added (and to this we draw attention):—

Similiter reservatur facultas excipiendi Confessiones Monialium.

As the ordinary reservation of sins affected parish priests as well as others, so the confessions of nuns were by this declaration reserved from parish priests throughout the province of Dublin.

Whatever may be said of the opinion of Gury, above quoted, that the appointment by a bishop of a special confessor to a convent is not to be considered *eo ipso* a virtual withdrawal of faculties from the parish priest, it is obvious that that opinion has no application, in a diocese in which the will of the bishop is otherwise sufficiently manifested. Wherever it is known, from an express declaration of the bishop or from the traditional or recognised discipline of the diocese, that the bishop does or does not wish to withdraw from parish priests the faculty to hear the confessions of nuns, that settles the question.

Moreover, it is worth mentioning that the words in which Gury hesitatingly put forward the opinion just referred to were deliberately omitted by various editors of Gury's work. The omission is suggestive; perhaps it is significant.²

D. MANNIX.

¹ Statuta Diocesana per Provinciam Dublinensem observanda, p. 106. Edit. 1831.

² Conf. Ballerini, II. n. 567, Quær. 2º; Palmieri, II. n. 379, Quær. 2º.

CORRESPONDENCE

NOTE ON THE RECEIVED ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF
THE 'GLORIA PATRI'

TO THE EDITOR OF THE 'I. E. RECORD'

REV. DEAR SIR,—I should like, with your permission, to submit, for the consideration of your readers, a few remarks on the received English translation of the *Gloria Patri*. It seems to me that this translation, though common both to Catholic and Protestant Churches, fails to give the true meaning of the Latin text. Let me observe, however, that I confine myself to the question whether the translation is correct or not. It is quite another question whether it ought to be changed. With this latter question I do not propose to deal.

I. In the first place, let us take the original text, and examine it simply as a piece of Latin, submitted for translation. '*Gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto, sicut erat in principio, et nunc, et semper, et in sæcula sæculorum.*' In the received version, this is rendered as follows :—'Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, as it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end.'

Now I submit that the correct translation would be something of this kind :—'Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, both now, and always, and for ever and ever, as it was in the beginning.' I do not want to raise any question on the phrase, '*in sæcula sæculorum,*' which in the ordinary version is translated, 'world without end.' If I have departed from this form, it is chiefly because I found it necessary to do so, in order to make my own version run more smoothly. My criticism has only to do with the phrase, '*et nunc et semper,*' which, in the received version, is rendered, '*is now, and ever shall be.*' I contend that, if this were the true meaning of the original, the different tenses of the verb should be *expressed* in the Latin Text as they are in the English, thus : '*sicut erat in principio, et nunc est, et semper erit.*' We cannot, by the figure Ellipsis, evolve out of the past tense *erat*, first a present tense *est*, and then a future *erit*.

II. Again, the *Gloria Patri* is only one variety of the Lesser Doxology, which occurs in many slightly different forms throughout the liturgy of the Church. Now, in every other form, the

Doxology is simply a *prayer throughout*, and is never accompanied by a *statement* that the object of our prayer is already assured. Here are a few examples.

Patri perennis gloria,
Natoque Patris unico,
Sanctoque sit Paraclito
Per omne semper sæculum.

Hymn at Lauds, Common of Confessor non-Pontiff.

Laus et perennis gloria,
Patri sit, atque Filio,
Sancto simul Paraclito,
In sempiterna sæcula.

Hymn at First Vespers, Common of one Martyr.

Virtus, honor, laus, gloria,
Deo Patri cum Filio,
Sancto simul Paraclito,
In sæculorum sæcula.

Hymn at First Vespers, Common of Virgins.

Jesu, tibi sit gloria,
Qui natus es de Virgine,
Cum Patre et almo Spiritu,
In sempiterna sæcula.

Hymns in the Office of the Blessed Virgin.

Deo Patri sit gloria,
Et Filio, qui a mortuis
Surrexit, ac Paraclito,
In sempiterna sæcula.

Hymns in Paschal Time.

Sit Christe, Rex piissime,
Tibi, Patrique gloria,
Cum Spiritu Paraclito,
Nunc et per omne sæculum.

Hymn at Lauds, Common of Confessor Pontiff.

Deo Patri sit gloria,
Ejusque soli Filio,
Cum Spiritu Paraclito,
Nunc et per omne sæculum.

Hymn at Prime.

Patri, simulque Filio,
Tibique Sancte Spiritus,
*Sicut fuit, sit jugiter,
Sæculum per omne gloria.*

Hymn at Vespers of Saturday.

These are only a few examples taken from many. But they are sufficient, I think, to bring out clearly what is the meaning and spirit of the Doxology, as shown in the general liturgy of the Church. It is not a *statement* or a *prophecy*, but a *prayer* that honour praise and glory may be given to the three Divine Persons, throughout all ages. I would call special attention to the last three examples; because the phrases there printed in Italics—*sicut fuit, sit jugiter, nunc et per omne sæculum*,—bear a striking analogy to those of the *Gloria Patri*: *sicut erat in principio, et nunc, et semper, et in sæcula sæculorum*. The construction of these phrases, in the Hymns quoted, is unmistakeable. We pray that glory be given to the three Divine Persons, *now, and always, and for ever, as it was in the past*. Why, then, should we not adopt the same construction in the *Gloria Patri*; especially as the Latin text not only admits of this construction but, as I have already shown, seems imperatively to demand it?

III. Lastly, I would suggest that the received English translation, however familiar the words have become to the ear from constant use, is in some degree unnatural and preposterous, even when considered in itself. We pray that glory *may be* given to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; and, in the same breath, we go on to proclaim that it *is given*, and *ever will be given*. If it is given, and ever will be given, where is the need for our prayer? I do not go so far as to say that we cannot pray for what we believe is sure to happen. This would be unnecessary for my argument. My point is, that when we pray that a thing *may be* done, it is out of harmony with the spirit of our prayer, to affirm, in the same sentence, that it *is* done, and *always will be* done. On the other hand, it is quite fitting, and entirely in accord with the liturgy of the Church, to pray that glory be given to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, *now, and always and for ever, as it was in the beginning*.

Yours sincerely,

GERALD MOLLOY.

DOCUMENTS

ENCYCLICAL LETTER OF OUR MOST HOLY FATHER
POPE LEO XIII. ON JESUS CHRIST, THE REDEEMER
LEO PP. XIII.

VENERABILES FRATRES SALUTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTIONEM

Tametsi futura prospicientibus, vacuo a sollicitudine animo esse non licet, immo vero non paucae sunt nec leves extimescendae formidines, cum tot tamque inveteratae malorum caussae et privatim et publice insideant: tamen spei ac solatii aliquid videntur haec extrema saeculi divino munere peperisse. Nemo enim existimet, nihil habere ad communem salutem momenti renovatam cogitationem bonorum animi, fideique et pietatis christianae excitata studia: quas quidem virtutes revirescere apud complures aut corroborari hoc tempore, satis expressa signa testantur. En quippe in medio illecebrarum saeculi ac tot circumiectis pietati offensionibus, tamen uno nutu Pontificis undique commeare Romam ad limina sanctorum Apostolorum multitudo frequens: cives pariter ac peregrini dare palam religioni operam: oblataque Ecclesiae indulgentia confisi, parandae aeternae salutis artes studiosius exquirere. Quem praeterea ista non moveat, quae omnium obversatur oculis, erga humani generis Salvatorem solito magis incensa pietas? Optimis rei christianae temporibus facile dignus iudicabitur iste ardor animi tot hominum millium una voluntate sententiaque ab ortu ad solis occasum consalutantium nomen laudesque praedicantium *Iesu Christi*. Atque utinam istas avitae religionis velut erumpentes flammam magnum incendium consequatur: exemplumque excellens multorum reliquos permoveat universos. Quid enim tam huic aetati necessarium, quam redintegrari late in civitatibus indolem christianam, virtutesque veteres? Illud calamitosum, alios et quidem nimis multos obsurdescere, nec ea, quae ab eiusmodi pietatis renovatione monentur, audire. Qui tamen *si scirent donum Dei*, si reputarent, nihil fieri posse miserius quam descivisse a liberatore orbis terrarum, moresque et instituta christiana deseruisse, utique exsuscitarent et ipsi sese, certissimumque interitum effugere converso itinere properarent. Iamvero tueri in terra atque amplificare

imperium Filii Dei, divinorumque beneficiorum communicatione ut homines salvi sint contendere, munus est Ecclesiae ita magnum atque ita suum, ut hoc in opere maxime omnis eius auctoritas ac potestas consistat. Id Nos in administratione Pontificatus maximi, perdifficili illa quidem ac plena curarum, videmur ad hunc diem pro viribus studuisse : vobis autem, venerabiles Fratres, unitatum certe est, immo quotidianum, praecipuas cogitationes vigiliasque in eodem negotio Nobiscum consumere. Verum utrique debemus pro conditione temporum etiam maiora conari, nominatimque per sacri opportunitatem Anni disseminare latius notitiam atque amorem Iesu Christi, docendo, suadendo, hortando, si forte exaudiri vox nostro queat, non tam eis, dicimus, qui effata christiana accipere pronis auribus consuevere, quam ceteris omnibus longe miserrimis, christianum retinentibus nomen, vitam sine fide, sine amore Christi agitantibus. Horum Nos maxime miseret : hos nominatim velumis, et quid agant et quorsum evasuri sint, ni resipuerint, attendere.

Iesum Christum nullo unquam tempore nullaue ratione novisse, summa infelicitas est, vacat tamen perrivacia atque ingrati animi vitio : repudiare aut oblivisci iam cognitum, id vero scelus est adeo tetrum atque insanum, ut in hominem cadere vix posse videatur. Principium enim origo ille est omnium bonorum : humanumque genus, quemadmodum sine Christi beneficio liberari nequiverat, ita nec conservari sine eius virtute potest. 'Non est in alio aliquo salus. Nec enim aliud nomen est sub caelo datum hominibus, in quo oporteat nos salvos fieri.'¹ Quae vita mortalium sit, unde exsulet Iesus, 'Dei virtus et Dei sapientia,' qui mores, quae extrema rerum non satis docent exemplo suo expertes christiani luminis gentes? Quarum qui parumper meminert vel adumbratum apud Paulum² caecitatem mentis, depravationem naturae, portenta superstitionum ac libidinum, is profecto defixum misericordia simul atque horrore animum sentiat. Comperta vulgo sunt, quae memoramus hoc loco, non tamen meditata, nec cogitata vulgo. Neque enim tam multos abalienaret superbia, aut socordia languefaceret, si divinorum beneficiorum late memoria coleretur, saepiusque repeteret animus, unde hominem Christus eripuit, et quo provexit. Exheres atque exsul tot iam aetates in interitum gens humana quotidie rapiebatur, formidolosis illis aliisque implicata malis, quae primorum parentum pepererat delictum, nec ea erant ulla humana ope

¹ Act iv. 12.² Ad Rom. i.

sanabilia, quo tempore Christus Dominus, demissus e caelo liberator, apparuit. Eum quidem victorem domitoremque *serpentis* futurum. Deus ipse in primo mundi ortu sponderat: inde in adventum eius intueri acri cum expectatione desiderii saecula consequentia. In eo spem omnem repositam, sacrorum fatum vatum perdiu ac luculente cecinerant: quin etiam lecti cuiusdam populi varia fortuna, res gestae, instituta, leges, caeremoniae, sacrificia, distincte ac dilucide praesignificaverant, salutem hominum generi perfectam absolutamque in eo fore, qui sacerdos tradebatur futurus, idemque hostia piacularis, restitutor humanae libertatis, princeps pacis, doctor universarum gentium, regni conditor in aeternitate temporum permansuri. Quibus et titulis et imaginibus et vaticiniis specie variis, re concinentibus, ille designabatur unus, qui propter nimiam caritatem suam qua dilexit nos, pro salute nostra sese aliquando devoveret. Sane cum divini venisset maturitas consilii, unigenitus Filius Dei, factus homo, violato Patris numini cumulatissime pro hominibus uberrimeque satisfecit de sanguine suo, tantoque redemptum pretio vindicavit sibi genus humanum. 'Non corruptilibus auro vel argento redempti estis: . . . sed pretioso sanguine quasi agni immaculati Christi, et incontaminati.' Ita omnes in universum homines potestati iam imperioque suo subiectos, quod cunctorum ipse et conditor est et conservator, vere proprieque redimendo, rursus fecit iuris sui. 'Non estis vestri: empti enim estis pretio magno.'² Hinc a Deo instaurata in Christo omnia. 'Sacramentum voluntatis suae, secundum beneplacitum eius, quod proposuit in eo, in dispensatione plenitudinis temporum instaurare omnia in Christo.'³ Cum delessset Iesus chirographum decreti, quod erat contrarium, nobis, affigens illud cruci, continuo quivere caelestes irae: conturbato errantique hominum generi antiquae servitutis liberata nexa, Dei reconciliata voluntas, reddita gratia, reclusus aeternae beatitudinis aditus, eiusque potiundae et ius restitutum et instrumenta praebita. Tum velut excitatus e veterno quodam diuturno ac mortifero discepit homo lumen veritatis concupitum per tot saecula quaesitumque frustra: in primisque agnovit, ad bona se multo altiora multoque magnificentiora natum quam haec sint, quae sensibus praecipiantur, fragilia et fluxa, quibus cogitationes curasque suas antea finierat: atque hanc omnino esse humanae constitutionem vitae, hanc legem supremam, huc tamquam ad finem omnia referenda, ut a Deo profecti, ad Deum aliquando.

² 1 Pet. i. 18, 19.² 1 Cor. vi. 19, 20.³ Eph. i. 9, 10.

revertamur. Ex hoc initio et fundamento recreata revixit conscientia dignitatis humanae : sensum fraternae omnium necessitudinis excepere pectora : tum officia et iura, id quod erat consequens, partim ad perfectionem adducta, partim ex integro constituta, simulque tales excitatae passim virtutes, quales ne suspicari quidem ulla veterum philosophia potuisset. Quamobrem consilia, actio vitae, mores, in alium abiere cursum : cumque Redemptoris late fluxisset cognitio, atque in intimas civitatum venas virtus eius, expultrix ignorantiae ac vitiorum veterum, permanasset, tum ea est conversio rerum consecuta, quae, christiana gentium humanitate parta, faciem orbis terrarum funditus commutavit.

Istarum in recordatione rerum quaedam inest, venerabiles Fratres, infinita incunditas, pariterque magna vis admonitionis, scilicet ut habeamus toto animo, referendamque curemus, ut potest, divino Servatori gratiam.

Remoti ob vetustatem sumus ab originibus primordiisque restitutae salutis : quid tamen istuc referat, quando redemptionis perpetua virtus est, perenniaque et immortalia manent beneficia ? Qui naturam peccato perditam reparavit semel, servat idem servabitque in perpetuum ; 'Dedit redemptionem semetipsum pro omnibus.'¹ 'In Christo omnes vivificabuntur.'² 'Et regni eius non erit finis.'³ Itaque ex aeterno Dei consilio, omnis est in Christo Iesu cum singulorum, tum universorum posita salus : eum qui deserunt, hoc ipso exitium sibi privatim coecefuro consciscunt, eodemque tempore committunt, quantum est in se, ut quam malorum calamitatumque molem pro pietate sua Redemptor depulerat, ad eam ipsam convictus humanus magna iactatus tempestate relabatur.

Rapiuntur enim errore vago optata ab meta longius, quicumque in itinera se devia coniecerint. Similiter si lux veri pura et sincera respuatur, offundi caliginem mentibus, miseraque opinionum pravitate passim infatuari animos necesse est. Spes autem sanitatis quota potest esse reliqua iis, qui principium et fontem vitae deserant ? Atqui via, veritas et vita Christus est unice. 'Ego sum via, et veritas, et vita :'⁴ ita ut, eo posthabito, tria illa ad omnem salutem necessaria principia tollantur.

Num disserere est opus, quod ipsa res monet assidue, quodque vel in maxima mortalium bonorum affluentia in se quisque penitus sentit, nihil esse, praeter Deum, in quo voluntas humana absolute

¹ 1 Tim. ii. 6.

² 1 Cor. xv. 22.

³ Luc. i. 33.

⁴ Io. xiv. 6.

possit atque omni ex parte quiescere? Omnino finis homini, Deus: atque omnis haec, quae in terris degitur, aetas similitudinem peregrinationis cuiusdam atque imaginem verissime gerit. Iamvero *via* nobis Christus est, quia ex hoc mortali cursu, tam laborioso praesertim tamque ancipiti, ad summum et extremum bonorum, Deum, nulla ratione pervenire, nisi Christo auctore et duce possumus. 'Nemo venit ad Patrem, nisi per me.' Quo modo nisi per eum? Nempe in primis et maxime, nisi per gratiam eius: quae tamen *vacua* in homine foret, neglectis praeceptis eius et legibus. Quod enim fieri, parta per Iesum Christum salute, oportebat, legem ipse suam reliquit custodem et procuratricem generis humani, qua nimirum gubernante, a vitae pravitate conversi, ad Deum homines suum securi contenderent. 'Euntes docete omnes gentes: . . . docentes eos servare omnia quaecumque mandavi vobis.'¹ 'Mandata mea servate.'² Ex quo intelligi debet, illud esse in professione christiana praecipuum planeque necessarium, praebere se ad Iesu Christi praecepta docilem eique, ut domino ac regi summo, obnoxiam ac devotam penitus gerere voluntatem. Magna res, et quae multum saepe laborem vehementemque contentionem et constantiam desiderat. Quamvis enim Redemptoris beneficio humana sit reparata natura, superstes tamen in unoquoque nostrum velut quaedam aegrotatio est, infirmitas ac vitiositas. Appetitus varii huc atque illuc hominem rapiunt, rerumque externarum illecebrae facile impellunt animum ut, quod lubeat, non quod a Christo imperatum sit, sequatur. Atqui tamen contra nitendum, atque omnibus viribus repugnandum est cupiditatibus *in obsequium Christi*: quae, nisi parent rationi, dominantur, totumque hominem Christo ereptum, sibi faciunt servientem. 'Homines corrupti mente, reprobi circa fidem, non efficiunt ut non serviant . . . , serviunt enim cupiditati triplici, vel voluptatis, vel excellentiae, vel spectaculi.'³ Atque in eiusmodi certamine sic quisque affectus esse debet, ut molestias etiam et incommoda sibi suscipienda, Christi caussa, putet. Difficile, quae tanto opere alliciunt atque oblectant, repellere: durum atque asperum ea, quae putantur bona corporis et fortunae, prae Christi hominem voluntate imperioque contemnere: sed omnino christianum hominem oportet patientem et fortem esse in perferendo, si vult hoc, quod datum est vitae, christiane traducere. Oblitine sumus cuius corporis et cuius capitis simus membra? Proposito

¹ Io. xiv. 6.² Io. xiv. 15.³ Mat. xxviii. 19, 20.⁴ S. Aug. De vera rel., 37.

sibi gaudio sustinuit crucem, qui nobis ut nosmetipsos abnegaremus praescripsit. Ex ea vero affectione animi, quam diximus, humanae naturae dignitas pendet ipsa. Quod enim vel sapientia antiquorum saepe vidit, imperare sibi efficereque ut pars animi inferior obediat superiori, nequaquam est fractae voluntatis demissio, sed potius quaedam generosa virtus rationi mirifice congruens, in primisque homine digna. Ceterum, multa ferre et perpeti, humana conditio est. Vitam sibi dolore vacuum atque omni expletam beatitate extruere non plus homo potest, quam divini conditoris sui delere consilia, qui culpae veteris consecraria voluit manere perpetua. Consentaneum est ergo, non expectare in terris finem doloris, sed firmare animum ad ferendum dolorem, quo scilicet ad spem certam maximorum bonorum erudimur. Neque enim opibus aut vitae delicatiori, neque honoribus aut potentiae, sed patientiae et lacrimis, studio iustitiae et mundo cordi sempiternam in caelo beatitudinem Christus assignavit.

Hinc facile apparet quid sperari denique ex eorum errore superbiaque debeat, qui, spreto Redemptoris principatu, in summo rerum omnium fastigio hominem locant, atque imperare humanam naturam omni ratione atque in omnes partes statuunt oportere: quamquam id regnum non modo assequi, sed nec definire, quale sit, queunt. Iesu Christi regnum a divina caritate vim et formam sumit: diligere sancte atque ordine, eius est fundamentum et summa. Ex quo illa necessario fluunt, officia inviolate servare: nihil alteri de iure detrahere: humana caelestibus inferiora ducere: amorem Dei rebus omnibus anteponere. Sed isthaec dominatio hominis, aut aperte Christum reiicientis aut non curantis agnoscere, tota nititur in amore sui, caritatis expers, devotionum nescia. Imperet quidem homo, per Iesum Christum licet: sed eo, quo solo potest, pacto, ut primum omnium serviat Deo, eiusque ab lege normam religiose petat disciplinamque vivendi.

Legem vero Christi dicimus non solum praecepta morum naturalia, aut ea quae acceperere antiqui divinitus, quae utique Iesus Christus omnia perfecit et ad summum adduxit declarando, interpretando, sanciendo: verum etiam doctrinam eius reliquam, et omnes nominatim ab eo res institutas. Quarum profecto rerum caput est Ecclesia: immo ullaene res numerantur Christo auctore institutae, quas non illa cumulate complectatur et contineat? Porro Ecclesiae ministerio, praeclarissime ab se fundatae, perennare munus assignatum sibi a Patre voluit: cumque ex una parte praesidia salutis humanae in eam omnia contulisset, ex altera

gravissime sanxit, ei ut homines perinde subessent ac sibi metipsi, eandemque studiose et in omni vita sequerentur ducem : ' qui vos audit, me audit : et qui vos spernit me spernit.'¹ Quocirca omnino petenda ab Ecclesia lex Christi est : ideoque via homini Christus, via item Ecclesia : ille per se et natura sua ; haec mandato munere et communicatione potestatis. Ob eam rem quicumque ad salutem contendere seorsum ab Ecclesia velint, falluntur errore viae, frustra que contendunt.

Quae autem privatorum hominum, eadem fere est causa imperiorum : haec enim ipsa in exitus perniciosos incurrere necesse est, si digrediantur de *via*. Humanae procreator idemque redemptor naturae, Filius Dei, rex et dominus est orbis terrarum, potestatemque summam in homines obtinet cum singulos, tum iure sociatos. ' Dedit ei potestatem, et honorem, et regnum : et omnes populi, tribus et linguae ipsi servient.'² ' Ego autem constitutus sum rex ab eo . . . Dabo tibi gentes haereditatem tuam, et possessionem tuam terminos terrae.'³ Debet ergo in convictu humano et societate lex valere Christi, ita ut non privatae tantum ea sit, sed et publicae dux et magistra vitae. Quoniamque id ita est provisum et constitutum divinitus, nec repugnare quisquam impune potest, idcirco male consulitur rei publicae ubicumque instituta christiana non eo, quo debent, habeantur loco. Amoto Iesu, destituitur sibi humana ratio, maximo orbata praesidio et lumine : tum ipsa facile obscuratur notio causae, quae causa, Deo auctore, genuit communem societatem, quaeque in hoc consistit maxime ut, civili coniunctione adiutrice, consequantur cives naturale bonum, sed prorsus summo illi, quod supra naturam est, perfectissimoque et perpetuo bono convenienter. Occupatis rerum confusione mentibus, ingrediuntur itinere devio tam qui parent, quam qui imperant : abest enim quod tuto sequantur, et in quo consistent.

Quo pacto miserum et calamitosum aberrare de via, similime deserere veritatem. Prima autem et absoluta et essentialis *veritas* Christus est, utpote Verbum Dei, consubstantiale et coaeternum Patri, unum ipse et Pater. *Ego sum via, et veritas*. Itaque, si verum quaeritur, pareat primum omnium Iesu Christo, in eiusque magisterio securam conquiescat humana ratio, propterea quod Christi voce loquitur ipsa veritas. Innumerabilia genera sunt, in quibus humani facultas ingenii, velut in uberrimo campo et quidem suo, investigando contemplandoque, libere excurrat, idque non solum concedente, sed plane postulante natura.

¹ Luc. x. 16.² Daniel vii. 14.³ Ps. ii.

Illud nefas et contra naturam, contineri mentem nolle finibus suis, abiectaque modestia debita, Christi docentis aspernari auctoritatem. Doctrina ea, unde nostra omnium pendet salus, fere de Deo est rebusque divinissimis: neque sapientia hominis cuiusquam peperit eam, sed Filius Dei ipso ab Patre suo totam hausit atque accepit: 'Verba quae dedisti mihi, dedi eis.'¹ Idcirco plura necessario complectitur, non quae rationi dissentiant, id enim fieri nullo pacto potest, sed quorum altitudinem cogitatione assequi non magis possumus, quam comprehendere, qualis est in se, Deum. At enim si tam multae res existunt occultae et a natura ipsa involutae, quas nulla queat humana explicare sollertia, de quibus tamen nemo sanus dubitare ausit, erit quidem libertate perverse utentium non ea perferre quae supra universam naturam longe sunt posita, quod percipere qualia sint non licet. Nolle dogmata huc plane recidit, christianam religionem nullam esse velle. Porro flectenda mens demisse et obnoxie in obsequium Christi, usque adeo, ut eius numine imperioque velut captiva teneatur: 'In captivitatem redigentes omnem intellectum in obsequium Christi.'² Tale prorsus obsequium est, quod Christus sibi tributum vult; et iure vult, Deus est enim, proptereaque sicut voluntatis in homine, ita et intelligentiae unus habet summum imperium. Serviens autem intelligentia Christo domino, nequaquam facit homo serviliter, sed maxime convenienter tum rationi, tum nativae excellentiae suae. Nam voluntate in imperium concedit non hominis cuiuspiam, sed auctoris sui ac principis omnium Dei, cui subiectus est lege naturae: nec astringi se humani opinatione magistri patitur, sed aeterna atque immutabili veritate. Ita et mentis naturale bonum, et libertatem simul consequitur. Veritas enim, quae a Christi magisterio proficiscitur, in conspicuo ponit, unaquaeque res qualis in se sit et quanti: qua imbutus cognitione, si perceptae veritati paruerit homo, non se rebus, sed sibi res, nec rationem libidini, sed libidinem rationi subiiciet: peccatique et errorum pessima servitute depulsa, in libertatem praestantissimam vindicabitur: 'Cognoscetis veritatem, et veritas liberabit vos.'³ Apparet igitur, quorum mens imperium Christi recusat, eos pervicaci voluntate contra Deum contendere. Elapsi autem e potestate divina, non propterea solutiores futuri sunt: incident in potestatem aliquam humanam: eligent quippe, ut fit, unum aliquem, quem audiant, cui obtemperent, quem sequantur magistrum. Ad haec, mentem suam, a rerum

¹ Io. xvii. 8.² 2 Cor. x. 5.³ Io. viii, 32.

divinarum communicatione seclusam, in angustiores scientiae gyrum compellunt, et ad ea ipsa, quae ratione cognoscuntur, venient minus instructi ad proficiendum. Sunt enim in natura rerum non pauca, quibus vel percipiendis, vel explicandis plurimum affert divina doctrina luminis. Nec raro, poenas de superbia sumpturus, sinit illos Deus non vera cernere, ut in quo peccant, in eo plectantur. Utraque de causa permultos saepe videre licet magnis ingeniis exquisitaque eruditione praeditos, tamen in ipsa exploratione naturae tam absurda consectantes, ut nemo deterius erraverit.

Certum igitur sit, intelligentiam in vita christiana auctoritati divinae totam et penitus esse tradendam. Quod si in eo quod ratio cedit auctoritati, elatior ille animus, qui tantam habet in nobis vim, comprimitur et dolet aliquid, inde magis emergit, magnam esse in christiano oportere non voluntatis dumtaxat, sed etiam mentis tolerantiam. Atque id velimus meminisse, qui cogitatione sibi fingunt ac plane mallent quamdam in christiana professione et sentiendi disciplinam et agendi, cuius essent praecepta molliora, quaeque humanae multo indulgentior naturae, nullam in nobis tolerantiam requireret, aut mediocrem. Non satis vim intelligunt fidei institutorumque christianorum: non vident, undique nobis occurrere *Crucem*, exemplum vitae vexillumque perpetuum iis omnibus futurum, qui re ac factis, non tantum nomine, sequi Christum velint.

Vitam esse, solius est Dei. Ceterae naturae omnes participes vitae sunt, vita non sunt. Ex omni autem aeternitate ac suapte natura *vita* Christus est, quo modo est veritas, quia Deus de Deo. Ab ipso, ut ab ultimo augustissimoque principio, vita omnis in mundum influxit perpetuoque influet: quidquid est, per ipsum est, quidquid vivit, per ipsum vivit, quia *omnia* per Verbum 'facta sunt, et sine ipso factum est nihil quod factum est.' Id quidem in vita naturae: sed multo meliorem vitam multoque potiore satis iam tetigimus supra, Christi ipsius beneficio partam, nempe *vitam gratiae*, cuius beatissimus est exitus *vita gloriae*, ad quam cogitationes atque actiones referendae omnes. In hoc est omnis vis doctrinae legumque christianarum ut *peccatis mortui, iustitiae vivamus*,¹ id est virtuti et sanctitati, in quo moralis vita animorum cum explorata spe beatitudinis sempiternae consistit. Sed vere et proprie et ad salutem apte nulla re alia, nisi fide christiana, alitur iustitia. 'Iustus ex fide vivit.'² 'Sine fide impossibile est

¹ 1 Pet. ii. 24.² Galat. iii. 11.

placere Deo.¹ Itaque sator et parens et altor fidei Iesus Christus, ipse est qui vitam in nobis moralem conservat ac sustentat : idque potissimum Ecclesiae ministerio : huic enim, benigno providentissimoque consilio, administranda instrumenta tradidit, quae hanc, de qua loquimur vitam gignerent, generatam tuerentur, extinctam renovarent. Vis igitur procreatrix eademque conservatrix virtutum *salutarium* eliditur, si disciplina morum a fide divina diiungitur : ac sane despoliant hominem dignitate maxima, vitae deiectum supernaturali ad naturalem perniciosissime revolvunt, qui mores dirigi ad honestatem uno rationis magisterio volunt. Non quod praecepta naturae dispicere ac servare recta ratione homo plura non queat : sed omnia quamvis dispiceret et sine ulla offensione in omni vita servaret, quod nisi opitulante Redemptoris gratia non potest, tamen frustra quisquam, expers fidei, de salute sempiterna confideret. ‘Si quis in me non manserit, mit tetur foras sicut palmes ; et arescet, et colligent eum et in ignem mittent, et ardet.’² ‘Qui non crediderit, condemnabitur.’³ Ad extremum quanti sit in se ipsa, et quos pariat fructus ista divinae fidei contemptrix honestas, nimis multa habemus documenta ante oculos. Quid est quod in tanto studio stabiliendae augendaeque prosperitatis publicae, laborant tamen ac paene aegrotant civitates tam multis in rebus tamque gravibus quotidie magis ? Utique civilem societatem satis aiunt fretam esse per se ipsam : posse sine praesidio institutorum christianorum commodum se habere, atque eo, quo spectat, uno labore suo pervenire. Hinc quae administrantur publice, ea more profano administrari malunt : ita ut in disciplina civili vitaeque publicae populorum vestigia religionis avitae pauciora quotidie videas. At non cernunt satis quid agant. Nam submoto numine recta et prava sancientis Dei, excidere auctoritate principe leges necesse est, iustitiamque collabi, quae duo firmissima sunt coniunctionis civilis maximeque necessaria vincula. Similique modo, sublata semel spe atque expectatione bonorum immortalium, primum est mortalia sitienter appetere : de quibus trahere ad se, quanto plus poterit, conabitur quisque pro viribus. Hinc aemulari, invidere, odisse ; tum consilia teterrima : de gradu deiectam velle omnem potestatem, meditari passim dementes ruinas. Non pacatae res foris, non securitas domi : deformata sceleribus vita communis.

In tanto cupiditatum certamine, tantoque discrimine, aut extrema metuenda perniciēs, aut idoneum quaerendum mature

¹ Hebr. xi. 6.² Io. xv. 6.³ Marc. xvi. 16.

remedium. Coercere maleficos, vocare ad mansuetudinem mores populares atque omni ratione deterrere a delictis providentia legum, rectum idemque necessarium : nequaquam tamen in isto omnia. Altius sanatio petenda populorum : advocanda vis humana maior, quae attingat animos, renovatosque ad conscientiam officii, efficiat meliores : ipsa illa nimirum vis, quae multo maioribus fessum malis vindicavit semel ab interitu orbem terrarum. Fac reviviscere et valere, amotis impedimentis, christianos in civitate spiritus ; recreabitur civitas. Conticescere proclive erit inferiorum ordinum cum superioribus contentionem, ac sancta utrinque iura consistere verecundia mutua. Si Christum audiant, manebunt in officio fortunati aequae ac miseri : alteri iustitiam et caritatem sentient sibi esse servandam, si salvi esse volunt, alteri temperantiam et modum. Optime constiterit domestica societas, custode salutari metu iubentis, vetantis Dei : eademque ratione plurimum illa in populis valebunt, quae ab ipsa natura praecipuntur, vereri potestatem legitimam et obtemperare legibus ius esse : nihil seditiose facere, nec per coitiones moliri quicquam. Ita, ubi christiana lex omnibus praesit et eam nulla res impediatur, ibi sponte fit ut conservetur ordo divina providentia constitutus, unde efflorescit cum incolumitate prosperitas. Clamat ergo communis salus, referre se necesse esse, unde nunquam digredi oportuerat, ad eum qui via et veritas et vita est, nec singulos dumtaxat, sed societatem humanam universe. In hanc velut in possessionem suam, restitui Christum dominum oportet, efficiendumque ut profectam ab eo vitam hauriant atque imbibant omnia membra et partes reipublicae, iussa ac vetita legum, instituta popularia, domicilia doctrinae, ius coniugiorum convictusque domestici, tecta locupletium, officinae opificum. Nec fugiat quemquam, ex hoc pendere magnopere ipsam, quae tam vehementer expetitur, gentium humanitatem, quippe quae alitur et augetur non tam iis rebus, quae sunt corporis, commoditatibus et copiis, quam iis, quae sunt animi, laudabilibus moribus et cultu virtutum.

Alieni a Iesu Christo plerique sunt ignorance magis, quam voluntate improba : qui enim hominem, qui mundum studeant dedita opera cognoscere, quam plurimi numerantur ; qui Filium Dei, perpauci. Primum igitur sit, ignorance scientia depellere, ne repudietur aut spernatur ignotus. Quotquot ubique sunt, christianos obtestamur dare velint operam, quoad quisque potest, Redemptorem suum ut noscant, qualis est : in quem ut quis

intuebitur mente sincera iudicioque integro, ita perspicue cernet nec eius lege fieri quicquam posse salubrius, nec doctrina divinius. In quo mirum quantum allatura adiumenti est auctoritas atque opera vestra, venerabiles Fratres, tum Cleri totius studium et sedulitas. Insculpere populorum in animi germanam notionem ac prope imaginem Iesu Christi, eiusque caritatem, beneficia, instituta illustrare litteris, sermone, in scholis puerilibus, in gymnasiis, in concione, ubicumque se det occasio, partes officii vestri praecipuas putatote. De iis, quae appellantur *iura, hominis*, satis audiit multitudo: audiat aliquando de iuribus Dei. Idoneum tempus esse, vel ipsa indicant excitata iam, ut diximus, multorum recta studia, atque ista nominatim in Redemptorem tot significationibus testata pietas, quam quidem saeculo insequenti, si Deo placet, in auspiciis melioris aevi tradituri sumus. Verum, cum res agatur quam non aliunde sperare nisi a gratia divina licet, communi studio summisque precibus flectere ad misericordiam insistamus omnipotentem Deum, ut interire ne patiatur, quos ipsemet profuso sanguine liberavit: respiciat hanc propitius aetatem, quae multum quidem deliquit, sed multa vicissim ad patiendum aspera in expiationem exanclavit: omniumque gentium generumque homines benigne complexus, meminerit suum illud: 'Ego si exaltatus fuero a terra, omnia traham ad meipsum.'¹

Auspiciem divinorum munerum, benevolentiaeque Nostrae paternae testem vobis, venerabiles Fratres, Clero populoque vestro Apostolicam benedictionem peramanter in Domino imperimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die 1 Novembris An. MDCCCC. Pontificatus Nostri vicesimo tertio.

LEO PP. XIII.

¹ Io. xii. 32.

EXTENSION OF JUBILEE TO THE WHOLE WORLD

EXTENSIO VNIVERSALIS IUBILAEI IN VRBE CELEBRATI ANNO
DOMINI MILLESIMO NONINGENTESIMO AD VNIVERSVM CATHOLICVM ORBEM

LEO EPISCOPVS

SERVVS SERVORVM DEI VNIVERSIS CHRISTIFIDELIBVS PRAESENTES
LITTERAS INSPECTVRIS SALVTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTI-
ONEM

Temporis quidem sacri, quod solemnī caerimoniarum religione hesterno die conclusimus, sicut iucundus Nobis decursus fuit, sic est futura grata recordatio. Quod enim Ecclesia optarat, quodque spectarat unice, ut permoveret salutariter animos post annos quinque et septuaginta instaurata celebritas, id videmur, annuente Dei numine, consecuti. Non enim pauci, sed ad centena millia et ex omnibus civitatum ordinibus numerantur, qui extraordinariam sacrae indulgentiae potiundae facultatem libentes magnaue cum alacritate arripere studuerint. Neque est dubitandum, quin poenitentia salutarī expiati atque ad christianas virtutes renovati plurimorum animi inde fuerint: ob eamque rem novum quoddam fidei pietatisque robur ex hoc fonte capite catholici nominis usque-que influxisse, non immerito existimamus.

Iamvero, quod in simili causa Decessores Nostri consuevere, nunc est in animo Apostolicae caritatis dilatare spatia, ampliorumque caelestium bonorum praebere facultatem. Nimirum concreditum Nobis thesaurum indulgentiae sacrae, qui anno exacto Romae tantum patuit amplissime, eundem dimidiato anno proximo in toto orbe catholico patere universitati christifidelium volumus. Valebit id quidem, arbitramur, latius ad revocandos christianos mores, ad copulandas cum Apostolica Sede arctius voluntates, ad cetera vulgo comparanda bona, quae fuse persecuti sumus, cum primo Iubilaeum magnum indiximus. Pertinebit id ipsum ad exorientis saeculi primordia rite dedicanda: neque enim aptius videmus iniri posse saeculum, quam si homines instituant de promeritis Redemptionis Christi uberius proficere. Minime vero dubitamus, quin novum hoc salutis praesidium omnes Ecclesiae filii eo sint animo accepturi, quo est a Nobis exhibitum. Confidimus autem Venerabiles Fratres Episcopos, universumque clerum, pro explorata ipsorum vigilantia diligentiaque daturus, uti par est, operam, ut cōmunia optata plenissime eveniant.

Itaque auctoritate omnipotentis Dei, beatorum Apostolorum

Petri et Pauli ac Nostra, Iubilaeum magnum, quod in hac Sacra Urbe celebratum est, ad universum catholicum orbem per has litteras extendimus ac sex mensium spatio prorogamus, et pro extenso prorogatoque haberi volumus.

Quapropter omnibus utriusque sexus Christifidelibus in quacumque ora ac parte terrarum existentibus, etiam iis qui forsan elapso anno Sacro Romam venerunt, ibique seu alibi quavis ratione hoc idem Iubilaeum a Nobis concessum adepti sunt, qui intra sex menses a die publicationis harum litterarum in qualibet Dioecesi factae computandos, Ecclesiam Cathedralem in civitate episcopali, et maiorem in ceteris locis dioecesis, tresque alias tam in illa, quam in istis, ab ipsis Ordinariis sive per se, sive per suos Officiales, aut Parochos vel Vicarios foraneos, designandas, semel saltem in die per quindecim continuos vel interpolatos dies, sive naturales, sive etiam ecclesiasticos, nimirum a primis Vesperis unius diei ad integrum subsequentis diei crepusculum devote visitaverint, et pro Ecclesiae exaltatione, haeresum extirpatione, catholicorum principum concordia, et christiani populi salute pias ad Deum preces effuderint, vere poenitentibus et confessis, sacraque Communionis refectis, plenissimam peccatorum suorum indulgentiam, remissionem et veniam misericorditer in Domino semel concedimus et impertimus, ita tamen ut Confessio annualis et Sacra Communio Paschalis ad effectum lucrandi Iubilaei minime suffragentur. In locis vero, in quibus quatuor Ecclesiarum defectus verificetur, eisdem Ordinariis eodemque modo facultas conceditur designandi minorem Ecclesiarum numerum, seu etiam unam, si una tantum adsit Ecclesia, in quibus vel in qua fideles aliarum Ecclesiarum visitationes supplere possint, eas vel eam visitantes iteratis ac distinctis vicibus, eodem die naturali vel ecclesiastico, ita tamen ut numerus visitationum omnium sit sexaginta et per quindecim continuos vel interpolatos dies distribuantur. Ratione vero habita peculiaris conditionis, in qua certas quasdam personas versari contigerit, haec statuimus :

I. Navigantes et iter facientes, si post elapsos sex menses dictos ad sua domicilia, aut alio ad certam stationem se receperint, peractis quae praescripta sunt, et visitata quindecim vicibus Ecclesia Cathedralli, vel maiori aut Parochiali eorum domicilii vel stationis, eadem indulgentiam consequi possint.

II. Locorum Ordinariis facultatem facimus dispensandi a praescriptis visitationibus Moniales, Oblatas, aliasque puellas ac mulieres in claustris monasteriorum aut in aliis piis domibus et Communitatibus vitam agentibus ; item Anachoretas et Eremitas,

aut alias quaslibet personas in carcere aut captivitate existentes, aut valetudine vel alio impedimento detentas, quominus statas visitationes peragant; eisque omnibus et singulis in locum visitationum alia pia opera sive per se ipsos, sive per eorum earumve Regulares Praelatos aut Confessarios, etiam extra sacramentalem Confessionem, commutandi; similiter dispensandi pueros, nondum ad primam Communionem admissos, eisque alia pia opera etiam pro sacramentali Communione praescribendi; Capitulis autem, Congregationibus tam saecularium quam regularium, Sodalitatibus, Confraternitatibus, Universitatibus, seu Collegiis quibuscumque, nec non Christifidelibus cum proprio Parocho, aut alio sacerdote ab eo deputato, statutas Ecclesias processionaliter visitantibus, easdem visitationes ad minorem numerum reducendi.

De Confessario Iubilaei haec indulgemus:

I. Moniales earumque Novitiae sibi ad hunc effectum eligere poterunt Confessarium quemcumque ad excipiendas Monialium Confessiones ab actuali Ordinario loci approbatum.

II. Ceteri omnes utriusque sexus Christifideles tam laici quam ecclesiastici, Saeculares et cuiusvis Ordinis et Instituti etiam specialiter nominandi Regulares poterunt ad eundem effectum sibi eligere quemcumque presbyterum Confessarium, tam Saecularem, quam cuiusvis Ordinis et Instituti etiam diversi Regularem, ab Ordinario actuali loci ad audiendas personarum saecularium confessiones approbatum; vel, si agatur de Regularibus, Confessarium proprii Ordinis eligere volentibus, a Praelato Regulari ad suorum Religiosorum audiendas confessiones approbatum.

III. Confessario ita approbato et ad effectum lucrandi Iubilaei electo facultatem hac vice concedimus, intra dictum semestris spatium in foro dumtaxat conscientiae absolvendi ab excommunicationis, suspensionis et aliis ecclesiasticis sententiis et censuris a iure vel ab homine quavis de causa latis seu inflictis, etiam Ordinariis locorum, ac Nobis et Sedi Apostolicae, etiam in casibus cuicumque ac Summo Pontifici et Sedi Apostolicae, speciali licet forma, reservatis, et qui alias in concessione quantumvis ampla non intelligerentur concessi, necnon ab omnibus peccatis et excessibus, quantumcumque gravibus et enormibus, etiam iisdem Ordinariis ac Nobis et Sedi Apostolicae, ut praefertur, reservatis, iniuncta poenitentia salutari aliisque de iure iniungendis. Excipitur crimen absolutionis complicitis, quod ter, aut amplius admissum fuerit. Praecipue vero haereticos, qui fuerint publice dogmatizantes, ne absolvat, nisi, abiurata haeresi, scandalum, ut par est, reparaverint; item qui bona vel iura ecclesiastica acquisierint

sine venia, ne absolvat nisi iis restitutis aut se composuerint, vel sincere promiserint, quam primum se composituros apud Ordinarium, vel apud Sanctam Sedem.

IV. Item vota quaecumque etiam iurata, et Sedi Apostolicae reservata (Castitatis, Religionis et obligatoris, quae a tertio acceptata fuerint, seu in quibus agatur de damno tertii semper exceptis, necnon poenalibus, quae praeservativa a peccato nuncupantur, nisi commutatio futura iudicetur eiusmodi, ut non minus a peccato committendo refrænet, quam prior voti materia) in alia pia et salutaria opera commutare; et cum poenitentibus huiusmodi in Sacris Ordinibus constitutis etiam Regularibus super occulta irregularitate ad exercitium eorundem Ordinum et ad superiorum assecutionem, ob censurarum violationem dumtaxat contracta, dispensare possit, dummodo ad forum ecclesiasticum non sit deducta, nec facile deducenda.

V. Similique modo cum illis qui, scienter vel ignoranter, cum impedimento gradus secundi et tertii, vel tertii solius, aut tertii et quarti, vel quarti solius consanguinitatis, uel affinitatis etiam ex copula licita provenientis, matrimonium iam contraxerunt, dummodo huiusmodi impedimentum occultum remaneat, dispensare pro foro tantum conscientiae possit ad remanendum in matrimonio.

VI. Similiter, pro foro conscientiae tantum dispensare valeat super impedimento dirimente occulto tam primi et secundi, quam primi tantum, aut secundi tantum gradus affinitatis ex copula illicita provenientis in matrimonio contracto; atque etiam, dummodo causae graves et quae canonice sufficientes habentur intersint, in contrahendo: ita tamen ut, si huiusmodi affinitas proveniat ex copula cum matre desponsatae, vel desponsandae, huius natiuitas copulam antecesserit, et non aliter.

VII. Dispensare similiter, pro eodem foro, tam de contracto, quam de contrahendo possit super impedimento cognationis spiritualis, itemque super occulto impedimento criminis, neutro tamen machinante, idest quando solum concurrant adulterium et fides data de matrimonio contrahendo post coniugis mortem.

VIII. Dispensare ad petendum debitum possit in casu affinitatis incestuosae matrimonio supervenientis.

IX. Ad petendum pariter debitum cum illis qui voto simplici castitatis obstricti matrimonium contraxerunt, dispensare valeat, illos monendo facturos contra id votum, si extra usum matrimoniale delinquant, ac remansuros eodem prorsus ac antea voto obstrictos, si coniugi supervixerint.

X. Nolumus autem per praesentes litteras super aliqua alia

irregularitate vel publica, vel occulta, seu defectu aut nota, aliaque incapacitate, aut inhabilitate quoque modo contractis dispensare, vel aliquam facultatem tribuere super praemissis dispensandi, seu habilitandi, et in pristinum statum restituendi etiam in foro conscientiae; nolumus ulli Confessario facultatem tribuere absolvendi complicem in quolibet inhonesto contra sextum Praeceptum peccato; aut complici licentiam impertiri eligendi confessarium huiusmodi ad effectum praesentium, ut iam in Constitutione Benedicti XIV, quae incipit *Sacramentum Poenitentiae* declaratum fuit: nec quidquam praefatae et aliis pontificiis Constitutionibus derogare volumus quoad obligationem denunciationum; neque demum iis, qui a Nobis et Apostolica Sede, vel ab aliquo Praelato seu Indice ecclesiastico nominatim excommunicati, suspensi, interdicti, seu alias in sententias et Censuras incidisse declarati vel publice denunciati fuerint, nisi intra tempus dictorum sex mensium satisfecerint, et cum partibus, ubi opus fuerit, concordaverint, ullo modo has easdem Litteras suffragari posse aut debere.

Ceterum, siqui post inchoata, huius Iubilaei consequendi animo, praescripta opera, praefinitum Visitationum numerum morbo impediti complere nequiverint, Nos piae promptaeque illorum voluntati benigne favere cupientes, eosdem vere poenitentes et confessos, ac Sacra Communione refectos, praedictae Indulgentiae et remissionis participes fieri volumus. Si qui autem post obtentas absolutiones a censuris, aut votorum commutationes seu dispensationes praedictas, serium illud ac sincerum ad id alias requisitum propositum eiusdem Iubilaei lucrandi, ac cetera necessaria opera adimplendi mutaverint; licet propter id ipsum a peccati reatu immunes vix censi possint; nihilominus huiusmodi absolutiones, commutationes et dispensationes ab ipsis cum praedicta animi dispositione obtentas, in suo vigore persistere decernimus ac declaramus.

Praesentes Litteras per omnia validas et efficaces suosque plenarios effectus, ubicumque publicatae et executioni demandatae fuerint, sortiri et obtinere, omnibusque Christifidelibus in Apostolicae Sedis gratia manentibus plenissime suffragari volumus et decernimus; non obstantibus de Indulgentiis non concedendis ad instar, et Universalibus, Provincialibus et Synodalibus Conciliis editis Constitutionibus, Ordinationibus, et generalibus seu specialibus absolutionum seu relaxationum ac dispensationum reservationibus, necnon quorumcumque etiam Mendicantium et Militarium Ordinum, Congregationum et Institutorum, etiam iuramento,

confirmatione Apostolica vel quavis firmitate alia roboratis statutis, legibus, usibus, et consuetudinibus: Privilegiis quoque, Indultis et Litteris Apostolicis eisdem concessis, praesertim in quibus caveatur expresse, quod alicuius Ordinis, Congregationis et Instituti Professores extra propriam Religionem peccata sua confiteri prohibeantur: quibus omnibus et singulis, etiamsi pro illorum sufficiency derogatione de illis eorumque totis tenoribus specialis, specifica, expressa et individua mentio facienda, vel alia exquisita forma ad id servanda foret, huiusmodi tenores pro insertis, et formas pro exactissime servatis habentes; pro hac vice et ad praemissorum effectum dumtaxat plenissime derogamus; ceterisque contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque.

Volumus autem, ut harum Litterarum transumptis sive exemplis etiam impressis, manu alicuius Notarii publici subscriptis et sigillo personae in ecclesiastica dignitate constitutae munitis, eadem ab omnibus fides habeatur, quae ipsis praesentibus haberetur, si forent exhibitae.

Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam Nostrae extensionis, hortationis, commissionis, concessionis, derogationis, decreti, et voluntatis infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attentare praesumpserit, indignationem omnipotentis Dei, ac beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum eius se noverit incursurum.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum Anno Incarnationis Dominicae Millesimo noningentesimo, Octavo Calendas Ianuarii, Pontificatus Nostri Anno vicesimo tertio.

C. Card. ALOISI MASELLA Pro-Dat.—A. Card. MACCHI

VISA

DE CVRIA I. DE AQVILA E VICECOMITIBUS

Loco ✠ Plumbi

Reg. in Secret. Brevium

I. CVGNONIVS.

DECISIONS REGARDING THE JUBILEE OF THE PRESENT YEAR

The following decisions have been given by the Sacred Penitentiary in reference to the Jubilee of the present year.

DUBIA**APOSTOLICAE SEDI DELATA OCCASIONE IUBILAEI MAGNI AD UNIVERSUM ORBEM EXTENSI.**

I. An tempore praesentis Iubilaei liceat Confessariis pluries uti facultatibus extraordinariis eisdem concessis erga eundem poenitentem, qui nondum omnia opera iniuncta adimplevit ad Iubilaei indulgentiam lucrandam?

SSmus. respondendum mandavit: Affirmative.

II. An in locis ubi processiones in viis publicis non permittuntur, possint, ad effectum reducendi visitationum numerum, processionibus aequiparari coadunationes corporum moralium et aliorum fidelium qui in designatis Ecclesiis, hora praestituta, sub proprii Moderatoris et respective sub proprii Parochi vel alterius Sacerdotis ab eo deputati ductu, colliguntur, ut ibidem una simul visitationes peragent.

SSmus., attentis praesentium temporum adiunctis, ex speciali gratia benigne indulget ut, in locis in quibus processiones non permittuntur, visitationes prout exponitur peractae habeantur tamquam processionaliter factae.

III. An pro iis qui degunt in locis ab Ecclesia Parochiali valde dissitis possit ab Ordinario alia Ecclesia vel publicum Oratorium facilioris accessus ad visitationes peragendas designari?

R. De speciali gratia SSmi.: Affirmative.

IV. An sex menses ad quos extensum est Iubilaeum extra Urbem debeant necessario esse continui, vel possint ab Ordinario interpolari et dividi per partes infra annum?

R. Affirmative ad 1^m partem: negative ad 2^m. Nihilominus SSmus. benigne indulget ut Ordinarii, interveniente gravi et legitima causa, possint pro suo prudenti arbitrio semestris tempus in partes dividere; ita tamen ut una tantum vice Iubilaeum acquiri valeat, licet opera ipsa iniuncta possint distribui per designatos ab Ordinario menses.

V. Nonnullis Episcopis gratiam implorantibus ut unica Confessione et Communionem satisfieri possit praecepto Ecclesiae et operi iniuncto ad Iubilaeum lucrandum, SSmus. minime annuendum censuit.

Datum Romae in S. Poenitentiaria die 25 Ianuarii 1901.

S. Card. VANNUTELLI,

Poenitentiarius Maior.

R. Celli S. Poenitentiariae Substitutus.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE BIRTHPLACE OF ST. PATRICK. By the Very Rev. S. Malone, P.P., M.R.I.A. Dublin: Browne and Nolan, Ltd.; M. H. Gill and Son. 1900.

RECENT writers on the birthplace of St. Patrick have done but little to bring the question out of the dark recesses of controversy. A vast amount of ingenuity and learning has been spent in the elaboration or defence of some new theory. France, which at one time held the field, seems to be now abandoned. Spain has had its turn, but its favour has been limited and shortlived. Scotland has had, perhaps, the strongest and weightiest regiment of writers to establish and defend its claim. Dr. Malone has never been able to accept the Scottish theory; and, though he has shifted his ground more than once, he is not prepared to approach nearer to Caledonia than Usktown in South Wales. Whilst we cannot see our way to follow him out to his conclusions, there is one thing, at all events, which we must admit he has accomplished, and that is to have shaken by his destructive criticism the theories so confidently put forward by almost all his opponents. It is scarcely fair to venture on a remark of this kind, unless we are prepared to justify it by argument. This, however, is not the place for argument, but merely for appreciation. We must leave the arguments to experts. We only claim the right to say here whether they stand the test of rigid criticism. In our opinion none of the theories put forward stand the test absolutely. Nor do we believe that with the limited *data* on which we are asked to build, it is possible to establish with certainty the birthplace of our great apostle. Others may think they have settled the matter beyond yea or nay. They are welcome to their belief. But once a person is committed to a theory, or in opposition to another, it is wonderful how easily he sees evidence. Considerable acquaintance with the literature of St. Patrick's birthplace has convinced us that nothing more than a strong probability can be extracted from the mass of confusion in which the question is involved. We ourselves are rather inclined to Scotland, but difficulties have been raised by Dr. Malone and others which we find it impossible to overcome. Dr. Malone's little book has undoubtedly this great advantage: that the whole question is dealt with in a very succinct and compendious volume. We may even go so far as to say that, if

it does not prove to our satisfaction that St. Patrick was born at Uskdown, it breaks many important links in the evidence adduced in favour of every other place.

P. T.

MEMOIRS AND CORRESPONDENCE OF COVENTRY PATMORE.

By Basil Champneys. 2 vols. London: George Bell and Sons. 1900.

WE scarcely think that there was substance enough in Coventry Patmore to fill these two volumes of memoirs and correspondence. Coventry Patmore was, no doubt, an interesting personality. He took a high rank amongst the poets of the Victorian era. But positively there is a great deal of silly stuff in the letters of the poet and his friends. Many of them are so utterly vapid and commonplace that we fail to see what right they have to occupy so much space or to press themselves so persistently on the attention of the public. Mr. Patmore's impressions of Rome, for instance, may be very interesting to Mr. Patmore and his family; but what earthly interest they can have for the public at large we fail to see. Mr. Patmore became a convert to the Catholic Church, and was, no doubt, a very sincere convert, and in many ways an excellent Christian. But there were turnings and windings in his character which it was difficult to get to the end of. Poets are supposed to be very transparent people; but Patmore was as opaque as a man of his dimensions and physique well could be. Mr. Patmore was one of those numerous people who took pleasure in saying very ugly things of Irish priests. The suggestion that they are Irish first and Catholics afterwards was pretty widely circulated some years ago; but one is scarcely prepared to find this *delicate handed poet* ventilating the charge. He tells us that an 'eminent and an ardent Irish Catholic' 'has assured him that that love of national independence and the hatred of any, even apparent, bond of union with England are so strong in his country that the conversion of England to the Catholic faith, should it ever occur, would be immediately followed by that of Ireland to Protestantism.' All this simply shows what an exceedingly credulous person an English poet may be, and what a mischievous knave 'the eminent and ardent Irish Catholic' is who plays off such nonsense on credulous strangers,

Altogether, one volume would have done ample justice to the subject of this memoir.

J. F. H.

The Irish Ecclesiastical Record

A Monthly Journal, under Episcopal Sanction.

Thirty-fourth Year]
No. 399.

MARCH, 1901.

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Vol. IX.

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Rev. Daniel O'Loan, D.D., Maynooth College.

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Orestes A. Brownson. Historical Memoirs of the City of Armagh. Student's Hebrew Grammar. Student's Hebrew Lexicon. Tractatus de Jubilaeo Anni Sancti. A stinence Fare.

Nihil Obstat.

GERALDUS MOLLOY, S.T.D.
Censor Deo.

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Ex Statutis Synodi Maynutianae (p. 113).

"Habeant quoque librum Status Animarum in quo consignentur nomina, cognomina, aetas, conditio incolarum parociae et caetera quae notantur in Rituali Romano."

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DR. SALMON'S 'INFALLIBILITY' ¹

I

THERE are Catholic theologians who maintain, and not without good reason, that it is a note of the true Church that she should be calumniated and persecuted. And her Divine Founder insinuated this very clearly when He said to His disciples:—‘If you had been of the world, the world would love its own; but because you are not of the world, but I have chosen you out of the world, therefore the world hateth you.’² Very early in the Church’s history she had bitter experience of the truth of these words; and every age of her existence supplies her with fresh experience of it.

But the shedding of Christian blood in hatred of Christian truth, has long since ceased to be fashionable, and if indulged in now, would, perhaps, call forth a protest from the Great Powers. The old hatred, however, finds expression still in a system of persecution, less openly cruel, but certainly more destructive of souls—the misrepresentation of Catholic doctrines and practices. Satan knows his enemy well, and in his warfare with the Church there is no truce. He gets his deputies to do his work, unceasingly, and by them no

¹ *The Infallibility of the Church.* A Course of Lectures in the Divinity School at the University of Dublin, by George Salmon, D.D. London: 1890.

² John xv. 19.]

means are left untried to weaken or destroy the faith of those who are within the Church or to hinder those who are without from entering her fold.

Amongst the assailants of the Church, there are very many the vehemence of whose declamation is in precise proportion to their ignorance of the doctrines they condemn. Such persons are rather objects for pity. They will not, of course, take the Church's teaching from herself; for then it may not be so easy to refute it. They persistently attribute to her doctrines which she does not hold, and so they readily refute the phantoms of their own creation. They act just like those pagans of whom Tertullian said: 'They are unwilling to hear, what, if heard, they could not condemn.'

And very often, too, the attack on the Church is made by men of undoubted ability, and of considerable acquirements, from whom, therefore, we should have expected accurate statements of our doctrines and intelligent treatment of the grounds on which these doctrines are held. And yet when we read their controversial works, we seek in vain for any of these qualities. They seem to understand the Church quite as little as the least educated of her assailants. The ability, the calmness, the spirit of dispassionate inquiry, which mark them in other departments of learning, seem to have completely abandoned them when they discuss the claims of the Catholic Church.

Dr. Salmon is a specimen of this class. He was known as a scientific scholar of some eminence. He is also the author of some articles in Dr. Smith's Dictionaries, and of an *Introduction to the New Testament*, which is a useful compilation, though often disfigured by needless exhibitions of anticatholic bias. His book on *Infallibility* will bring him no laurels. Indeed, judged by this book, Dr. Salmon seems to be a 'survival of the fittest' to remind us of a time when no charge was too vile to be made against Catholics, and believed of them on mere assertion; and when no vindication, however conclusive, of Catholic doctrines and practices would obtain a hearing. The book consists of a series of lectures delivered in Trinity College, Dublin, to young men preparing for the ministry of the

Protestant Church, and its aim is to show, that the claim to Infallibility made by the Catholic Church is groundless. The present writer's attention was called to Dr. Salmon's book on its first appearance some years since, but it did not seem to him to call for serious theological treatment, because the reasoning was of such a kind, as could not deceive any educated Catholic, whilst the cost and bulk of the volume made it highly improbable that it would circulate amongst the uneducated, who alone could be affected by it. As however it is now certain that determined and persistent efforts have been made to circulate it amongst Protestants to confirm them in their prejudices against the Catholic Church, to shut out the light of truth from them, and as it has been used also in attempting to unsettle the faith of converts to Catholicism; and is, furthermore, the storehouse whence proselytising parsons and Church Mission agents get their stock-in-trade, it may be well to call attention to its contents.

Père Hardouin is reported to have said to some friend who called him to task for his historical eccentricities: 'Do you think that I have been rising all my life at four o'clock in the morning, merely to say what everyone has been saying before me?' The learned Jesuit's mantle has certainly not fallen on Dr. Salmon. No long vigils were needed for the composition of his book. He has said nothing in it that was not often said by others before him. He does not seem to understand—he certainly does not state correctly—the Catholic doctrine on infallibility; and he has said little against it, that was not said, with more force and better taste, by Dr. Whately and Dr. Todd. Indeed, he quotes several long passages from Dr. Whately's *Cautions for the Times* without a syllable of change, and without the ceremony of an inverted comma. He draws largely on Usher and Chillingworth, and still more largely on Lesley and Littledale; he frequently adopts the reasonings and sometimes the words, of that theological luminary, Dr. Tresham Gregg. His parade of erudition can deceive only the ignorant as to the very second-hand character of his book. He seldom ventures on a proof of any of his statements;

no doubt, satisfied that his own assertion is a sufficient warrant of their truth. This, too, may have been the opinion of the students whom he lectured; but, after all, it is not fair to them to send them out into the world to carry on controversies with us, equipped only with the information supplied by Dr. Salmon. There are scattered through the book some smart sayings which may excite laughter amongst young men in a class-room, but do not help to prepare them for the more serious work that awaits them in the world abroad. Indeed, no fairly intelligent person can read through the lectures without feeling how little the students owe to their professor. Then, again, he frequently applies to us epithets, that are known to be insulting, and justifies himself by saying that he is speaking behind our backs. Well, this is all a matter of taste, and by all means let the Doctor indulge in his. It does us no harm. He volunteers graciously to make us one liberal concession. He will call us 'Roman Catholics' if we call him and his brethren 'Irish Catholics.' Truth forbids us, however, to make the compromise, and the Doctor would not know himself under the new title. He openly, and, indeed, needlessly, proclaims himself a 'Protestant' (page 9); but by 'Protestant' he means 'one who has examined into the Roman claims, and found reason to think them groundless' (page 10). This qualification limits very considerably the number of Dr. Salmon's co-religionists, and completely disposes of his claim to the title Catholic. And, though he is treating of an all-important subject, there is nothing in his book really deserving the name of argument—no sound reasoning, no dispassionate discussion, no elevating thought. 'My own opinion is'; 'For myself, I cannot admit'; 'I will tell you what seems to me'; 'My belief is'; 'In my opinion'—these are Dr. Salmon's *loci theologici*. The book teems with sinister insinuations against us, with misrepresentations of our doctrines and practices. It contains several statements regarding us that are made with reckless indifference to fact, and there is no relying on any of his quotations. Now, when a man like Dr. Salmon carries on the controversy

against us in such a fashion, and trains his students to do in like manner, what are we to expect from controversialists of the Lavender Kidds' school? We are to expect a perpetuation of that bigotry and intolerance of which Dr. Salmon's university has been, and is, the stronghold; and Dr. Salmon and his friends are to expect that our bishops shall be incessant in their warnings to Catholic young men not to enter a university in which the ruling spirit is of such a kind.

Dr. Salmon devotes an introductory lecture to the 'Controversy with Rome,' and he deplores that in recent times it has lost much of its interest. This decline of interest he attributes to various causes. 'Disestablishment,' of course, is one, which means, no matter how artfully Dr. Salmon may seek to conceal it, the loss of the 'loaves and fishes.' Then there has been 'a reaction against certain extreme anti-Romanist over-statements' (page 2), which is Dr. Salmon's nice name for the vile epithets applied to Catholics and Catholic doctrines by such pretty specimens of taste and truthfulness as Bale, and Fox, and Dopping. Then changes in Eucharistic doctrine and other High Church tendencies have had their influence on the decline of the controversy. And so, too, temptations to scepticism have made many weak-minded people 'recoil towards Rome, under the idea that they would be safer' (page 5). This, he tells us, has been the case with 'a majority of the perverts which Rome has made in later years' (page 5), including, of course, Cardinal Newman, and Cardinal Manning, and Dr. Ward. Well, if this disastrous indifference to 'controversy with Rome' is to continue, the fault shall not be Dr. Salmon's, for he proceeds to exhort the future parsons to apply themselves zealously to its study. And, in order to stimulate them more effectually, he says:—

I am not ashamed of the object aimed at in the Roman Catholic controversy; I believe that the Church of Rome teaches false doctrine on many points which must be called important, if anything in religion can be called important. . . . I count it then a very good work to release a man from Roman bondage.¹

¹ *Infallibility, etc.*, p. 6.

And he offers the old golden rule for disposing of Romanism: The Bible, and the Bible only. 'Assuredly,' he says, 'if we desire to preserve our people from defection to Romanism there is no better safeguard than familiarity with Holy Scripture' (page 11). And again: 'I have said already that to an unlearned Christian familiarity with the Bible affords the best safeguard against Romanism' (page 15). That is, put a confessedly difficult book into the hands of an ignorant man, and he is quite certain to interpret it aright! And so certain is the Doctor of the all-sufficiency of the Bible that he says: 'I should be well pleased if our adversaries were content to fight the battle on that ground' (page 11). He must have calculated confidently on the ignorance of his audience when he made this astounding statement. He quotes Bellarmine, Dr. Murray, and Perrone; and does he find them declining the battle on that chosen ground of his? And though he would chose Scripture as his battle-ground, he is himself very sparing in Scriptural quotations; and whenever he happens to quote Scripture, the text is thrown up like a rocket, and left to its fate, without an attempt to show how it applies.

Considering the tone of these lectures, it is an agreeable surprise to find him giving his students the following prudent advice: 'You must be careful,' he says, 'also to distinguish the authorised teaching of the Roman Catholic Church from the unguarded statements of particular divines' (page 13). And he also cautions them against taking at second-hand extracts from the Fathers.

I find [he says] that those who originally made extracts from the writings of the Fathers were more anxious to pick out some sentence in apparent contradiction with the views of their opponents, than to weigh dispassionately whether the question at issue in the modern controversy was at all present to the mind of the author whom they quote, or to search whether elsewhere in his writings passages may not be found bearing a different aspect.¹

It would have been well that he had confirmed his advice by his own example, but the book affords abundant proof

¹ *Infallibility, etc.*, p. 15.

that he has not done so. He devotes a great deal of his lectures to an attempt to identify the 'statements of particular divines' with 'the authorised teaching of the Catholic Church.' He labours to show that the Church is responsible for the statements made by St. Liguori in his *Glories of Mary*, and he states distinctly, 'that the attempt made to release the Church from that responsibility is not successful' (page 195). He labours to identify with the Church's official teaching the arguments used by Dr. Milner on the Rule of Faith. He more than insinuates that the Church is to stand or fall with Cardinal Newman's *Essay on Development* and *Grammar of Assent*. Again, the views of Gury, of Father Furniss, of the Abbé Louvet—and these, too, misrepresented—are set forth as the official teaching of the Church. But his transgressions in this department are venial, when compared with his quotations.

At page 20 he quotes 'Dr. Milner and other controversialists,' as saying of the Immaculate Conception, 'that neither Scripture nor tradition contained anything on the subject.' The 'other controversialists' are not named, but Dr. Milner, who is named, made no such statement, nor any statement from which it could be deduced. Towards the close of the thirteenth letter in the *End of Controversy*, Dr. Milner explains what Catholics mean by the Infallibility of the Church, and he adds:—

This definition furnishes answers to divers other objections and questions of Dr. P.—— The Church does not decide the controversy concerning the Conception of the Blessed Virgin, and several other disputed points, because she sees nothing *absolutely clear and certain* concerning them either in the written or unwritten word.

Now, in saying that the Church '*sees nothing absolutely clear and certain*,' Dr. Milner clearly implies that the Church saw some grounds for deciding the controversy, though *not absolutely clear and certain*; but Dr. Salmon, to suit his own purposes, omits the important words '*absolutely clear and certain*,' and informs his students, that, on the testimony of Dr. Milner, the Immaculate Conception had no foundation in Scripture or Tradition; and that, therefore, on the

principle of Catholics themselves, the doctrine could not be defined at all! And this is the learned professor who assures his students, 'Our object is not victory but truth!' (page 13).

Again, in the same passage, page 20, in speaking of the definition of the Immaculate Conception, in A.D. 1854, Dr. Salmon says the 'doctrine was declared to be the *universal ancient tradition* of the Church.' Now the definition or declaration was made by Pius IX., and yet, in a note at page 270, the doctor tells us, 'Pio Nono's language was not, "Receive this because it has been held *semper ubique ab omnibus*, but because it is laid down *now at Rome by me*.'" No doubt the students who had heard the first version ridiculed as false in Dr. Salmon's second lecture, and the contradictory version ridiculed as equally false in his fifteenth lecture, had forgotten their professor's beautiful consistency, and had added both statements to their polemical stock-in-trade, their aim, of course, being 'not victory but truth.'

Again, at page 58, he says of Cardinal Newman: 'He taught that one must not expect certainty in the highest sense before conversion, "Faith must make a venture, and is rewarded by sight."' The reference is to *Loss and Gain* and the words in the text are: 'Faith ever begins with a venture, and is rewarded with sight.' This quotation is adduced to show that, according to Cardinal Newman, one must be always doubtful as to the validity of the claims of the Church to our submission. Dr. Salmon's own version of the argument as given in the previous page (57) is: 'You must accept, without the least doubt, the assertions of the Church of Rome, because it is an even chance that she may be infallible.' The text from *Loss and Gain* is adduced to show that, according to Cardinal Newman, the above version of the Church's claim is substantially correct. Now the words quoted do not represent Cardinal Newman's teaching at all. They are the words of Charles Reding, who is not yet a Catholic, and separated from this context they are grossly unfair, even to him. They are used by Reding in

¹ *Loss and Gain*, Part 3, c. i.

reply to a Protestant friend who is dissuading him from joining the Church, who tells him that he is under a delusion, and that he will find his mistake later on. Reding answers: 'If I have good grounds for believing, to believe is a duty. God will take care of His own work. I shall not be abandoned in my utmost need. Faith ever begins with a venture, and is rewarded with sight.' The words then, as used by Reding, distinctly contradict Dr. Salmon, for he maintains that one can have no good grounds for believing in the Church; whereas Reding clearly implies that he has good grounds. And Dr. Salmon takes as much of Reding's statement as can be distorted, and gives this garbled text to his students as the clear testimony of Cardinal Newman against the claims of the Catholic Church, and his 'object is not victory but truth.'

In the sixth chapter of the same Part 3, Dr. Salmon could have found, what he might, with some show of reason, have quoted as Cardinal Newman's teaching. Reding on his way to London to be received into the Church, meets with a priest and gets into conversation with him on the subject of which his soul was full. He quotes some of the very statements made by Dr. Salmon: he finds himself unable though wishing to believe, for he has not evidence enough to subdue his reason:—

'What is to make him believe?' the priest says shortly but quietly: 'What is to make him believe? the *will*, his *will* . . . the evidence is not at fault, all it requires is to be brought home and applied to the mind; if belief does not follow the fault lies with the will . . . Depend upon it there is quite evidence enough for a *moral conviction*, that the Catholic or Roman Church, and no other, is the voice of God. . . . I mean a conviction, and one only, steady, without rival conviction or even reasonable doubt; a conviction to this effect—the Roman Catholic Church is the one only voice of God, the one only way of salvation Certainty, in the highest sense [the certainty of faith], is the reward of those who, by an act of the will, and at the dictate of reason and prudence, embrace the truth when nature like a coward shrinks. You must make a venture. Faith is a venture before a man is a Catholic, it is a gift after it.'

Dr. Salmon is welcome to all the aid he can get from this, the real teaching of Cardinal Newman. In the face of

such evidence of the cardinal's teaching it needs a very strong imagination to quote him as admitting that there is neither reason, nor prudence, nor argument, guiding those who join the Church, 'and that it is an even chance that she may be infallible.' (page 57).

Now, when books that are accessible to all, are so misquoted—so misrepresented by Dr. Salmon—what confidence can we have in his quotations from works that are rare and accessible to few, such as the Fathers and obscure theologians? Let us see. At page 28 he says:—

The Roman Catholic advocates ceased to insist that the doctrines of the Church could be deduced from Scripture, but the theory of some early heretics, refuted by Irenæus, was revived, namely, that the Bible does not contain the whole of God's revelation, and that a body of traditional doctrine existed in the Church equally deserving of veneration.

And in proof of this he gives in a note the following quotation from St. Irenæus:—

'When they [the Valentinians] are confuted from the Scriptures they turn round and accuse these same Scriptures as if they were not correct, nor of authority; for that they are ambiguously worded, and that the truth cannot be discovered from them by those who are ignorant of tradition. For they say that the truth was not delivered in writing but *viva voce*; wherefore Paul also declared:—"We speak wisdom among them that are perfect, but not the wisdom of this world."'

And to make the analogy complete, Irenæus goes on to complain that when the Church met these on their own ground of tradition, then they had recourse to a theory of development, claiming to be then in possession of purer doctrine than that which the Apostles had been content to teach.

This long extract fully illustrates the controversial tactics of Dr. Salmon. He tells his students that we have 'ceased to insist' on a doctrine which he knows we never held at all, and he tells them also that the doctrines which we do hold, and which are defined in the fourth session of the Council of Trent, is the same as that of the Valentinians, and is involved in the condemnation of these heretics by Irenæus. We hold that all the revelation made to the

¹ Irenæus, l. 3, c. 2.

Apostles was not committed to writing by them ; that part of it remained unwritten, and was handed down by the Apostles to their successors, and remains in the custody of the Church as part of the deposit of faith. Was this the teaching of the Valentinians ? Was this the doctrine condemned by Irenæus ? Certainly not, and Dr. Salmon must be quite well aware of this. The Valentinians, like the Gnostics, 'claim to have a secret tradition unknown to the Church at large. This would imply either that the Apostles did not know the whole truth, or that, knowing it, they did not communicate it to those whom they taught' (page 150). The same tenets are attributed to them by Dr. Salmon at page 358, and again at page 381, where he states that the argument of St. Irenæus were directed against that theory. Dr. Salmon then informs his students, in his second lecture, that the Catholic teaching was the Valentinian heresy, and was condemned by Irenæus ; but in his ninth, nineteenth, and twentieth lectures he admits that it was quite a different doctrine that was held by the Valentinians, and condemned by the saint. Clearly he had no fear that his students would detect his inconsistency or trouble themselves to test the quotation from Irenæus ; and he so manipulated the text as to conceal from them effectually what the saint really did condemn. He breaks off the quotation precisely when Irenæus begins to explain his meaning, and instead of the words of the saint gives a gloss of his own which has not an atom of foundation in the text. Immediately after the words quoted by Dr. Salmon the text is:—

And this wisdom each one of them says is that which he finds in himself—a fiction, forsooth ; so that properly, according to them, the truth is at one time in Valentinian, at another in Marcion, at another in Crinthus, and subsequently in Basilides, or in this or that disputant who can say nothing salutary. For each of them, in every sense wicked, is not ashamed to preach himself, thus corrupting the rule of truth. But when we challenge them to that tradition which is from the Apostles, which is held in the Church by the succession of presbyters, they reject tradition, saying that they themselves are wiser than the presbyters, and even than the Apostles, and have discovered the genuine truth—that the Apostles have mixed up legal observances with the Saviour's words, . . . whilst they themselves know the

hidden mystery with certainty; and without mixture of error, which is, indeed, to blaspheme their Creator in a most impudent manner. Hence it comes to pass that they neither agree with Scripture nor tradition.

And in the opening of the next chapter (3) the saint explains the apostolic tradition preserved in the various Churches, and witnessed to by the succession of bishops of each Church; and then he gives the Roman Church and its bishops as the great reliable witness of apostolic tradition for the whole Church. And, with this text before him, Dr. Salmon does not hesitate to tell his students that St. Irenæus condemns the Catholic doctrine on tradition. No. St. Irenæus is a most eloquent vindicator of Catholic tradition, whilst he condemns, in scathing terms, the impudent assumption by the Valentinians of superior, hidden knowledge, which is something very much akin to that *gustus spiritualis* which Dr. Salmon and his evangelical friends claim as their guide to the discovery of Biblical truth. The attempt, then, to make a pervert of St. Irenæus, is a miserable failure, and, in making it, Dr. Salmon has shown a reckless indifference to the responsibilities of his position. He is training up young men to be controversialists, and is, by very questionable tactics, filling their minds with false views, which, when the day of trial comes, will expose them to certain defeat and to ridicule.

Those few specimens of Dr. Salmon's quotations will give some idea of his reliability in that department, but before proceeding to deal with his theology it may be well to give a specimen of the spirit which he seeks to instil into his students. At page 11, he says :—

And assuredly if we desire to preserve our people from defection to Romanism, there is no better safeguard than familiarity with Holy Scripture. For example, the mere study of the character of our Blessed Lord, as recorded in the Gospel, is enough to dissipate the idea, that there can be others, more loving, more compassionate, or more ready to hear our prayers than He.

Here, now, is a statement as clear as it can be made by implication, that we hold that there are some—perhaps many—' more loving, and more compassionate, more ready

to hear our prayers,' than our Blessed Redeemer is! Now, what are Dr. Salmon's grounds for this monstrous insinuation? He has none. Impossible. He knows his students well; they are prepared to believe everything that is bad of Catholics. Their minds have been, from their earliest years, filled and saturated with anticatholic prejudices; and now their professor, with all the weight that years and experience, and a reputation for learning, can give to his teaching, levels at us the insinuation, Satanic in its character, that we believe there are others more kind and compassionate than our ever Blessed Redeemer. If the young men who imbibe such teaching, bring to the discharge of their clerical duties charity, or liberality, or enlightenment, they certainly do not owe it to their professor. His lectures are teeming with all the time-worn calumnies against Catholics. He has a case to make, and is not scrupulous as to the manner of making it. He has a tradition to maintain, and his arguments in its favour are judiciously selected to suit the tastes and capacity of his hearers. Scripture, fathers, theologians are made to say precisely what the lecturer wishes them to say, and all the time the lecturer is a victim to his love of truth!

The specimens already given of Dr. Salmon's controversial style would seem to dispense with the necessity of any detailed examination of his book. Can anything good come from Nazareth? And the examination is entered on, not for his sake, but for the sake of those who have been, or are likely to be, deceived by his statements. The headings of the several lectures give a very inadequate idea of the contents: they are full of repetitions, full of irrelevant matter; there is much declamation, and no logical order. It is, therefore, difficult so to systematize the matter as to bring it within reasonable compass for treatment, but it is hoped that nothing important will be over-looked.

Dr. Salmon is a firm believer in the all-sufficiency of the Bible. It is his supreme antidote to Romanism. He says:—

The first impression of one who has been brought up from childhood to know and value his Bible is, that there is no room for discussion as to the truth of the Roman Catholic doctrine. . . .

And assuredly if we desire to preserve our people from defection to Romanism, there is no better safeguard than familiarity with Holy Scripture, . . . thus believing, as I do, that the Bible, not merely in single texts, but, in its whole spirit, is antagonistic to the Romish system.¹

I have already stated that to an unlearned Christian, familiarity with the Bible affords the best safeguard against Romanism.²

Now, it is strange that so firm a believer in the all-sufficiency of Scripture should not be able to 'cite Scripture to his purpose.' 'Neither,' he says 'shall I bring forward the statements of Scripture which bear witness to its own sufficiency' (page 132). And, for the best of all reasons, because there are no such statements. And it would have been well for Dr. Salmon's reputation if he had been equally economical in his quotations from the Fathers in favour of his pet theory. He informs his students, for instance, that they had the sanction of several of the most eminent Fathers for thinking that what was asserted, without the authority of Holy Scripture, might be 'despised as freely as approved' (page 29); the quotation is repeated at greater length at page 147. 'This, because it has not authority from the Scriptures, is with the same easiness despised as approved.' The quotation is from St. Jerome's Commentary on the twenty-third chapter of St. Matthew, and is quite characteristic of Dr. Salmon. It is separated from its context and quoted to prove a doctrine which has not an atom of foundation in St. Jerome's text. The saint is explaining the thirty-fifth verse in which the Scribes and Pharisees are charged, amongst other crimes, with the blood of 'Zacharias the son of Barachias whom you killed between the temple and the altar,' and he asks who is this Zacharias because he finds many of the name. He gives various opinions, one of them being that the Zacharias named was the father of John the Baptist. This opinion, he says, is grounded on 'the ravings of some apocryphal writers,' who say that Zachary was killed because he foretold the coming of the Redeemer. St. Jerome rejects this opinion on the ground that it had no foundation in Scripture, whereas each of the other opinions had some.

¹ *Infallibility, etc.*, p. 11.

² *Ibid.* p. 15.

He says: 'You may as easily despise it as approve it.' St. Jerome, then, consults the books of the Old Testament—the authentic Jewish record, in which genealogies were, as a rule, pretty fully recorded—to determine which of a certain number of Zacharias this was, who is mentioned by our Lord; and he rejects an opinion on the subject which has no foundation in that record, but rests solely on the 'dreamings of apocryphal writers.' Is Dr. Salmon prepared to reject anything not found in the Old Testament, for St. Jerome's quotation will confine him to that? St. Jerome searches the Old Testament to determine a certain historical fact, and from this Dr. Salmon argues that we must all search the Scripture, and Scripture only, to determine our faith. St. Jerome says: 'You may despise or approve the ravings of some apocryphal writers,' and hence Dr. Salmon informs his juvenile controversialists, 'you must despise and reject apostolical tradition, and you have St. Jerome's authority for doing so.' From controversialists so trained, the Catholic Church has nothing to fear.

Two other quotations from St. Jerome are given in the same page (147), and for the same purpose. 'As we accept those things that are written, so we reject those things that are not written.' The words of St. Jerome are: 'As we do not deny those things that are written, so we reject those that are not written.' This quotation is from St. Jerome's letter against Helvidius who denied the perpetual virginity of the Blessed Virgin, and who to prove his view appealed to St. Matt. i. 25: 'And he knew her not till she brought forth her first son.' Helvidius also appealed to the texts in which the 'brethren of the Lord' are mentioned. He inferred from the texts that the Blessed Virgin did not continue a virgin; St. Jerome quotes a number of texts of similar construction to show that the inference was groundless. He quotes the texts of St. Matthew to prove that our Lord was born of a virgin—this is what the text does say. Helvidius relies on an inference from the text; that is, on what the text does not say. So also from the texts referring to the 'brethren of the Lord,' Helvidius infers that they were natural brothers, though the texts do not

say so. St. Jerome proves from parallel texts that this inference is groundless. With this in his mind, St. Jerome says: 'Just as we do not deny the things that are written, so we reject the things that are not written; that God was born of a virgin we believe because we read it; that Mary ceased to be a virgin we do not believe because we do not read it.' St. Jerome says then: 'I accept what the texts state; I deny what they do not state.' And this is the authority offered to his students by Dr. Salmon as a proof of the all-sufficiency of Scripture and as an argument against tradition! The Doctor did not tell his students that in this very letter against Helvidius St. Jerome actually appeals to tradition as a proof of the perpetual virginity of the Blessed Virgin. After dealing with the arguments of Helvidius, St. Jerome says:—

But why am I dealing in trifles. . . . Can I not put before you the whole long line of ancient writers—Ignatius, Polycarp, Irenæus, Justin Martyr, and many other apostolic and eloquent men who have written volumes full of wisdom against Ebion and Valentinian, who hold this same opinion?

That the writer of this forcible and eloquent appeal to tradition, should be quoted against tradition, shows how applicable to Dr. Salmon are St. Jerome's words immediately following the above quotation: 'Which volumes if you had read you would know something better.'

The next text from St. Jerome is still more extraordinary in its application: 'These things which they invent, as if by apostolic tradition, without the authority of Scripture, the sword of God smites' (page 147). One can fancy the joyous amazement of the young theologians of Trinity, as they listened to this quotation. How they must have been shocked at the duplicity of Rome; but now her days were numbered; they must have felt that Dr. Salmon himself was the 'pillar and the ground of truth.' But, as in the other quotations, their professor was blindfolding them here again. The quotation is from St. Jerome's Commentary on Aggeus, i. 11: 'And I called for a drought upon the land, and upon the mountains, and upon the corn, and upon the wine, and upon the oil,' etc. The saint is explaining the woes

threatened to the Jews for their neglect in not rebuilding the Temple. He says that instead of 'drought' the Septuagint has 'sword,' whilst the Hebrew is ambiguous, inasmuch as the consonants in both words are the same, and only the vowel points would distinguish them. He proceeds to show how the 'sword' is used in Scripture as a symbol of the punishment of sinners. He then goes on to give a mystical explanation of the other words of the text. The mountains are those who rise up against the knowledge of God; the corn and wine and oil are the inducements held out by heretics to flatter those whom they deceive. The oil also, he says, represents the heavenly rewards promised by heretics. And then comes the passage quoted by Dr. Salmon: 'And other things, too, which without authority or testimony of Scripture, but as if by apostolic tradition, they, of their own accord, find out and invent, the sword of God smites.' Now, clearly the things condemned here are grounded not on genuine apostolical tradition, but on traditions falsely called apostolical. The words used are *reperiunt atque confingunt*. The tradition, therefore, is spurious, a fiction, and not apostolical. And had Dr. Salmon continued his quotation for one other sentence, his students would have got specimens of the traditions falsely called apostolical. They were, among other things, certain extraordinary austerities, long fasts, vigils, mortifications, sleeping on the ground, etc., arising out of the example of Tatian in particular, *de Tatiani radice crescentes*. St. Jerome, then, condemns fanatical practices which had no foundation on apostolical tradition, notwithstanding the pretensions of those who proclaimed them. And on the strength of this passage Dr. Salmon informs his students that St. Jerome condemns apostolic tradition, and maintains the 'Bible and the Bible only,' though, as already shown, the saint is a most eloquent and powerful advocate of tradition. To defend the Bible, and the Bible only, must, to Dr. Salmon's mind, be a forlorn hope, when he has recourse to such arguments as these; and it is sad to see one in his position instilling such views into the minds of young men who are not likely to take the trouble of verifying

his quotations. He is treating them badly. They came to him, it must be presumed, for knowledge, and he is making them more than ignorant. They ask him for bread, and he gives them a stone. In his first lecture he gave them a wise warning as to quotations from the Fathers, and in nearly every quotation in his book he does himself the very thing which he condemned.

Dr. Salmon gives at pages 119-121 a very long quotation from St. John Chrysostom on the reading of the Scriptures. It is very eloquent, very forcible, and very appropriate all through. But should another edition of Dr. Salmon's book be called for, it is respectfully suggested that he should insert at full length the Encyclical of Leo XIII., *On the Sacred Scriptures*. He will find it as forcible, and certainly a far more able exhortation to the reading and study of Scripture, than anything he can find in St. Chrysostom. The quotation of the Encyclical would no doubt cause some murmurs in the class-room; and would be distasteful to many of his readers, as it would tend to disturb their settled conviction of the hostility of Catholics to the Bible; but such considerations should not weight with one whose 'object is not victory but truth.'

But there is one brief quotation from St. Chrysostom at page 90 which merits a passing notice: 'All things are plain and simple in the Holy Scriptures; all things necessary are evident.' This is taken from St. Chrysostom's Third Homily on the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians. The homily is a vigorous and eloquent attack on persons who decline to come to the church to hear the Scriptures read and explained. One of the excuses given for abstention from church was, that there was no sermon; and St. John asks what need is there of a sermon, 'all things are plain and simple in Scripture.' Now, St. Peter ought to be, at least, as good an authority on this matter as St. Chrysostom, and he very distinctly states that the Scriptures are not so 'plain and simple,' and that certain very serious consequences follow from the misinterpretation of them. Dr. Salmon agrees with St. Chrysostom, in holding that the Scriptures are very plain and simple, and such being the case, how does it

happen that in a certain very plain passage of Scripture, St. Chrysostom finds the doctrine of the Real Presence, whilst in the very same passage Dr. Salmon finds the doctrine of the Real Absence? If Dr. Salmon be right in his view, then St. Chrysostom is wanting either in intelligence or in honesty; whereas if St. Chrysostom be right, then Dr. Salmon is not so far-seeing as some people fancy, or not so zealous in his pursuit of Biblical truth. The Doctor can maintain that St. Chrysostom is right, only by the humiliating confession that he is wrong himself. It may be too much to expect the Doctor to put the matter in this way to his juvenile theologians; but it is the true way to put it; and they would be all the better prepared for future contingencies, if they were told the truth, and nothing but the truth. Dr. Salmon says truly that St. Chrysostom was a most eloquent preacher, and such preachers are sometimes carried away by their eloquence into slight exaggerations. Of this we have a conspicuous instance in St. Chrysostom's Seventeenth Homily on St. Matthew, where he distinctly condemns even a necessary oath. His words are: 'But what if someone shall exact an oath, and shall impose a necessity for taking it?' and he answers: 'Let the fear of God weigh more with him than any necessity.' Now this is clearly an exaggeration occurring in an eloquent invective against swearing; and the passage quoted by Dr. Salmon may be another instance of it. A few sentences lower down in Dr. Salmon's quotation St. Chrysostom insists on the plainness of the historical portions of Scripture, and, perhaps, his general statement may be limited to such portions. But, at all events, in the very opening sentence of the next homily (IV.) he distinctly admits that St. Paul's doctrine is obscure—a statement which no one, except for controversial purposes, would think of denying. And as Dr. Salmon himself says at page 124: 'I suppose there is not one of them [Fathers] to whose opinion on all points we should like to pledge ourselves,' he cannot deny the same liberty to others, especially in a case where the opinion is so notoriously opposed to facts. St. Athanasius, too, is put forward as a witness to the all-sufficiency of Scripture. He is quoted as

saying: 'The holy and inspired Scriptures are sufficient in themselves for the preaching of the truth' (page 154). This is from the *Oratio Contra Gentes*, and in its dexterous manipulation Dr. Salmon appears at his best. The text is:—

Sufficient indeed of themselves for indicating the truth, are both the sacred and inspired Scriptures, and the very many volumes written on the same matter by most holy teachers, which if one shall study, he will to some extent understand the sense of the Scriptures, and perhaps attain that knowledge which he desires.

The *Oratio* was addressed to Macarius, a learned man who seems to have asked St. Athanasius for an explanation of the Christian creed; and the saint tells him, that he may perhaps be able to get the knowledge he requires from Scripture interpreted by the writings of the Fathers—that is, from Scripture and tradition this learned man may, perhaps, be able to get what he is to believe. Dr. Salmon quietly suppresses the reference to the Fathers—tradition—and represents Athanasius as saying that the required knowledge can be got from Scripture alone. A learned man may get his faith from Scripture and tradition combined, according to Athanasius himself; therefore, argues Dr. Salmon, according to St. Athanasius even an ignorant man can get his creed from the Bible alone! Of course the students took the version of the *Regius Professor*, 'and sure he is an honourable man.'

But all Dr. Salmon's tall-talk about the Bible comes to a stand-still, when the plain question is put to him: How does he know that the Bible is the Word of God?—how does he know that the Bible is inspired? He is very indignant with Catholics for putting this question, and he frequently reproaches them with using 'the infidel argument.' But Catholics answer 'the infidel argument,' he cannot. St. Augustine put the answer tersely and truly when he said: 'I would not believe the Gospels, unless the authority of the Church moved me to do so.' Dr. Salmon does not believe in the authority of the Church, and cannot therefore give such an answer. He puts the Bible on a level with Livy or Tacitus, and there he must leave it. He

cannot appropriate our conclusions without submitting to our arguments. This matter will come on for fuller treatment later on.

But then Dr. Salmon 'will argue still.' The Church of Rome, he says, 'is against the Scriptures because she feels the Scriptures are against her' (page 12); 'The Church of Rome has very good reason to discourage Bible-reading by their people' (page 123), etc. This is the old, old story, a thousand times refuted, contradicted by the most notorious facts of ecclesiastical history; and yet as often repeated with cool confidence by controversialists of the Dr. Salmon type. In fact, the case against the Catholic Church is so clear to Dr. Salmon, that he does not see the necessity of adducing any proof. In a note at page 123, he says, 'I have not troubled myself to give formal proof of the discouragement of Bible-reading by the modern Church of Rome,' etc. But he quotes the Fourth Rule of the Index to show that we 'are now often apt to be ashamed of this practice' (note, p. 123). Considering the general character of Dr. Salmon's quotations it would be idle to expect him 'to be ashamed' of the manner in which he has quoted this Rule. He omits from it a vitally important expression, and the omission enables him to completely misrepresent the object of the Church in making that Rule. The Rule is: 'Since it is manifest from experience that if the Holy Scriptures in the vulgar tongue be permitted everywhere without distinction, owing to the rashness of men, more evil than good will arise from it,' etc. Now the expression, 'on account of the rashness of men'—*ob hominum temeritatem*—clearly gives the motives of the Church in making the law. Bad men abuse the best of God's gifts, and the Church had abundant experience to convince her that bad men had abased the Bible in the vulgar tongue, and with this knowledge she seeks to check the abuse by permitting the Bible in the vulgar tongue to those only whose character is such that they are likely to be served and not injured by the concession. But Dr. Salmon omits the expression, 'on account of the rashness of men,' and leaves the future spiritual guides of Irish Protestants to infer that Catholics hold that the evils come from the Bible in itself, and not from the abuse of it

by bad men. Now, to restrict the reading for the motive here openly alleged by the Church indicates a reverence for the Bible, and a desire to save souls from spiritual ruin ; but to restrict it for the motive cleverly insinuated by Dr. Salmon indicates a fear and dislike of the Bible in itself—the false charge which Dr. Salmon labours to fasten on the Church, and which he regards so clear as not to need even an attempt at proof. He quotes the Rule, he says, from Dr. Littledale. Surely he has the original in his own library, and he owed it to his own position as Regius Professor of Divinity, not to take his authority as second-hand, and that a hand so soiled as Dr. Littledale's. Dr. Littledale wrote for the rabble, whose sole article of faith is hatred of the Catholic Church ; but Dr. Salmon is lecturing young men of some education, training them to be controversialists, and yet he confirms them in their ignorance of the very doctrines they will have to assail. Dr. Salmon is notoriously wrong in his version of our theory and practice in this matter, and it is difficult to fancy him ignorant of either. The Fourth Rule of the Index, comes to Catholics as a law, made by competent authority—the Church—legislating for a good end, and within her own proper sphere. The law, therefore, is binding on them, and if they refuse to obey it, they render themselves indisposed for absolution, and the Church treats them as such. There was no restriction made by the Church on the reading of the Scriptures until the sacred volume began to be abused. When corrupt translations of portions of it began to appear and to be abused, it became the clear duty of the Church to check the abuse, and to warn her children against taking in spiritual poison from a fancied source of life. Some such restrictions were made long before Luther's time. But at that time the prevalence of corrupt translations, made in the interests of heresy, led to the legislation of the Fourth Rule of the Index ; and no unprejudiced person can find, in that legislation, anything but a wise and necessary precaution against the gross and soul-destroying abuse of God's Word. When the religious excitement of that time had somewhat abated, the law was modified by Pope Benedict XIV., and it has been still more

modified in our time by Pope Leo XIII. But Dr. Salmon may take it as a fact, that a Catholic is as free to read a Catholic vernacular Bible as he is to read his own. But it must be a *Catholic Bible*, published under proper ecclesiastical sanction, and with explanatory notes from fathers or approved theologians. Dr. Salmon then is completely wrong in his version of our theory, and is equally wrong as to our practice. If he ever happens to visit any of his Catholic neighbours he will find them possessed of a Catholic Bible, and quite unconscious of any prohibition as to its use. He will find Catholic Bibles sold by all Catholic booksellers, and at a very reasonable price. If he consult some authority more reliable than Dr. Littledale he will find that for the past hundred years several very valuable editions of the Catholic Bible have been published, and circulated, without the slightest indication of opposition on the part of the 'modern Church of Rome.' And if for some time previous to that period he should find few Catholic Bibles in Ireland, Dr. Salmon cannot be ignorant of the cause. It was not 'the discouragement of Bible-reading by the modern Church of Rome,' (page 121), but the worse than pagan tyranny of the Church to which Dr. Salmon himself professes to belong. The spirit that inspired the Penal Laws against Catholics, and that regulated their administration was the spirit of the Protestant Church, and had its focus in Dr. Salmon's own university; and it ill-becomes him to reproach us with the consequences of that degrading system. Our schools were burned, our teachers hanged or exiled; no Catholic Bible, or other Catholic book could be published in the country, except by stealth, and at fearful risk to the publisher and possessor. The law aimed at making us unable to read, and left us nothing to read that was not anticatholic. Protestant education we could have got, and Protestant Bibles too, and we would be well paid for accepting them. But we spurned the bribe, we defied the laws, and kept the faith. These few plain well-known facts, entirely overlooked by Dr. Salmon, help to explain our practice as to Bible-reading, at a time not so long past as to have left no impression on Dr. Salmon's memory. To the Catholic Church the sacred character of the Scriptures is a much

more vital matter than it is to Dr. Salmon's communion. She has always cherished it with affection; she has preserved it for the long ages before Dr. Salmon's Church came into existence. Her priests and her monks transcribed it, illustrated it, explained it. She is its sole legitimate interpreter now, as she has been since her foundation. Restriction she certainly has put on its reading, to ensure that it should not be abused; that it should be read with due reverence and with proper disposition. The Catholic Church will not permit ignorant men to dogmatise on the most sacred subjects, and to quote the Bible to confirm their ravings. The wisdom of her action in this matter is abundantly confirmed by the chaos existing in Dr. Salmon's own communion, where unrestricted Bible-reading has given everyone a creed for himself—where 'orthodoxy is one's own doxy and heterodoxy is everyone else's doxy.'

Does Dr. Salmon think that the Bible is enhanced as a standard of truth by the profane brawlings of Salvationists and of Sunday street-preachers? Between the Protestantism of Lord Halifax or 'Father' Puller and the Protestantism of Dr. Salmon or Mr. Kensit, there are, no doubt, many shades of opinion, not in very exact harmony; but all alike, and with equal logic, spring from that principle which Dr. Salmon regards as the 'best safeguard against Romanism' (page 15)—and he might have added, with much more truth, as 'the best safeguard against' the possibility of 'one fold and one shepherd.' He admits 'that the members of so many different sects each find in the Bible the doctrines they have been trained to expect to find there' (page 110), and in this, as in other matters, 'the tree is known by its fruit.'

Dr. Salmon thus is completely notoriously wrong, both as to our theory and practice as regards the reading of the Bible. But it would be unfair to him to pass over the following pretty specimen of his theological reasoning, in which he gives his students the key to our alleged hostility to the Bible:—

If you let people read the Bible, you cannot prevent them from reflecting on what they read. Suppose, for an example, a Roman Catholic reads the Bible: how can you be sure that he will not notice himself, or have it pointed out to him, that, whereas Pius IX. could not write a single Encyclical in which the name of

the Virgin Mary did not occupy a prominent place, we have in the Bible twenty-one Apostolic letters, and her name does not occur in one of them.¹

And suppose that a Catholic does read the Bible, he finds it stated there that the Blessed Virgin is the Mother of God, full of grace, and blessed amongst women; and 'how can you be sure that he will not notice himself or have it pointed out to him' that in the whole course of the Bible no other creature is addressed in such language? May not a Catholic, then, infer from all this that the Blessed Virgin is more holy, more perfect, than other creatures, and, therefore, entitled to some higher honour than they? And the silence of the twenty-one Apostolic letters does not in the slightest degree affect this inference. Therefore, the Catholic who reads the Bible actually finds in it the foundation of his devotion to the Blessed Mother of God. This must be disappointing to Dr. Salmon. But Dr. Salmon himself believes in the fallibility of the Church, in the all-sufficiency of Scripture, in justification by faith alone, and these doctrines 'do not occur in one of the twenty-one Apostolic letters.' Now, if he may believe those doctrines, notwithstanding the silence of the 'twenty-one Apostolic letters,' why should he make that silence an argument against Catholic devotion to the Blessed Virgin? Dr. Salmon knows quite well the occasional character of those Apostolic letters. Each was called forth by some special circumstances, and in none of them is there a *cursus theologiae*. The silence of such letters, then, is no argument against the honour given by Catholics to the Blessed Mother of God, and Dr. Salmon has gained nothing for his Bible-reading theory by casting his last stone at her. He probably thought the argument good enough for his students, and they, too, may have thought it a master-piece of logical acumen; but once they get into controversy with any well-educated Catholic, they are certain to be rudely awakened to the defective character of their early training, and made to feel that, instead of arguing against Catholic doctrines, they are simply beating the air.

[To be continued.]

J. MURPHY, D.D.

¹ *Infallibility, etc.*, page 123.

THE CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE

'Avec la contemplation, on fera plus, et pour soi et pour les autres, en un mois, qu'on ne ferait sans elle, en dix ans.'—P. LALLEMANT, p. 33.

'Nous ne craignons pas d'affirmer que les âmes vouées d'une façon exclusive à la contemplation pratiquent le plus fructueux de tous les apostolats.'

—*Ide*, *La Vie Mystique*, par M. l'Abbé P. LEBRUN, p. 36.

ALL theologians, worth considering, agree that the purely contemplative life is far above the purely active life, in excellence and merit. When, however, they are asked to show us the highest and sublimest life of all, they, in most cases, point to that form of life which combines the excellencies and advantages of both; *i.e.*, to what is called, 'the mixed life.' Thus Alvarez writes:—

Vitam religiosam, non tantum contemplationi, sed etiam proximorum profectibus consecratam, multo praestantiorem esse ea, quae soli contemplationi vacans, proprium dumtaxat profectum et perfectionem exquirat.¹

Father W. Humphrey, S.J., expresses the same idea when he says:—

St. Thomas holds that an Order which, in virtue of its institute, professes the contemplative life, and at the same time descends to spiritual ministries for the benefit of others, is to be preferred, both in perfection and in dignity, to an Order which is *purely* or merely contemplative. The mixed life includes the whole of the perfection of the contemplative life, and it in no way diminishes it. It rather adds somewhat to the purely contemplative life, and, therefore, absolutely the mixed life is the more perfect of the two. We are supposing that in a mixed life the contemplative life is really arrived at and exercised. Otherwise that life would not be really a *mixed* life.²

That the contemplative should be held in greater honour and esteem than the active life is consonant with reason and common sense. The highest life is that which is made

¹ Lib. ii., p. 5, ch. xlii., p. 404, *De Vita Spiri.*—J. Alvarez.

² *Elements of Religious Life*, pp. 318–9. I may here observe that a life, in which contemplation forms an ingredient, may be rightly described as 'mixed,' even though the proportion of the said life actually passed in contemplation be but insignificant. Would it still be superior to the purely contemplative? Query?

up of the highest and noblest acts; the highest and noblest acts are such as are performed by the highest and noblest faculties; and these in man are, undoubtedly, his reason or intellect, and his will or affections. So, again, to continue our ascent; of all the acts of human reason and will, the noblest must be those which are directed towards the grandest and sublimest object, which can be no other than the Infinite and the Uncreated.

Thus, divine contemplation must surpass in excellence all other forms of human occupation, because it is the exercise of (a) the highest faculties of the soul upon (b) the highest possible object.

Man is compacted of body as well as of mind; and, as now constituted, it is scarcely possible for him to exert even his purely mental energies, without calling into play, at least in some degree, his physical powers also. Abstract thought itself cannot be carried on without some accompanying modification of the molecules of the brain, and of the nerve tissues. Since, therefore, an absolutely pure intellectual act is impossible, we must content ourselves by saying, that the more there is of soul and of intellect, and the less there is of accompanying bodily and physical effort, in any given act, the greater will be its intrinsic value and dignity. The more the spiritual element predominates, the more nearly the angelic state is approximated; whereas the more the material element predominates, the more nearly does man gravitate towards the condition of the irrational brutes.

Man reaches the highest point of human perfection, when, his mind, dissociating itself in the highest possible degree from the trammels of flesh, rivets its gaze upon the vision of divine and heavenly things. This state resembles that of St. Paul, when he was 'rapt even to the third Heaven,' and so utterly withdrawn from the thrall of the senses and of his whole physical nature that he could not say, whether, at the time, he were 'in the body or out of the body.'

That the contemplative life is lived on a higher level

than any other, becomes self-evident, so soon as it is properly understood. God is not merely above all the works of His hands. He not merely surpasses every other possible object of human thought; but He surpasses them in an infinite degree. Hence to be wholly and exclusively occupied and taken up with Him, rather than with His works; to be ever intent upon the eternal rather than upon the temporal, upon the Infinite rather than upon the finite, and upon the Uncreated rather than upon the created, must be the sublimest of all occupations. What is more entrancing, what is more ennobling, than to feed one's mind and heart and affections upon the infinite perfections and matchless attributes of God? What human mind, filled and burdened with a thousand earthly interests and distracted by a thousand worldly worries, can compare in beauty and splendour with a mind filled and penetrated and permeated, through and through, with the thoughts of God, of His divine omnipotence, unapproachable loveliness, consummate goodness, and incomprehensible wisdom, mercy, gentleness, and love.

Such a spiritual atmosphere must surely be the most advantageous and the most profitable of all, yet such, it seems, forms the very environment of the true contemplative. It is his grand privilege to live—in so far as human weakness will permit—face to face with God. To stand ever before His throne. To be ever on the watch for His every word, and His every sign. To sit and gaze upon the Beloved, as Mary did of old, with a heart overflowing with love and worship.

No one denies the value of preaching, teaching, hearing confessions, and giving missions and retreats, and the many other forms of spiritual activity, but they all fall short of this. It must ever be a better and a higher privilege to remain in direct and personal communion with the King of kings Himself, and to treat with Him and be His associate and familiar, than to be engaged with even the noblest of His subjects.

Let these few remarks suffice for the general principle. Now comes the question: If the above be what is generally

understood by the contemplative life, what are we to understand precisely by a contemplative Order? We do not expect the impossible. We do not therefore mean an order, in which all the members are ceaselessly contemplating. By a contemplative order we understand one, the rules of which are so framed as to dispose the mind, as far as possible, for that sublime exercise. It is an order in which the routine of the day, the disposal of one's time, and the nature of the occupations enjoined, are so chosen and arranged as to promote and encourage as well as to facilitate the habit of contemplation, recollection, and the higher forms of prayer and spiritual union with God.

Perfect solitude; profound silence; total separation from the world; a complete freedom from cares, not merely from worldly cares, but even from external religious duties, such as are involved in the cure of souls, the direction of penitents, and the charge of the sick and dying; are all of great importance in helping to create and to strengthen a spirit of more and more perfect recollection and in helping to increase interior attention to the inspirations of the Holy Spirit.

To these means must be added the prescribed penitential exercises, and the severe life led by all true contemplatives, by which the body is subdued, 'brought under subjection,'¹ and driven into its kennel, like an importunate and barking dog, and silenced. The long fasts; the perpetual abstinences; the night watchings; the hair shirt; the hard bed; the broken rest; are yet other forms of self-conquest, by which the soul is more and more completely emancipated from the pernicious influences of the flesh, and aided in its efforts to rise into the highest regions of mystical prayer and spiritual communion with God, such as have been reached by the most favoured of the saints.

To put the whole matter in a nut-shell: To enter into a contemplative order, is simply to place one's self in an environment more favourable than any other, to the exercise of the most exalted of all spiritual acts—i.e.,

¹ 1 Cor. ix. 27.

contemplation. It is, therefore, regarded as one of the sublimest vocations, and one of the most precious gifts that a man can receive from Almighty God.

Still; though 'one of the sublimest vocations,' is it the sublimest of all? Upon this point theologians are not quite unanimous. Many of them teach that the highest of all—higher even than the purely contemplative life—comes the mixed life; though we are bound to confess, that when their arguments are carefully looked into, they seem more specious than convincing, more true in theory than in practice.

Their doctrine, on this point, is that the active life is good; that the contemplative life is better; but, that the mixed life, which combines the excellencies of both, is to be preferred beyond all others, and carries off the palm. If we may venture to say so, they argue somewhat as follows: If it were possible for man to be always and uninterruptedly absorbed in the contemplation of divine things, then we readily grant such would indeed be the holiest and highest state of all. It would be the most perfect and the most angelical. It would very closely resemble the condition of the blessed in heaven. But we must dismiss such a state from our enquiries, because it neither has, nor can have, any existence among mortal men; man's nature remaining what it is. The most advanced contemplative requires some hours of relaxation every day. It is found to be an indispensable necessity; and manual labour, in one form or another, is prescribed in every monastic rule without exception. It is essential that the mind should sometimes unbend. However often, and however far it may soar up into the higher regions of mystic prayer, it must, at intervals, relax its efforts, fold its wings, and come down again to earth. The Fathers of the Desert sought such relaxation in weaving rushes, and making baskets. Their present-day representatives among the Carthusians, Trappists, and Cistercians find it in carving wood, turning lathes, digging the ground, and planting and pruning trees.

Thus, it is certain that even the most rigid contemplatives occupy themselves in many ways other than in

contemplation. Now, this being the case, the advocates of the mixed life put the question: Since contemplatives have to do other things besides contemplation, is it not better that these 'other things' should consist in something more profitable than basket-making? No man can meditate the entire day. He must have a change of some sort. Very well. Then is it not undoubtedly better that this 'change' should take the form of preaching to an ignorant people, than of weaving together tiresome rushes? Of giving a mission or a retreat, than of turning a lathe; of hearing confessions and anointing the dying, than of merely digging and sowing, and watering and reaping? Evidently. Yet this is the mixed life—a life in which contemplation is not given up, nor omitted, nor undervalued, but in which it is simply united with spiritual works of mercy, and labour profitable to one's neighbour's soul. On these grounds, they argue, the mixed life is superior to the purely contemplative.

Now, such reasoning sounds quite unanswerable, so long as we compare merely the two kinds of external employment. But its inconsequence; in fact, its inherent fallacy, becomes apparent as soon as ever we take a wider view of the situation. It is, of course, a truism to say that an hour spent in hearing confessions, or in instructing converts, or in catechising children, is in itself far better and more meritorious than an hour passed in sawing wood or chopping sticks in a Carthusian cell. But that consideration covers but a single aspect of a much wider question. Keeping well in view that true contemplation is the highest act of human endeavour, and the most advantageous, we have to ask which of the two aforesaid varieties of external employment, will be the more helpful and the more calculated to foster the spirit of recollection.

If (as is granted on all sides) contemplation be immeasurably better than anything else; if it be among spiritual acts, what gold is among metals; then it becomes of vital importance, that we should judge external or recreative employments, not so much in themselves, but chiefly in their relation to the habit of contemplation.

It may readily be granted that the active duties of the parochial and missionary life are vastly superior to the basket-making, etc., of the contemplative life ; nevertheless, if it be found that these same missionary duties distract, preoccupy, harass, trouble and disturb the interior calm and peace of the soul, and interfere with its tranquillity ; if, in a word, they sensibly diminish its aptitude and capacity for contemplation, if they are a drag upon its chariot's wheels, by which it seeks, like another Elias, to rise up to heaven, then it may very easily happen that the purely contemplative life will surpass in excellence the mixed life. Or again ; if the work of preaching and confessing and administering the Sacraments generally, occupies a considerably larger portion of the day than the basket-making, etc., of the recluse, and if it leaves much less time for mental prayer ; then the life of the contemplative, taken as a whole, may be higher than the mixed life, taken as a whole ; even though the activities of the mixed life far surpass the activities of the contemplative.

We take it, that when theologians place the mixed life above the contemplative it can be only on the hypothesis that the contemplative portion in both cases is pretty nearly the same ; not merely in intensity and in purity and in concentration, but likewise in duration and extent. For, granted that the contemplative portion of the two forms of life are the same, the superior activities of the mixed life, being more beneficial to one's neighbour, and more to the honour and glory of God, will naturally lift the mixed life on to a higher plane than the contemplative. On the above supposition, therefore, the mixed life is better than the contemplative and the theologians are clearly right in theory.

But—to our little mind—they are not right in practice : for the simple reason that the foregoing supposition is scarcely ever realized in fact. We may best express our thought by the following illustration : Divide a man's life into three parts. Call the time spent in genuine contemplation, the 'golden' portion. Call the time spent in parochial work, such as preaching, instructing, and so forth,

the 'silver' portion; and call the time spent in basket-making and other manual labour, the 'copper' portion. Then it is quite true that gold added to silver is worth more than gold added to copper—but it is 'quite true' only on one hypothesis; only on the hypothesis, that the quantity and the quality of the gold be, in both cases, the same. Should the gold, which has been added to the copper, be purer and richer in quality or more abundant in quantity, than the gold which has been added to the silver, then it may very easily happen that the sum of gold and copper will exceed and surpass in value the sum of gold and silver; just as £500 0s. 2½d. is more valuable than £50 19s. 0d., though in the second case it is silver which we have added to gold, and in the first case only copper.

This illustration admits of an easy and evident application, which may be safely left to the reader. It will enable him to realize that if there be a considerably greater amount of the higher and more perfect forms of contemplation in the life—let us say, of a Carthusian, than in the life, let us say, of a Benedictine or Jesuit doing, as so many now do, missionary work, then it would seem to follow that, in spite of the missionary orders enjoying one special source of merit denied to the contemplatives, the latter may still be, on the whole, not merely holier (a possibility which no body denies) but in a holier state. Or to express the same thought in another form—on the foregoing hypothesis, and *caeteris paribus*, the spiritual environment provided by the rule of a contemplative order is *in se*, more conducive to personal sanctity and perfection in the case of those who live up to it, than the environment provided by the rule of a mixed order.

We doubt if any one, intimately acquainted with members of both contemplative and mixed orders, will hesitate to affirm, that the former possess the contemplative spirit and the habit of recollection in a very much higher degree than the latter.

There is no question here of special cases, or of exceptionally privileged souls, who are to be found in every state of life, even in the least promising. No one doubts, but

that St. Francis Xavier, for instance, may have been a truer contemplative than are hundreds of Carthusians, notwithstanding his constant external labours for souls, his preaching and his travelling. The only point upon which we feel it permissible to hazard an opinion is as to which of the two environments is in itself the better calculated to produce and to foster the higher habits of prayer, and to create and strengthen the faculty of contemplation in the average earnest soul, who is seeking above all things a closer union with God. Upon this point our judgment is entirely in favour of the strictly enclosed and silence-loving communities. Hence the conclusion to which the above consideration seems to lead is that, though in theory the mixed life may be superior to the purely contemplative, yet the conditions absolutely necessary to render it so in reality, are so rarely realized, that in practice the contemplative life, properly so-called, is almost invariably the more excellent. The general judgment of theologians in favour of the mixed life is based upon, and presuppose conditions which, *de facto*, are seldom if ever met with. The members of the recognised contemplative orders seem, as a rule, more closely, and more intimately, and more continuously united with God. They drink deeper of the Saviour's fountains. They lead a life of more undistracted prayer, and are more recollected, as well as more penitential in spirit.

To the objection proposed by certain writers, that our Lord's life, though the most absolutely perfect, was also most certainly the 'mixed' life, we answer in the words of Father T. E. Bridgett, C.S.S.R., who writes :—

It does not follow, that because it is certain that our Blessed Lord was infinitely holier than St. John the Baptist, the manner of life which He chose for Himself was abstractedly higher than the eremitical and austere life of His precursor. It only follows that it was more expedient *for the purposes of His Incarnation and the work of our Redemption.*¹

Indeed the very canons and laws of the Church would seem to place the contemplative life above the mixed. For

¹ *Prayer without Impediment*, p. 21.

while the Church will not allow a religious to pass from a more perfect to a less perfect order, nevertheless she allows any religious whatsoever to pass from a mixed order, to the Carthusians¹—who are contemplatives in the highest and truest sense of the word. What is best in itself, however, is often not best for us individually.

The practical rule [to quote Father Bridgett again] is not that we should choose what is in itself the best, but what is best for ourselves, or rather what is the best way in which we can contribute to the glory of God.²

Having but little confidence in our own judgment, we will sum up in the words of that great authority on the spiritual life, John Cassian, a solitary of the Nitrian desert, and the founder of several monasteries in the fifth century. He writes :—

We must esteem the contemplation of God, above all the merits and virtues of the just: above all things good and useful, yea, above all things, even great and admirable, that we have seen in St. Paul. Tin is a useful thing, but when compared with silver, it appears vile; silver, in its turn, loses its brilliancy when compared with gold. . . . So, in like manner, the virtues of the saints are good and useful, for this life and also for the next, but when compared with divine contemplation they seem of little worth.³

To these words, we may add those of Dionisius, who says :—

*Vita contemplativa est omni alia vita purior atque simplicior, sufficientior, stabilior itemque divinior: unde dicitur et angelica et coelestis.*⁴

The practical lesson that we secular priests have to draw from the foregoing considerations, seems to me to be that

¹ 'Ratio ea est; quia unusquisque licet votum suum in melius commutare atque ad majorem tendere perfectionem' (p. 144).

² 'Communis est sententia, Ordinem Carthusianorum (inter Regulares saltem) esse omnium arctissimum, ad quem professi Societatis, juxta Constit. Pauli III. *Licet Debitum* an. 1549, petita, etai non obtenta, licentia Praepositi Generalis, transire possunt' (p. 146).—*Vide* A. Ballerini, S.J., vol. iv. tr. ix. cap. 1, § 238.

³ *Prayer without Impediment*, p. 21.

⁴ Cassian, Coll. xxiii., chap. viii., quoted in *The Spiritual Life*, translated from the French, by the Benedictines of Stanbrook.

⁵ Lib. i. art. xiii.

the more of the contemplative spirit we introduce into our own lives the better. If we are following in a measure the mixed life, it is to be feared that the proportion of the gold of contemplation is an exceedingly small one. Of silver and of copper we may have a fair share, but the immeasurably more precious element is, alas, often conspicuous rather by its absence. Few of us strive after the pure and solid GOLD OF CONTEMPLATION.

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FINITE AND INFINITE

IN the present paper I am concerned solely with the nature of the relation between Finite and Infinite, and it will be my principal object to vindicate, first, negatively, by means of a brief criticism of rival views, and, secondly, by positive argument and explanation, the claims of the hypothesis of Creation (as compared with those of some other leading theories on the subject) to the unbiassed consideration of thoughtful persons.

I wish it to be distinctly understood at the outset, that I do not profess to establish once for all the objective validity of the Creation-hypothesis by a strictly logical deduction from premises that are unimpeachable. To be candid, I have my own opinion on this point, and it is that the fact of Creation can be demonstrated with as much rigour and certitude as is anywhere possible in philosophy. But I do not press this conclusion here, and its acceptance is by no means necessary to the argument here advanced. My aim throughout is criticism rather than demonstration, and I shall be content if I succeed in expounding the content of the notion of Creation, and in removing the paradoxes which it seems superficially to involve, so as to make it evident that it is at least as competent as any other theory to satisfy the intellectual and emotional demands we

are entitled to make upon every professed solution of the great problem of Finite and Infinite. Incidentally it will, I hope, appear that the objections so frequently levelled against the notion of Creation, on account of its alleged unscientific and even 'mysterious' character, are either unfounded or else based upon an entire misunderstanding of its import and implications.

I.—EMANATION THEORIES

Historically speaking, perhaps the earliest hypothesis to be put forward, with a view to explaining philosophically the relation of the Infinite to the Finite is that of Emanation, or the outflowing of the finite world from a primitive divine and infinite Monad. Such an hypothesis marks but a slight advance in thought upon the older mythological cosmogonies, and were it not that it was revived and consciously elaborated into what purported to be a philosophical system in the last period of Greek philosophy, it would scarcely deserve, by reason of its unscientific and imaginative (*i.e.*, unphilosophical) character, more than the barest passing mention. The concept of Emanation is essentially an Oriental one, and the main current of Indian speculation is occupied with the working out of the notion. So far, however, as Indian thought is concerned, despite the richness and poetic beauty of its imagery (or almost one might say, because of them), its constant substitution of metaphor for rational principle renders it of small account as a contribution towards a definite and logical solution of the problem we are discussing. It was not till the time of the Neo-Platonists who first succeeded in effecting a complete fusion of ideas derived from Semitic theology, Asiatic mysticism, and the philosophies of Plato and Aristotle, that a coherent system of 'emanation philosophy' was built up. Neo-Platonism is primarily and essentially a philosophy of religion, and its underlying motive is to be sought in the deep and intense religious feeling which led to the undue elevation of its first principle, the One, also conceived *more Platonic* as the Good. This isolation of the primitive Unity must be regarded as the *πρῶτον ψεύδος* of Neo-Platonic

philosophy, inasmuch as it resulted in the hopelessness of the subsequent attempt to bridge over the chasm between Infinite and Finite. A philosophy which starts from the notion of a transcendent God, a self-identical Unity excluding all distinctions, can find in itself no logical explanation of the existence of a finite world. In this way, indeed (as we shall see more clearly in a moment), Neo-Platonism failed altogether to solve its main problem, which was no other than the problem of Infinite and Finite, of God and the world. Its chief claim to our attention here lies in the fact that, as expounded by the great master of Neo-Platonic speculation, Plotinus, it affords the completest and most philosophical example to be found in the whole course of the history of thought of the employment of the Emanation concept with a view to explaining the relation between God and the world. Accordingly, in criticizing the notion of Emanation as it appears in the Neo-Platonic system, we shall be criticizing it in its most developed form; and whatever may be said of the notion in this connection will *a fortiori* be true of it as employed in the earlier and less scientific theories.

Plotinus, then, starts from the notion of God conceived as an absolute self-identical Unity, beyond limitation or definition. God, the Infinite ONE, First Principle of things, must be thought of under no positive concept whatsoever, but only as the negation of all that may be predicated of finite entities. In other words, He must be conceived as absolutely indeterminate. The words of Plotinus on this point are emphatic:—

Only by negation can we define God. He is inexpressible, for all speech names some definite thing; He is incomprehensible, for thought distinguishes between itself and its object; if we would grasp Him, it is only by an act of intention in which the mind rises above thought and becomes one with its object.

We need not pause at this juncture to criticise such a notion of the Infinite as that indicated by Plotinus. To most of my readers it will, perhaps, be sufficiently plain that it is open to objection from more than one point of

view; but this is not our immediate concern. Now the Infinite being thus denuded of every positive attribute, being, so to speak, rarified to the barest of abstractions, the cardinal difficulty of Neo-Platonism straightway presents itself in the endeavour to get back from the Infinite to the Finite; or, for the matter of that, to account for the existence of the finite world at all. On the one hand, the absolute Unity seems to remain eternally shut up within the charmed circle of its own self-identity; and, on the other, it must be thought of at the same time as the First Principle of all finite existence. To be sure, Plotinus does not conceive the One as putting off its transcendent Unity, and engendering from its own substance a manifold of finite beings. It is not, as he is careful to point out, a *Ἐν καὶ Πάν*. If the One is said to be All, this must be understood merely in the sense that all things somehow proceed from it. Accordingly, the primitive Unity, immutable in itself, though it does not (as the ordinary form of Pantheism teaches) communicate its own substance to the finite world, nevertheless communicates to it its own activity, in such a way that what we naturally regard as an independent world of things possessing a reality and substantial being of their own are, in truth, no more than the pale reflection of the Infinite One, the only absolute all-comprehending reality. Neo-Platonism may, therefore, best be described as a kind of imaginative Pantheism, or rather 'acosmism'—if such a word may be allowed—since it in effect denies all reality to the realm of finite existence. The successive orders of emanations which constitute the world are only phantoms, unreal as the images in a mirror, or the baseless fabric of a vision. The sole reality is the absolute Unity from which their phantasmal existence is projected, and that as it was without diminution through their existence, remains without increase when they have vanished away.

It would be foreign to my purpose to enter into a detailed description of the emanational process from its highest to its lowest stage. We must fix our attention at once upon the notion of Emanation itself, with the object of ascertaining its philosophic value. Now what strikes us

most forcibly when we consider the matter thus—and it is a point upon which I wish to lay special emphasis since it is all-important to the object I have in view—is the difficulty, amounting almost to impossibility, of attributing any clear or definite meaning to the notion of Emanation regarded as a philosophical concept. If we attempt to realize its content in our own minds we are at once driven to take refuge in imaginative description or pictorial analogy. Now analogy and metaphor are all very well in their proper place, and are doubtless frequently of considerable assistance to us in elucidating a concept or conveying some idea of its content to others; but as employed in philosophy, at all events, they always pre-suppose some concept which they illustrate, and upon whose signification their aid is invoked to throw light. To employ them as substitutes for rational concepts is to desert philosophy for poetry, and amounts to a confession of one's incompetence to answer philosophically certain problems, which are thereby placed *pro tanto* beyond the limits of pure speculation. This much is surely plain, and it is moreover indubitable, I take it, that Emanation is rather a metaphor than a rational concept, and that consequently its employment as a philosophic principle stands condemned on that ground alone. The very words of Plotinus appear to me sufficient proof of the fact. When confronted with the question, What is Emanation? he constantly declines to give a rational answer; and when we are expecting a philosophical explication of the content of the notion, he invariably puts us off with poetic imagery, often of the most fanciful kind. A certain German is reported to have declared that *quatenus* was the magic word which made all things possible to Spinoza; we may say in like manner that the word Emanation alone made everything possible to Plotinus. His general treatment of the subject may be gleaned from words like these, which are typical, and in which we shall search in vain for any trace of sober philosophical analysis. Describing the emanational process, he tells us that

Everything that is in any degree perfect, and most of all therefore the absolutely perfect, tends to overflow itself, to stream

forth and produce that which is other than itself and yet an image of itself. Fire produces heat, snow cold, fragrant substances odours, medicine healing. The most perfect cannot remain shut up in itself.¹

We are thus driven to the conclusion that Emanation as a philosophical solution of the problem of Finite and Infinite breaks down at every point. In itself it is a mystical, not to say unintelligible, notion—at best a notion crudely elaborated and satisfying merely to the imagination, not to speculation. If Neo-Platonism were possessed of anything more than a merely historical interest, it would be easy to shew more in detail how hopeless is the attempt to construct a logical system of Emanation-philosophy, and to lay bare many other radical defects, besides the breakdown of its cardinal principle, in the system of Plotinus. I have already hinted that his notion of an absolutely indeterminate unity is philosophically untenable; and it might further be urged that he does not succeed in overcoming the original dualism between an absolutely self-identical unity and absolutely formless matter. But this would take us too far from our road; and it will be sufficient to have shewn (as I hope I have shewn) that the idea of Emanation affords no answer to the philosophical problem of the relation of God to the world. I shall therefore pass at once to the consideration of the two other chief solutions of the question which philosophers have proposed, and first of all I shall glance at the important subject of

II.—PANTHEISM

By Pantheism I understand any doctrine which conceives of the world as a necessary, involuntary, and inevitable development of the nature of God. It will scarcely be expected that I should attempt in this place a direct refutation of Pantheism as thus defined; and indeed the almost infinite variety of ways in which its fundamental conception has been worked out in the different systems would render

Ennead, III. viii. 9; *cf.* V. i. 6.

such an attempt, within the narrow limits of a magazine article, little short of ridiculous, even were I possessed of the requisite knowledge and inclination for the task. I desire merely to call attention to the fact that, however satisfactory such a conception might prove were there question only of a theoretical explanation of the world-process, nevertheless difficulties of so grave a character may reasonably be urged against it as to render its acceptance by no means the mere matter of course which its more ardent champions seem to imagine. In this respect, indeed, it is no whit better off than the rival hypothesis of Creation, of which I shall speak more fully in the sequel. So far as Pantheism endeavours to exclude a God who rules without principle, in blind arbitrariness, it is undoubtedly correct. But it is time to enter an energetic protest against the further apotheosis of the notion of development, consequent upon this view, which it is customary just now to express and to extol with such great emphasis as though it were beyond question identical with all that is great and sublime and holy. The truth is, that the Pantheistic conception of the finite world is wholly useless from the religious point of view, and so Pantheism fails to satisfy an important condition attaching to a successful solution of the problem it essays to answer. Religious thought and feeling are based on the assumption that back of the system of universal laws, without whose operation no design whatever (in the sense of the attainment by definite means of a definite goal) would be possible, there is a sphere of free, voluntary, activity, which by the effective combination of given elements produce results which, but for it, would not, and could not, have existed. I am not contending that this assumption is true; I am not arguing in its favour; but I do say that until it can be shewn decisively to be impossible, religious feeling will never turn to the thought of an undesigned, inevitable development of the world as we know it from the nature of God, but will derive it from an act of the Divine Will without which it could not have come into being. But Pantheism leads consistently to nothing but a thorough-going determinism, according to which not only must

everything happen on the occurrence of certain conditions in accordance with necessary law, but even the successive occurrence of the conditions themselves is predetermined from all eternity by that iron necessity from whose ruling not the most trivial events can escape.

Here is an antinomy which no pantheist has ever made pretence of solving, and which is in truth from the nature of the case insoluble. The more logical of the adherents of Pantheistic theories readily admit the correctness of the deduction of an all-embracing determinism from their central conception, but even they appear strangely incapable of realising the enormous difficulties in the way of accepting this astounding conclusion. One's brain reels at the thought of a world in which there is no room for freedom or activity, or for an effort that shall produce aught that does not originate in the central principle that 'spreads undivided operates unspent' throughout its entire length and breadth. Surely this is a reflection of a kind to give us pause? Surely we should hesitate ere we give our assent to a theory one of whose results is the negation of all contingency whether in the world of nature, of thought, or of practice? In face of such a result as this it seems little short of monstrous that the advocates of what it is the fashion to speak of as Monism should arrogate to themselves the sole claim of affording a sober and philosophical solution of the problem we are considering. Difficulties there may be (and doubtless are) in the way of accepting the hypothesis of Creation; but I venture to assert without fear of contradiction (and mean to prove before I have done), that no difficulty can be urged against it at all commensurate with the paradox which we have just seen to be the inevitable outcome of the cardinal dogma of Pantheism, or the conception of the world as a development of the very substance of God.

I will not enter into the arguments against Pantheism drawn from the armoury of pure Metaphysics. It is sufficient for present purposes to point out, without discussing them in detail or estimating their worth, that such arguments exist, and that, at any rate in the opinion of those who wield them, they are quite as cogent as any counter-arguments

that pantheists can brandish against their system.¹ I would ask the reader, however, to consider carefully how Mönism of every description seems to flatly contradict the most ordinary experience. Whether we regard the mental or the material world, it is indubitable that experience leads naturally to the belief in the existence of countless individual beings—minds and bodies—and the difficulty of explaining away this spontaneous belief ranks, I imagine, among the most considerable that Pantheism has to encounter. The only logical course for Pantheism appears to be to deny with the Eleatics the reality of all distinction and change, but few, in all probability, will have the hardihood to adopt so violent a procedure as this. But enough has, perhaps, been said in support of my original contention, that the fundamental conception of Pantheism is open to serious criticism in many respects. Whether we view it in itself or in its consequences, objections of a weighty character may, as we have seen, be urged against it. It remains to enquire whether any of the objections to the rival hypothesis of Creation are so fatal as to justify its summary dismissal as palpably absurd at the hands of the advocates of Pantheistic doctrines. It will be convenient to begin by investigating with some minuteness the idea of Creation itself, and to this task we shall immediately address ourselves.

III.—THE HYPOTHESIS OF CREATION

Most people are familiar enough, so far as words go, with the phrase 'Creation out of nothing;' but unfortunately if, passing beyond the mere words to their meaning, we endeavour to exhibit satisfactorily the content of the notion they express, we shall find the task none too easy. Still it is clearly necessary to make the attempt. Our best plan will, perhaps, be to take up the stock definition of Creation

¹ Cf. the following passage from St. Thomas :—'Fuerunt quidam philosophi antiqui qui dixerunt mundum factum esse a deo et de sua essentia; quia non videbant quomodo aliquid fieri possit ex nihilo, et ideo dixerunt quod fecit omnia de se ipso. Sed haec positio non solum fidelibus sed etiam sequentibus philosophis apparuit improbabilis, quod Dei essentia omnino invariabilis et nobilissima fieret corporalium et variabilium materia, quae est de se imperfecta nisi perficiatur per formas.'—In Lib. ii. Sent. dist. i., p. 1, a.i. q.1.

as *productio entis ex nihilo sui et subjecti*, and proceed to examine it in detail. Our object will be to show that the notion of Creation is intelligible in itself, and that notwithstanding the charges frequently brought against it, it contains nothing that is intrinsically contradictory or absurd.

In the first place, then, Creation is, by definition, a form of production. Now as new entities are known continually to come into being, and as all are agreed in admitting the necessity of a sufficient reason (cause) of their existence, of whose productive energy they are the outcome, it is clear that no objection can be made to the notion of Creation on this score merely. No one, in fact, but an Eleatic would deny the possibility of all production. We must, therefore, attend to the distinctive character of Creation as one of its special forms. Now, when in the course of our experience new substances, plants and animals, come into being they are invariably the outcome of some process of change, development, or evolution, in a material element. They are invariably produced out of something—the plant, *e.g.*, from the seed, the organism from the ovum. They are said accordingly to arise (*ex nihilo sui* indeed, since the phrase means no more than that something which was not comes to be, and it is plain that ‘the lark’ is not ‘the songless egg,’ but) not *ex nihilo subjecti*, since in all such cases there is a pre-existing matter, which is substantially transformed with the result that a new entity appears. But Creation differs essentially from such a process of transformation—even substantial transformation—and the difference consists precisely in this, that, in the case of Creation, there is no pre-existing element, but the whole being of the new entity is the direct outcome of the creative act. Hence Creation is production *ex nihilo subjecti*, for in Creation there is nothing to be the vehicle of any process of change. In all cases of transformation or substantial change there is, antecedently to the process of change itself, a pre-existing somewhat. The contrary holds good of Creation *ex nihilo*.¹ So much for

¹Such is the doctrine of St. Thomas, in this as in other matters the accredited representative of Scholasticism. Creation, he tells us, is called production out of nothing for two principal reasons, ‘Primum est, ut nihil præ-

the notion itself. The further question, however, remains: Is Creation in this sense intrinsically possible? Does it involve any absurdity or contradiction? for this is the charge most frequently brought against it. I answer: There is nothing absurd or contradictory in the notion of Creation as thus understood, nor can its inherent impossibility be proved, once the existence of an active cause, capable of conferring being upon something other than itself is admitted. This may seem a somewhat circular mode of statement, but I mean no more than that Creation must be declared possible provided that no contradiction attaches to the notion either from the side of the creating cause or from that of the thing created. Now, taking the latter point of view first, it will scarcely be contended that there is a contradiction in the mere thought of a thing coming to be that before was not. This much is plain. But here we are met with the inevitable *ex nihilo nihil fit* of the physicists, brandished by our opponents as an irrefragable argument. I am not going to dispute the correctness of that celebrated maxim as employed in physical science. There it is abundantly justified as an assumption which the character of physical science renders necessary. But I emphatically protest against its use in Metaphysics. As invoked in the present controversy it amounts to a begging of the very question at issue, and in this wise. The point is: Is the production of a completely new entity possible? 'No,' say the adversaries of the theory of Creation, 'because everything must arise out of something previously existing—nothing can come from nothing!' But that was the disputed point, and to say that it cannot be because it cannot be savours too much of feminine logic to be convincing in philosophy. Accordingly, we are entitled to regard

supponat in re quae creari dicitur. . . . Causalitas generantis vel alterantis non se extendit ad omne illud quod in re invenitur; sed ad formam quae de potentia in actum reducitur sed causalitas creantis se extendit ad omne id quod est in re; et ideo creatio ex nihilo dicitur esse quia nihil est quod creationi prae-existat quasi non creatum. Secundum est ut in re quae creari dicitur prius est non esse quam esse, non quidem prioritatis temporis vel durationis, ut prius non fuit et post modum sit, sed prioritatis naturae ita quod res creata si sibi relinquatur consequatur non esse, cum esse non habuit nisi ex influentia causae superioris. Prius enim unicuique inest naturaliter quod non ex alio habet quam quod ex alio habet.—In Lib. ii, Sent. dist. i. q. i. a. 2.

the idea of Creation as valid, so far as the objects created are concerned. By valid, I repeat, I mean no more than 'logically possible' (as they say in the school), *i.e.*, not intrinsically absurd. Let us look now to the side of the creating cause. Is there contradiction here? Such cannot be the case unless the idea of an efficient cause necessarily involves the idea of a material element upon which it works, and out of which it fashions new entities. To assert such a necessity offhand is to be guilty of a similar fallacy to that noticed a moment ago.¹ In effect, there is no contradiction so long as there exists an efficient cause of such virtue as not to require the aid of any preajacent material. The proof of the existence of such a cause (supposing it can be proved) must, of course, be sought elsewhere. It is enough to have shewn here that there is no latent contradiction in the bare idea of Creation itself, and that, consequently, its summary rejection without examination on the ground of its alleged unphilosophical character is quite unjustifiable on the merits. That such a vindication of the notion was not altogether unnecessary may be gathered from the following citations from the late Principal Caird :—

It need scarcely be said that we have here a doctrine [*i.e.*, the doctrine of Creation *ex nihilo*] which is irreconcilable . . . with any philosophy whatever. . . . The theory of Creation out of nothing is simply the abandonment of the problem [of the relation of the world to God]; and if it seem anything more, it is only because its real character is disguised by a meaningless phrase. The theory itself, as well as the world for which it would account, is created out of nothing.²

It is plain from what I have just said, that the language of this passage, which is typical of much that is to be met with in current philosophical literature, is largely due to an entire failure to grasp the true import of the doctrine of Creation. This common failure seems to be the outcome of a not unnatural desire among the partisans of rival theories to discredit, by means of sheer dogmatic denunciation, a

¹ Cf. St. Thomas, *Cont. Gent.*, Lib. ii. c. 16; Suarez, *Dispp. Metaph.*, disp. xx. § 1.

² J. Caird, *Spinoza*, pp. 68-9 (Blackwood's Philosophic Classics).

notion which they are reluctant to be at the pains of examining for themselves.

The foregoing considerations have, I take it, disclosed the unsoundness of the demurrer so frequently lodged against Creation as a notion *prima facie* absurd. We have seen that there is nothing contradictory in the notion of a naked coming into being, implying the origin of something real out of a complete absence of reality, provided there be an active cause with power to communicate being as such, and have thus evinced its ideal possibility. We will, however, attempt to get to the root of the matter by laying bare, if possible, the hidden spring of the objection, and by so doing to gain a deeper insight into the notion of Creation. It is unfortunately necessary to warn the reader that at this point our discussion becomes unavoidably metaphysical, and that, should he have no stomach for technicalities, he had better content himself with what has been said already on the present topic. Later we shall proceed to examine other objections against Creation, our treatment of which will, it is hoped, be less bald and abstruse in character. Meantime to continue our investigation. Most students of philosophy are aware that the notion of Creation was vigorously opposed by the younger Fichte, on the ground that becoming is only a form of being, and that, therefore, only what *is* can *become*. Hence Creation, as ordinarily understood, involves a contradiction, since it implies not merely a process of becoming *in the existent*, but an existent which was not and *has become*. Like so much else that is deemed new in modern philosophy, this objection of Fichte's had already been propounded in the time of Aquinas, and precisely with the object of supporting a similar pantheistic conception of 'creation.' A study of the answer which St. Thomas makes to it will afford ample evidence of the reasonableness of the scholastic doctrine. For clearness' sake I shall re-state the objection in a somewhat more prolix form, adding in a note the exact words in which St. Thomas puts it to himself, with a view to its solution. It is true, then, we may imagine an opponent to declare, that in the case of entities devoid of permanent existence, and whose being is in a constant state of flux,

changeable and fleeting, being and becoming may co-exist ; so that we may say, without impropriety, that what is becomes. Thus the Aristotelian definition of motion as *τὸ τοῦ δυνάμει ὄντος ἐντελέχεια ἢ τοιοῦτου* makes explicit just this fact. The reason, of course, is that the very being of such fugitive entities is a becoming ; for example, where motion ceases to be a process, it ceases to exist altogether. But the case of entities, whether substantial or accidental, which have a permanent existence, is altogether different. To them the maxim, *ex nihilo nihil fit*, applies in all its rigour. For plainly, if they are, they have ceased to become ; and if they start becoming again, they no longer exist as permanent beings. Being and becoming can, consequently, never co-exist *here* ; for this would mean that the same thing was and was not at once. It follows that all becoming must have as its vehicle something that already is. It cannot, indeed, subsist alone, inasmuch as we could not speak of one and the same thing as actually existing, and as having come to exist, unless there were something which was at once the bearer of the process by which the thing became what it is, and also the thing itself in its developed form.¹ Creation is, therefore, impossible. Only the actually existent can be transformed, and so the pantheistic doctrine of development is established. So much for the objection. Now for the answer. I shall adopt the same procedure as before, stating the solution in my own words, and afterwards quoting in a note the response of St. Thomas. We join issue, then, upon the ground of the assertion which forms the basis of our opponent's position, viz., that, in the case of permanent entities, being and becoming, *fieri* and *factum esse* (or, as we may say, production in the active and passive sense), can never be found together. In reality, as experience shews, the contrary holds good. Whether we look to the world of nature or of mind, we are confronted

¹ Quod factum est necesse est aliquando fieri ; sed non potest dici quod illud quod creatur simul fiat et factum sit quia in permanentibus quod fit non est ; quod autem factum est jam est ; simul ergo aliquid esset et non esset ; ergo si aliquid fit fieri ejus praecedit factum esse sed hoc non potest esse nisi praexistat subjectum in quo sustentatur ipsum fieri ; ergo impossibile est aliquid fieri ex nihilo.— *Sum. Theol.* I., q. xlv., a. 2, 3.

by a number of permanent entities which are constantly in a state of development. This is especially manifest in the case of living organisms. We may truthfully say of each one of these that it is and that it becomes. Again, we may say truly that the same thing *is* and *has come to be*, inasmuch as this, in effect, amounts to no more than that, so far as regards that thing, a state of nonentity has preceded its existence, and that it is, therefore, not self-produced, but dependent upon some other entity as to its cause.¹ In Creation, too, the coming to be and actual existence coincide, and, in a sort, synchronize, since, as St. Thomas is careful to point out, Creation is not a form of change.² This is a point of capital importance, the failure to understand which lies at the root of the charge of absurdity brought against the idea of Creation out of nothing. For the reason why, in last analysis, Creation is regarded as intrinsically impossible is the alleged one that every active cause presupposes some (passive) material upon which it works, and this again is proved by the principle that all becoming is change. To the former of these assertions I have already referred,³ and the latter can be shewn to be equally fallacious. Creation is not change, for in all change there is, as it were, movement between two real points, change being in fact the passage from one such real point to another. There is always a positive *terminus a quo*, from which, as the name implies, the process of change originates. But in the case of Creation there is no such positive starting-point at all, the starting-point being here pure nonentity. Thus Creation is not change and the objections based upon such a misunderstanding are consequently ineffectual.

The sum and substance of the preceding discussion is that the charge of contradiction, directed against the

¹ 'In his quae fiunt sine motu simul est fieri est factum esse sive talis factio sit terminus motus sive non, sicut simul formatur verbum in corde et formatum est. Et in his, quod fit est cum dicitur fieri, sed cum dicitur fieri significatur ab alio esse et prius non fuisse. Unde cum creatio sit sine motu simul aliquid creatur et creatum est.'—*Ibid.*, ad 3.

² Cf. St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.* I., q. xlv., a. 2, ad 2; *Qq. Dispp.*, q. 3, *de Pot.*, a. 1 ad 11.

³ See above, p. 237, and the references given in note 1, p. 238.

notion of Creation by its opponents breaks down at every point. Unless, indeed, we go to the length of denying the possibility of all becoming, we have no right to deny the possibility of Creation out of nothing. Granted that anything can come to be, why cannot the stuff out of which all things are made be itself the result of some process of production, which in this case we call creation? To shew that this is impossible it would be necessary to demonstrate the fact that there exists no active cause capable of conferring real being upon another. We saw just now that such a cause is not inconceivable in itself; and as I am not here engaged in proving that as a fact the world we know is the result of a creative act, this much is sufficient for my purpose. If the conception of Creation be intelligible in itself, and do not necessarily involve any absurdity, there can, I contend, be no reason why it should be rejected *a priori* as wholly incompetent to afford a solution of the problem of Finite and Infinite. But the further question remains, whether there be not some *a posteriori* argument of such weight as to force us to the conclusion that, however reasonable in itself, the hypothesis of Creation, as applied to the present problem, fails in some essential requirement of every attempted answer.

There are two principal classes of such *a posteriori* objections, those namely which are based upon facts of the physical and of the moral order. I will deal in turn with one of each class (and those the strongest I can find) and I conceive that should I be successful in blunting their points, I shall have done all that can be fairly expected of me towards maintaining the claim which I began of the reasonableness of the Creation-hypothesis. Turning first to the protest lodged on behalf of natural science, we hear the statement frequently made that the modern doctrine of cosmical evolution has finally and completely discredited the old-fashioned 'myth of creation.' It is scarcely necessary to point out that it is usually by physicists themselves that this objection is urged, and indeed it is unlikely that such bare-faced ignorance of the most elementary principles of Metaphysics as is evidenced by its serious proposal could be met

with anywhere outside the ranks of our latter-day scientific worthies. The objection in question usually takes the form of an illegitimate extension of the theories of Kant and Laplace concerning the mode of formation of cosmical bodies. As is well known, these thinkers promulgated independently during the eighteenth century (Kant in his *Allgemeine Naturgeschichte und Theorie des Himmels*, 1755, and Laplace in his *Exposition du Système du Monde*, 1796) the so-called 'nebular hypothesis,' which aims at a theoretical explanation of the manner of origin of the earth and other celestial bodies by means of the condensation of rotating nebulous spheres. We are not here concerned with the truth or falsity of the hypothesis as it is found in Kant or Laplace, but let us see for ourselves the mode in which it is utilised by the scientists of to-day as a 'convincing' argument against Creation. I open at random the latest production by that most eminent of zoologists, Professor Ernst Hæckel (it is well to be up-to-date in these matters,) and here is the sort of thing I find :—

Even to the solution of this most difficult world-riddle [the 'question of creation'] the nineteenth century has contributed more than all its predecessors ; in a certain sense indeed it has found the solution. We have at last attained to a clear view of the fact that all the partial questions of creation are indivisibly connected, that they represent one single 'cosmic problem' and that the key to this problem is found in the one magic word—evolution. . . . All the creation myths, were on the contrary, of a supernatural, miraculous and transcendent character. . . . The error of these creation-legends and the cognate belief in miracles must have been apparent to thoughtful minds at an early period. . . . We are now justified in concluding, if we are not logically compelled to conclude, that the persistence of matter and force has held good throughout all time as it does to-day. Through all eternity the infinite universe has been and is subject to the law of substance.¹

The conclusions which this oracle of 'modern' science comes to are that the natural universe is 'infinite' (*sic*) in extent and duration, that 'substance is everywhere and always in uninterrupted movement and transformation'

¹ E. Hæckel: *The Riddle of the Universe*, English Translation, pp. 238-47. London, 1900.

while 'the infinite quantity of matter and of eternally changing force remains constant,' and that this universal movement of substance in space takes the form of an eternal cycle or of a periodical process of evolution.¹ One is reminded of the story of Laplace, who when he made a formal presentation of his *Mécanique Céleste* to Napoleon was asked by the latter how it was that in writing such a big book on the system of the universe he had never so much as mentioned the Creator, whereupon he drew himself up and answered bluntly: 'Sire, I had no need of any such hypothesis.'² This is precisely the attitude of the modern school of physicists. Darwin, Spencer, Huxley (though the last, not consistently), Tyndall, Vogt, Büchner and many more complacently consign Creation to the limbo of exploded beliefs, of course substituting 'the magic word evolution' in its stead. And yet the explanation of the origin of the universe by means of any evolutionary process is manifestly inadequate—to use no harsher word—and may be confuted out of the mouth of science herself, speaking through her more sober-minded and philosophical representatives. We are all acquainted, at least at second-hand, with the famous *Scholium Generale* with which Newton concludes his *Principia*, and coming to recent times, we find Lyell energetically proclaiming the necessity of Creation, while Hæckel, in the work just referred to, provides us with a quotation from Du Bois-Reymond which contains a definitive refutation of his own position. In an address on Neo-Vitalism delivered in 1894, this eminent physiologist spoke as follows:—

It is more consistent with divine omnipotence to assume that it created the whole material of the world in one creative act, unthinkable ages ago, in such wise that it should be endowed with inviolable laws to control the origin and progress of living things. We are content with one creative day, and we derive organic nature mechanically.³

My point is, that, granting for argument's sake the truth of the hypothesis of cosmical evolution, nevertheless the

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 248.

² Rouse Ball, *Short History of Mathematics*, p. 388.

³ Quoted by Hæckel, *op. cit.* pp. 240-1.

proposed explanation falls short of the problem. The dilemma is obvious. Either you must, with Hæckel, make the substance of the universe everything, or in other words must regard the universe self-existent, which is materialistic monism of the crudest type and philosophically worthless ; or the primordial 'nebula' (or whatever that element be called from which the process of evolution starts) must have originated, as Du Bois-Reymond tells us, is a single creative act. I have already offered some general criticisms of pantheistic theories, and it would be foreign to my plan to enter upon a minute examination of the 'monism' of Hæckel and his school.¹ Suffice it to say, that (apart from the objections which tell equally against all forms of Monism) this particular specimen of 'scientific' speculation is worthy to take rank beside the mechanical evolution of Mr. Herbert Spencer, in whom, alas! nobody nowadays dreams of believing. The truth of this assertion I must perforce leave it to the reader to verify for himself, by consulting, if that way his tastes lie, the original from which I have borrowed my citations.

It remains for us to examine the *soi-disant* 'moral' argument against the hypothesis of Creation. The gist of it is that the doctrine of Creation is immoral and therefore untrue.

A brilliant young Frenchman, the late Jean-Marie Guyau, thus plausibly formulates the objection in his elegant treatise on the Irreligion of the Future:—

The old doubt which haunted many a thinker of antiquity is fast spreading and deepening in our own day. A Creator is a Being in whom all things have their reason and their cause, and upon whom, as a consequence, all supreme responsibility finally devolves. In proportion as the ideas of infinite power and supreme *Liberty* become inseparable from the idea of God, the latter loses all excuse, for the absolute is dependent upon nothing, has no ties outside itself, but, on the contrary, everything depends upon it, and in it is to be found the reason for all that is. All culpability thus ultimately attaches to God ; His work, in the manifold series of its effects, appears to modern thought as but a single action, and that action, like every other, is liable to be

¹ Feuerbach, Büchner, Strauss, Moleschott, and Czolbe have worked out similar systems of the active evolution of matter.

tested as to its moral character. By it we are to judge of its author; and the world becomes for us an indictment of God. But as evil and immorality become gradually, by reason of the very progress of the moral sense itself, more and more striking throughout the entire universe, it becomes increasingly evident that to posit a 'Creator' of the world is, so to speak, to collect all this evil into a single focus, to concentrate all this immorality upon a single being, and so to justify the monstrous paradox that evil is God. To admit the existence of a Creator is in a word to banish evil from the Universe in order to cast it upon God as its primitive source: it is to acquit man and the universe, in order to condemn the free author of both.¹

In answer to this eloquent plea, I would point out in the first place that it is not, strictly speaking, so much an argument against Creation itself, as a demurrer put in against our acceptance of it as inconsistent with our ideas of what ought to be. So far as the main contention of the present paper is concerned, I might admit every word of M. Guyau's argument, since obviously it does not touch the question of the possibility of Creation at all. Still, I hinted at the beginning that we are entitled to make certain intellectual and emotional demands upon every serious attempt at solving the problem of God's relation to the world, and it is safe to say that if the conclusions of M. Guyau have any weight, the Creation-hypothesis certainly militates against the most legitimate of them, namely, that the solution should square with our ideas of the moral fitness of things. Let us see, therefore, whether these arguments can bear the test of examination. In general, it might be urged that such objections as M. Guyau's are founded upon a misunderstanding of the nature of evil, which is not anything positive but merely the lack or absence of some due perfection—a privation. But we have already had enough of metaphysics, and to develop adequately an argument so technical in character would require too much space to be possible at this stage of our discussion. However, even waiving metaphysics, I think the objection in question is not hard to dispose of. I will not deny that the problem presents serious difficulties, but the worst have been imported into it and rest on pure mistake. In substance it is the objection

¹ M. Guyau: *L'Irréligion de l'avenir* (1887), p. 380.

of the celebrated Pierre Bayle, and may be dealt with on the same lines. It is abundantly clear, in the first place, that the Creator, by reason precisely of His being such, is under no obligation to His creatures; the most that can be said on the other side is, that in creating a world in which evil prevails to any considerable extent, He violates some quasi-obligation to His own moral nature. Certainly He cannot be said to do so if the evil is a necessary incident to the production of the work as a whole, and this, as most admit, is true at least of what is called physical evil—pain and the failure to realise certain definite ends—wherever it exists. Moreover, why should God be compelled to create a world in which there is no evil of this sort? We must avoid a too strict application of the rules of human morality (which is founded for the most part upon the idea of Justice), to the Absolute. I will not go the length of declaring with Mr. Bradley, that morality (as such) cannot be ascribed to the Absolute at all; yet I conceive it to be anthropomorphism pure and simple to speak as if God were under a moral obligation to exclude evil of whatsoever kind from the world He created. This surely is what the contention of Bayle and M. Guyau amounts to; but the question immediately presents itself, to whom does God owe it to create a world free from evil? Not to anything extrinsic to Himself, since by hypothesis He is Infinite and bound by no ties; but neither can it be to Himself, for such obligation is unmeaning. God, the Creator, as First Cause and Supreme Author of all things, is free to create how and what He will—there is no law of Creation other than God's own good pleasure. So much must be admitted on all hands. But now, if God creates a world such as ours, with a certain limited degree of perfection, it will undoubtedly contain more or less evil, physical and moral. Still this result cannot properly be attributed to the Creator, for (besides that evil has no positive existence) God in creating does no more than call into being entities which themselves, by reason of their limitations and inherent imperfections, originate such ills as our earthly experience acquaints us with. That evil is permitted to occur, nobody dreams of denying; I deny,

however, that it is directly chargeable to God. Such difficulties as rest upon the permission of physical evil are of small weight. I will not dwell upon the speculative audacity displayed in the attempt to discriminate as to what in the universe is or is not evil merely. Our knowledge of the facts is imperfect and fragmentary, and the thought we can bring to bear on the problem is sporadic in character and woefully limited in comparison with the subject. But as Mr. Bradley tells us, 'in the world we observe, an impartial scrutiny will discover more pleasure than pain;' and, we may add, much of the pain which undoubtedly exists makes, on the whole, for good, and especially for moral good. Surely no one who thinks more of goodness than of happiness would hesitate to inflict pain in order to increase the amount of goodness in the world. But, it will be replied, to inflict pain wantonly is assuredly not good, and could not an omnipotent Creator make men good without inflicting pain? The inference suggested seems hardly cogent; but, if another answer is required, I would submit that the antecedent must be straightway denied, since its position involves an absurdity. I say this deliberately, for, if God be conceived of as wantonly inflicting pain on His creatures, He must be pronounced an immoral Being. If this be so, then obviously He will be indifferent to the morality of His creatures, and, in a word, the whole moral order will be overturned, or rather will have no existence. But to me, at all events, such a notion, which in effect sets up as Creator some diabolical agent who has called into being a multitude of creatures in order to the production and continued increase of wickedness, is too absurd to be deserving of serious consideration. It is unreasonable to suppose that the Creator of a world in which design and purpose are everywhere manifest should be indifferent to the grand issue upon which the fate of mankind—the highest and worthiest of His creatures—ultimately depends—I mean, of course, the contest between moral good and evil. To the question, Is the power which is manifest in the universe a power favourable to righteousness? only one answer, in the eye of all 'who see life

steadily and see it whole,' is possible. A review of the facts unequivocally discloses that everywhere the Creator is on the side of the angels. Assuming the fact of Creation to be possible, ample evidence of the Creator's goodness is discoverable by all who are not wilfully blind. And with this conclusion we might stop; for, granted that there be difficulties (and these grave ones) in conceiving how the goodness of the Creator is, in certain particular cases, to be squared with what we know of the facts, the goodness itself is established, and the ground thus cut from under our opponents' feet. It is worth while, however, to push our inquiry a stage further before we close.

A closer scrutiny serves to reveal the central fallacy of M. Guyau's argument—an argument, as already hinted, by no means original to that distinguished writer. In effect he asks this question: What are we to think of a Creator who should call into existence beings who can, if they will, exert themselves for evil, and some of whom have, indeed, exerted themselves for evil, as their Creator foresaw? In putting this question M. Guyau goes to the root of the matter, for unquestionably the existence of moral evil is the hardest part of the problem. But what we call moral evil springs from the existence of self-determining intelligences. If the reader will bear this in mind, I will endeavour to reply to M. Guyau's question—*Hibernico more*—by putting him another. What, then, if the object of the Creator, in calling such beings into existence, were to create virtue? We gather that M. Guyau is a passionate admirer of virtue; but he apparently forgets that there is no virtue without freedom, and that freedom implies vice. Again, suppose it to be said that a good Creator would not call into existence self-determining beings if He saw that by their power of self-determination evil, and not good, would prevail, the answer is, Who says that He would or that He did? It is not for us to declare that evil will eventually prevail. An omnipotent Creator (if such there be) knows, we may be sure, whether the 'manifestation of the sons of God,' for which Creation awaits, is worth the toil and travail which Creation meanwhile endures. He knows, for He has done the sum. We have not the power of doing it, for the

factors are not all before us ; but the evidence of the Creator's goodness which surround us constrain us to believe that if He had not counted the cost, and found it worth while, He would not have begun the work.

To sum up the result of our somewhat lengthy discussion, we saw at the beginning, that the attempted explanation of the relation of Finite to Infinite by means of the theory of Emanation turns out on investigation to be no explanation at all, but rather a confession that no philosophical explanation is possible. So apparent, indeed, is this, that the notion of Emanation, as current in Neo-Platonic speculation, has long been discredited among philosophers, and can no longer lay claim to much more than a purely historical or academic interest. The case of Pantheism is very different. That doctrine is logically strong, and, moreover, fits in well with the modern doctrine of evolution. Its acceptance gets rid of many of the most formidable difficulties which philosophy has to encounter. Why, then, should we not give it our assent at once and gladly? The answer is, that the determinism, which is the logical outcome of Pantheism, runs counter to just one of these facts which are to us most luminously evident. We cannot accept determinism because the fact of self-determination, which determinism reduces to a figment, is one of these elementary convictions of mankind which are to us the most certain of all things, and with which all our knowledge must ultimately correspond, or else be practically worthless. If there be something which cannot be believed, except at the cost of my capacity for believing anything, then it is to me absolutely unbelievable. If any philosophy, for example, however coherent and admirable in other respects, involves the conclusion that we ourselves have no real existence, that

Nothing is but all things seem,

And we the shadows of a dream,

such philosophy stands immediately self-condemned, for of our own existence we have the highest conceivable certainty; and if we do not believe in that we cannot believe in

anything at all. But the sense of personal freedom, limited, but real, is on a par with our knowledge of our own existence, and precisely the same must be said of any philosophy which implies the denial of its reality. We must, therefore, reject the doctrine of necessity, and all that logically leads to it, because it is contradictory of what is most certain in human knowledge, and such contradiction is fundamentally unthinkable.

But what of Creation? I take it we have at least demonstrated the reasonableness of the doctrine. We have seen that the conception of Creation properly signifies no more than this: that the world, with respect to its existence, as well as its content, is wholly dependent upon the will of God, and not a mere involuntary 'development' of His nature. That there is nothing contradictory in such a conception it has been my business to make out; whether or no I have succeeded, it is for the reader to determine. I have discussed the most notable objections to the Creation-hypothesis and estimated their force, which appears, on examination, to be less than might at first sight be imagined. I have not undertaken to prove that Creation is a fact; at the outset, indeed, I was careful to disclaim any such intention. It is enough if I have convinced my readers that, however much its intimate connection with revelation and the philosophy of religion may tend to discredit it in the eyes of not a few among the leaders of modern thought, the hypothesis of Creation out of nothing has many points in its favour which are wanting to rival theories, and that, at any rate, it incontestably deserves more courteous treatment than it oftentimes receives at the hands of their upholders.

W. VESSEY HAGUE.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

USE OF EGGS ON CERTAIN FAST DAYS

REV. DEAR SIR,—In the December number of the I. E. RECORD, page 540, the very able writer, in reply to some queries on abstinence, says:—‘The only vestige of the more rigid discipline of the Church in Ireland is that when the vigil of the feast of the Nativity, SS. Peter and Paul, the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, or of All Saints, falls on Friday, the use of eggs, as well as of meat, is forbidden’; and pages 541-2, he says:—‘The only exception to this rule (viz., that those who are exempt by age, labour, or infirmity, from the law of fasting, are bound by the law of abstinence only, which, outside Lent, forbids meat, not eggs and lacticinia) is that by the local law of abstinence in Ireland, eggs are forbidden at any meal on the four vigils above mentioned, viz., the vigil of the feast of the Nativity, SS. Peter and Paul, the Assumption, and All Saints, when they happen to fall on Friday.’

There is nothing that I would attempt to correct in the whole lucid exposition, which I have read with attention, as I do everything that proceeds from the same distinguished source, except the application to the diocese of Limerick of the prohibition to use eggs at dinner whenever the four above-named vigils fall on Friday. According to immemorial custom in the diocese of Limerick, when any one of those vigils falls on Friday, it is lawful to use eggs at the principal meal, but only at the principal meal.

I hope you will excuse me for calling attention to this matter, and will credit me when I say that my only motive in obtruding on your valuable space is, lest any of the junior clergy of the diocese of Limerick, who possibly may not be aware of the local usage, may accept as applying to their diocese, what was intended, and I believe correctly, for Ireland in general.

Very faithfully yours,

P.P.

We were already aware, when writing the paper to which our correspondent refers, that in certain dioceses there is a

departure — legitimately sanctioned — from the custom, almost universal in Ireland, of abstaining from eggs, when the vigils above-named fall on Friday.¹ We are much indebted to our correspondent for bringing under our notice the fact that Limerick is one of those dioceses. We can also state that Cashel is another. There may be others still, but, so far, these are the only exceptions that we have discovered. In these two dioceses, the permission for the use of eggs is, of course, available only for the principal meal, in the case of those who are bound to fast. In the case of persons not fasting, the use of eggs will be regulated by the general principles laid down in the paper to which our correspondent refers.

**USE OF LARD AND DRIPPING ON DAYS OF FAST OR
ABSTINENCE OUTSIDE LENT**

REV. DEAR SIR,—I have read with much interest the able exposition concerning the law of abstinence in the December issue of the I. E. RECORD, page 538. I shall feel grateful if you would kindly answer in your next issue the following question bearing on the same subject:—

Is the use of lard or dripping alone, or by way of condiment, permitted outside of Lent on fasting days and days of abstinence?

During Lent such use is permitted by special indult. In extra-Lenten time, perhaps, custom takes the place of indult.

OSSORIENSIS.

This question is exhaustively treated in the I. E. RECORD for March, 1881, page 166.

In reply to our correspondent's question, therefore, it will be enough to say here:—

1. That permission for the use of lard or dripping is confined to their use as a condiment or dressing for other food.

2. That the permission is not granted by the Holy See directly to the faithful.

3. That the bishops of Ireland may, in virtue of the faculty extended to all the dioceses of Ireland in 1887, allow the use of lard and dripping on all days of fast or abstinence, in Lent or outside Lent, with the exception of what are known as

¹ *Conf.*, I. E. RECORD, March, 1880, p. 31.

black fast-days, *i.e.*, Ash Wednesday, Good Friday, and, in some dioceses, the Wednesday of Holy Week.

4. Once a dispensation has been given by the bishop, without limit of time, it holds good, of course, until it be withdrawn. The concession does not need to be annually renewed. Wherever, therefore, there is in Ireland, as our correspondent supposes, a custom of using lard and dripping on days of fast or abstinence outside of Lent, we may assume that it had its origin in an episcopal dispensation.¹

NOTES ON THE EXTENSION OF THE JUBILEE

THE following notes have been suggested by questions which we have received regarding the conditions for gaining the indulgence of the present Jubilee. Now, that the extension of the Jubilee of the Holy Year has been promulgated, they may be found useful by those who cannot easily lay their hands on works dealing with the subject in detail:—

1. The extension of the Jubilee must be promulgated by the Ordinary. Parish priests or others are not empowered to anticipate the promulgation: and the faithful cannot validly fulfil any of the conditions for gaining the indulgence until the promulgation has been duly made.

2. The time allowed for gaining the indulgence is six months. The Ordinary may, at his discretion, and for the convenience of the faithful, select any period of not less than six months² within the present year. It is usual to publish the Jubilee simultaneously for the whole of each diocese. But, if that course were, for any reason, inconvenient, different periods might be assigned for different portions of the same diocese.

3. The period of six months is taken to mean six calendar months, and it begins to run from the day on which the promulgation is made by the Ordinary, unless, indeed, the Ordinary expressly fixes a subsequent date for the opening

¹ See I. E. RECORD, *loc. cit.* *Acta et Decreta*, Maynooth Synod (1875), pages 359, 356.

² The six months must be continuous, unless there be, in the judgment of the Ordinary, a grave cause for departing from that arrangement. If the six months be divided by the Ordinary, the works for gaining the Jubilee may be distributed over the two or more divisions made, but the Indulgence can be gained only once. See I. E. RECORD, February, 1901, p. 190.

of the Jubilee. For, he may announce the extension of the Jubilee on the first day of March, for example, and, at the same time, assign March 15 as the first day of the Jubilee. It is needless to say that the Ordinary has no power to shorten the time allowed by the Pope for gaining the Jubilee.

4. The Apostolic Letter, *Temporis quidem*, expressly prorogues the time for gaining the present Jubilee for certain classes of persons. It provides that *navigantes et iter facientes si post elapsos sex menses . . . ad sua domicilia aut alio ad certam stationem se receperint* can, on comparatively easy conditions, gain the Jubilee indulgence. But, with this exception expressly made, the period within which the present Jubilee may be availed of cannot be extended, even by a single day, either by Confessors or by the Ordinary. In extraordinary Jubilees, Confessors have, sometimes, got power to extend the time for gaining the Jubilee in favour of persons who have failed to gain it within the time prescribed. But this power is not given in the case of the ordinary Jubilee or its extension; nor is there any reference to such a power in the present instance.

5. All the faithful, even those who last year, at Rome or elsewhere, gained the plenary indulgence of the Holy Year may now gain the indulgence of the extended Jubilee.

6. Those who, having begun the works of the Jubilee, are surprised by death before they have completed them gain the plenary indulgence.

7. The indulgence of the present Jubilee can be gained only once and it is not applicable to the souls in Purgatory.

8. There is no suspension of other indulgences during the six months for which the present Jubilee indulgence is available.

9. The conditions for gaining the Jubilee may be fulfilled outside one's parish or diocese. The confession and communion may be made anywhere, even in a diocese in which the Jubilee has not yet opened or in which it has been already closed. The visits to the church may be made anywhere that the Jubilee is open, but they must, of course, be made to the churches designated by the

Ordinary and under the conditions prescribed. A person may, therefore, gain the Jubilee before it has been promulgated in his own diocese; or after the close of Jubilee in his own diocese when, owing to neglect or a sacrilegious confession or communion, for example, he has failed to gain the indulgence there within the time prescribed. Before passing from this point it may be well to note that one cannot, by joining in the processional visits of a parish or confraternity to which he does not belong, share in the privilege usually granted to the processionists of gaining the indulgence with a reduced number of visits.

10. Omission through contempt to gain the Jubilee is, of course, grievously sinful. *Per se*, no one is bound to use the privilege of gaining the Jubilee, but one who deliberately neglects so great a grace can scarcely be excused from venial sin.

11. Whether all who gain the Jubilee, no matter what their dispositions, gain it in an equal degree, is a question on which authors are much divided. They distinguish, however, between the plenary indulgence and the other privileges (*v.g.*, commutations, dispensations) attached to the Jubilee. All who gain the Jubilee, or *bona fide* intend to gain it, participate equally in the right to the privileges attached; but in regard to the indulgence the matter is not so evident. According to some the indulgence is gained in the same measure by all—by those who are most lukewarm, to the same extent, as by those who are most fervent in performing the works of the Jubilee. Any difference in the amount of temporal punishment actually remitted arises, according to this opinion, not from a difference of dispositions or of degree in which the indulgence has been gained, but from the amount of punishment that was due. Others, however, and with much appearance of reason, think the effect of the indulgence, like the effect of the sacraments, is proportionate to the dispositions of the recipient. This second opinion is certainly more likely to increase the fervour of the faithful, and is that adopted by Boniface VIII. when he says: ‘Unusquisque tamen plus merebitur, et indulgentiam efficacius consequetur qui basilicas amplius et devotius frequentabit.’

We are compelled to hold over, for the next issue of the I. E. RECORD, some notes on the intention, the visits to the church, the confession and communion required in order to gain the plenary indulgence of the Jubilee.

D. MANNIX.

LITURGY

I.—AN APPARENT ERROR IN THE 'ORDO' FOR 1900

REV. DEAR SIR,—I take the liberty of asking a question for my information on the *Ordo* for December 10 and 11, 1900, as regards the Feast of St. Damasus. In the *Ordo* St. Damasus, though only a Semiduplex, has 1st and 2nd Vesp. com. Oct. et feriae. The rubrics in the Breviary on *the day* prescribe a Cap. de seq. com. Oct. et feriae for 1 Vesp. and for 2 Vesp. a Cap. de seq. com. St. Damasi et feriae. I have looked into the General Rubrics, cap. xi., pars. 4 and 6, and find there very plainly laid down :—

'4.—Semiduplice concurrente cum die infra octavam, a capitulo fit de sequenti et com. praeceidentis. 6. . . die infra octavam concurrente cum semiduplice a capitulo fit de seq. cum com. praeceidentis.'

I have looked over a great number of old *Ordos*, some thirty or more, and find all to agree with the above except 1899 and 1900. Unless there be some special Rubric affecting St. Damasus' Feast, I submit the *Ordo* is not correct and will thank you for your opinion in next number of I. E. RECORD.

A P.P.

Before explaining the difficulty, which our esteemed correspondent has experienced in his vain attempt to reconcile the rubrics of the Breviary with the directions given in the *Ordo*, we may beg leave to warn him and others, whose curiosity may induce them to make similar attempts, that the rubrics, whether general or special, to be found in the Breviaries printed earlier than 1898 are quite unreliable. The year 1893 saw the first of the recent changes in the rubrics of the Breviary. On the 2nd July of that year there was issued by the Congregation of Rites an important decree sanctioning the distinction of feasts into primary and secondary, and promising that a catalogue of each of these two classes of feasts would be drawn up immediately. This

catalogue was published on the 27th August, 1893 ; but, as it included only feasts of a rite higher than the simple double rite, it was thought by some that the distinction between primary and secondary feasts did not extend to simple doubles and semidoubles. A question on this point was addressed to the Congregation of Rites, whose reply, published on the 14th August, 1894, declared that the distinction embraced also minor doubles and semidoubles. On the 1st February, 1896, the same Congregation declared that days within an octave, were to be regarded as secondary feasts. Now, one of the effects of this distinction of feasts into primary and secondary is, that when a primary feast concurs in either first or second vespers with a secondary feast of the same rite, the vespers are entirely of the primary feast with only a commemoration of the secondary. And the feast day of a saint—if he has only one feast, or the principal feast, if he has more than one—is always a primary feast, even though of only semidouble rite. Hence, when a feast of this rite, like that of St. Damasus, to which our correspondent refers, concurs with a day within an octave, the vespers are of the feast with only a commemoration of the octave.

The revised edition of the rubrics, general and special, embodying these very considerable and very important changes, was not issued until the 11th December, 1897, and could not, therefore, be found in any Breviary printed earlier than 1898. In the section *De concurrentia* of the revised rubrics the following direction is given for the case in which a semidouble concurs in the second vespers with a day within an octave.

Eodem vero semiduplici concurrente cum sequenti die infra Octavam. Vesperae erunt de illo cum commemoratione Octavae.

And for the case in which a day within an octave concurs with a following semidouble feast, the same rubrics give the following direction :—

Die infra Octavam concurrente cum sequenti semiduplici Vesperae erunt de sequenti cum commemoratione Octavae.

The special directions regarding the feast of St. Damasus,

which are given in the latest Breviaries, are, as we should expect, in harmony with the general rubrics. At the end of the Office *de infra Oct.* of the 10th December, we read *Vesp. de seq. cum commem. Octavae et feriae*, the following being the feast of St. Damasus of only semidouble rite. And in the second vespers of this same semidouble feast we find merely *et fit commem. Octavae*, although the Office for the following day is *de infra Oct.* Our correspondent can now understand why the *Ordos* for the year 1899 and 1900, differ from preceding *Ordos*.

II.—REGULARS AND THE FEAST OF THE DEDICATION OF THE CHURCHES OF IRELAND

REV. DEAR SIR,—I fear your answer to 'Regular,' in the January number of the I. E. RECORD, will not enable him to set aright his difficulty regarding the celebration of the Feast of the Dedication of the Churches by regulars. If I am not mistaken, the common law of the Church in the matter is that regulars who celebrate the Feast of the Dedication of the Churches of their own Order are not bound to keep the Feast of the Dedication of all the churches of the country in which they live. The only feast of the kind to which the law obliges them is the dedication of the cathedral church of the city in which they have convents, and this as a second-class feast, without an octave. This, I think, is the meaning of the answer of the Congregation of Rites to a question of the Provincial of the Capuchin Fathers in Holland:—

'Q. Regulares, qui Kalendarium proprium habent et jam celebrant Dedicationem omnium Ecclesiarum Ordinis, tenentur celebrare in regione Hollandica, sub ritu duplici primae classis cum octava, Dedicationem omnium Ecclesiarum Regni, Dominica immediate sequenti octavam Festivitatis omnium sanctorum, uti in Gallia et Belgio, vel potius Dedicationem omnium Ecclesiarum respectivae Dioceseos, ubi haec Dedicatio alia die, qua Anniversarium Dedicationis Ecclesiae Cathedralis celebratur?

'R. Regulares in casu tantummodo celebrent Anniversarium Dedicationis omnium Ecclesiarum Ordinis die statuta: et Dedicationis Cathedralis Ecclesiae, si degunt in civitate Episcopali, sub ritu duplici secundae classis sine octava. Die 22 Junii 1895.'

I should not like to go so far as to maintain that the answer of the same Congregation to the questions of Father Nicholson would warrant a change in the common law for the celebration of the feast by regulars in Ireland.—Yours truly,

ANOTHER REGULAR.

Our reply to 'Regular,' in the January number of the I. E. RECORD, was intended to apply only to those regulars who do not celebrate a general Feast of the Dedication of the Churches of their own Order. Regulars in Ireland who do celebrate such a feast are not, of course, bound to celebrate the feast of the second Sunday of October. Indeed, since these regulars have their own anniversary feast, their churches are not included in this commemoration. This was the common opinion even before the date of the decree which our esteemed correspondent quotes.

III.—THE SINGING OF THE GOSPEL IN A REQUIEM MASS

REV. DEAR SIR,—Please answer the following question, or have it answered in next month's I. E. RECORD :—

In a Requiem Mass—cantata or solemn—is there any authority for stating that the Gospel should be sung or recited in a monotone rather than with the usual inflections? Thanking you in anticipation, I remain, yours very respectfully,

NEO SACERDOS.

There is no authority whatsoever for making a distinction between the manner in which the Gospel is sung in a Solemn Requiem Mass and the manner in which it is sung in any other Solemn Mass.

D. O'LOAN.

CORRESPONDENCE

ATTENDANCE OF CATHOLICS AT A MEMORIAL SERVICE FOR THE QUEEN IN A PROTESTANT CHURCH

ARCHBISHOP'S HOUSE,
DUBLIN, 20th February, 1901.

REV. DEAR SIR,—It may be of interest to publish in the I. E. RECORD the following decision of the Holy See in reference to the attendance of Catholics, even those holding the office of Privy Councillors, at a Memorial Service in a Protestant Church, for her late Majesty the Queen.

It is right to add that in the question as forwarded to Rome, the religion of the Queen was not mentioned. The clause describing her as a Protestant was doubtless inserted in order that the decree should bear on the face of it an explicit statement of all the essential facts of the case.

Faithfully yours,
✠ WILLIAM J. WALSH,
Archbishop of Dublin,
&c., &c.

BEATISSIME PATER.

Archiepiscopus Dublinensis, ad pedes S.V. provolutus, humilime petit solutionem insequentis dubii :

Utrum liceat catholicis, qui munere funguntur Consiliariorum Privatorum Regis [*Privy Councillors*], assistere cuidam functioni acatholicae, Dublini mox celebrandae, in memoriam Reginae Victoriae nuper in haeresi protestantium defunctae: idque ut reverentiam suam erga demortuam Reginam ostendant?

FERIA IV., 30 JANUARI, 1901.

In Congreg. Generali habita ab Em̃is. ac Rm̃is. Dñis. Card. Gen. Inquisitoribus, proposito infrascripto dubio, iidem Em̃i. Dñi. respondendum censuerunt: Prout exponitur: *Negative*.

Insequenti vero feria VI., die 1 Februari ejusdem anni, in solita audientia R.P.D. Adessori S.O. impertita, facta de hisce omnibus relatione, SSmo. D.N. Leoni Div. Prov. PP. XIII., idem SSmus. Dñus. responsionem Patrum adprobavit.

I. Can. MANCINI, S.R. et U.I. Notarius.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE 'GLORIA PATRI'

REV. DEAR SIR,—As far back as the summer of 1870 I had the honour of showing the very tame lions of Limerick to one of your early contributors, the Bishop of Pittsburg, U.S.A., who had resigned his See and was then Father O'Connor, S.J. As we wended our way to the Treaty Stone, he propounded to me the interpretation of the *Gloria Patri*, &c., which Monsignor Molloy advocates so ably in your February issue. He convinced me that the ordinary version is wrong; for, if past, present, and future—*erat, est, erit*—are all provided for already, there is no space of time for our prayer to fall upon. The *sicut in coelo et in terra* of the *Pater Noster* seems a parallel case. One would be inclined to translate 'as in heaven and on earth,' but we know it is 'Thy will be done on earth as in heaven.' And so what we pray for in the *Gloria Patri* is that glory may be given to God now and for ever, as it was in the beginning before sin was, when God gave to Himself infinite and perfect glory; as it would have been if angel and man had never fallen. *Sicut erat in principio* may well be joined with *In principio erat Verbum*. For thirty years it has been a help to me in saying the Divine Office to try and give this special meaning now and then to the *Gloria* at the end of a psalm, separating the *nunc et semper* as a prayer and aspiration from the statement *sicut erat*.

In September and October, 1884, a controversy on this subject raged in the columns of the *Tablet*. I chance to have before me a single leaf of that journal, bearing the date October 4th, 1884, which contains four letters, though the question had been started three or four weeks before. All but a certain 'A. B.' defend Dr. Molloy's interpretation; and this, I remember, seemed to be the general result of the discussion. 'Sacerdos' quotes from the Breviary the metrical rendering of this Lesser Doxology, such as

'Patri, simulque Filio,
Tibique, Sancte Spiritus,
Sicut fuit, sit jugiter
Saeculum per omne gloria.'

'Nemo' quotes the translation of the Greek Doxology (which omits '*sicut erat in principio*') from a note in the 'Roman Breviary' of the Marquess of Bute: 'Glory be to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost, both now and ever and to the ages of ages.' Finally, Mr. Edmund Randolph gives as a sample of the versions in the other European languages (for the

English version stands alone) that which is found in the Prayer-book of the Diocese of Mainz or Mayence : ' Ehre sei dem Vater, etc., wie im Anfang, so jetzt und in Ewigkeit. Amen.'

This German version resembles the modification which seems most practicable in English as disturbing less the rhythm that we are accustomed to. ' Glory be to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost, as it was in the beginning, so now and for ever, world without end. Amen.'

M. R.

DEAR REV. SIR,—Monsignor Molloy rightly calls attention to our inaccurate—not to say clumsy—translation of the ' Gloria Patri.' The aim of the Doxology, I take it, is to wish for the Blessed Trinity the same glory in the present and future, as in the past. In the Latin the relation of the present and future with the past is expressed by the correlatives *sicut* and *et . . et . . et*. Now when we turn to the English version, we find, indeed, *sicut* correctly rendered by *as*, but its correlatives are omitted altogether.

If a new version were ever decided upon—and who is to decide upon it?—it should be one, which, for the sake of more easily learning it, makes the least change in the present wording. I submit the following as being correct and easy to learn :—

' As it was in the beginning, so now and for ever, world without end.' Another rendering might run thus—' So be it now and for ever, etc.'—I am, yours respectfully,

R. P.

THE HEROIC ACT

REV. DEAR SIR,—As you invite further discussion on the point raised by ' A Would-be Hero ' in his criticism of Dean Kinane's new book on Purgatory, I beg to submit to your readers the following small contribution towards a solution of the difficulty.

Your correspondent thinks there is a contradiction involved in calling the act heroic by which a living person surrenders his satisfactions in favour of the dead, and, at the same time, assuring such a person that his generosity will be rewarded by God by a speedier entrance into heaven. I admit there is a seeming contradiction ; but I think it is all on the surface. To make an unreserved surrender of everything one has to another is heroic, even though one has a strong assurance that the other will make a generous return. Martyrdom is intrinsically heroic, though the martyr

feels he is getting more than he gives. The vow of poverty is heroic, although one making it believes fully the words of Christ: 'He shall receive a *hundredfold in this life, and Life Eternal.*' (These words seem to imply a temporal reward as distinct from, and in addition to, an eternal.)

In speaking of a speedier deliverance from Purgatory, I understand Dean Kinane to mean not necessarily that God will apply an increased amount of satisfactions to the soul that has made the Heroic Act, as a reward for making it, but that, in return for his generosity, God will give him more actual grace, which will diminish his liability to fall into sin, and so remove *radicaliter* the necessity for satisfactions. If the Heroic Act is generous, and heroic, and pleasing to God (and to deny this would seem to run counter to the implied teaching of the Holy See, which has given extraordinary indulgences and privileges to the act), we must certainly conclude that it is meritorious, and will bring an increase of actual grace.

To deny that an act can be heroic because it is accompanied by, or even based on, divine faith and hope, would be to undermine the foundations of Christianity.—Yours very faithfully,

HENRY BROWNE, S.J.

University College, Dublin.

THE HEROIC ACT

REV. DEAR SIR,—That the 'Heroic Act' will benefit him who makes it, is a *hope*, certainly not a '*positive assurance.*'

Turning from this point, may I allude to another? If you ask any dozen persons you meet what is the 'Heroic Act,' they will answer that it is *taking the total abstinence pledge against drink for the sake of others*; this they have gathered from the pages of the *Irish Messenger of the Sacred Heart.*

May I venture to protest against this confusion of ideas? To give up all your indulgences for others is certainly an heroic act, but to give up drink, whether for your own sake or for that of others, is certainly *not heroic*. Would it not be better therefore to select some other term to designate the latter form of self-denial, and let the phrase 'Heroic Act' mean what the Church means by it?—Yours, &c.,

A TOTAL ABSTAINER.

UNISON BENEDICTION SERVICES FOR 'CANTIONES SACRAE'

REV. DEAR SIR,—I shall be grateful if you will allow me to use your columns for the purpose of asking musical composers to contribute unison Benediction Services to *Cantiones Sacrae*—a series of Catholic Church music now being published by Messrs. Novello & Co. The MSS. should be sent in the first instance to the Abbey, Fort Augustus, Scotland. Benediction Services that can be effectively rendered by school children, a school teacher, and a harmonium, are particularly needed; and, even with all the restraint that such work puts on the composer, there is plenty of scope in it for sound musicianship.—Yours truly,

SAMUEL GREGORY OULD, O.S.B.

(Editor of 'Cantiones Sacrae'.)

DOCUMENTS

ENCYCICAL LETTER OF HIS HOLINESS POPE LEO XIII. ON
CHRISTIAN AND SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

LEO XIII. DEFINIT QUID VENIAT SUB NOMINE 'DEMOCRATIAE
CHRISTIANAE,' HORTATURQUE CATHOLICOS AD CONCORDITER
AGENDUM SUB ORDINARIORUM DUCTU

SANCTISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI LEONIS, DIVINA PROVIDENTIA PAPAE XIII,
EPISTOLA ENCYCLICA AD PATRIARCHAS, PRIMATES, ARCHIEPIS-
COPOS, EPISCOPOS ALIOSQUE LOCORUM ORDINARIOS, PACEM ET
COMMUNIONEM CUM APOSTOLICA SEDE HABENTES

VENERABILIBUS FRATRIBUS PATRIARCHIS, PRIMATIBUS, ARCHIEPIS-
COPIS, EPISCOPIS, ALIISQUE LOCORUM ORDINARIIS PACEM ET
COMMUNIONEM CUM APOSTOLICA SEDE HABENTIBUS

LEO PP. XIII.

VENERABILES FRATRES SALUTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTIONEM

Graves de communi re oeconomica disceptationes, quae non una in gente iam dudum animorum labefactant concordiam, crebrescunt in dies calentque adeo, ut consilia ipsa hominum prudentiorum suspensa me rito habeant et sollicita. Eas opinionum fallaciae, in genere philosophandi agendique late diffusae, invexere primum. Tum nova, quae tulit aetas, artibus adiumenta, commeatuum celeritas et adscita minuendae operae lucrisque augendis omne genus organa, contentionem acuerunt. Denique, locupletes inter ac proletarios, malis turbulentorum hominum studiis, concitato dissidio, eo res iam est deducta, ut civitates saepius agitatae motibus, magnis etiam videantur calamitatibus funestandae.

Nos quidem, pontificatu vix inito, probe animadvertimus quid civilis societas ex eo capite periclitaretur; officiique esse duximus catholicos monere palam, quantus in socialismi placitis lateret error, quantaque immineret inde perniciēs, non externis vitae bonis tantummodo, sed morum etiam probitati religiosaeque rei, Huc spectarunt litterae encyclicae *Quod Apostolici muneris*, quas dedimus die xxviii decembris anno mdccclxxviii. — Verum,

periculis iis ingravescens maior quotidie cum damno privatim publice, iterum Nos eoque enixius ad providendum contendimus. Datisque similiter litteris *Rerum novarum*, die xv maii anno mccccxci, de iuribus et officiis fuse diximus, quibus geminas civium classes, eorum qui rem et eorum qui operam conferunt, congruere inter se oporteret; simulque remedia ex evangelicis praescriptis monstravimus, quae ad tuendam iustitiae et religionis causam, et ad dimicationem omnem inter civitatis ordines dirimendam visa sunt in primis utilia.

Nec vero Nostra, Deo dante, irrita cessit fiducia, Siquidem vel ipsi qui a catholicis dissident, veritatis vi commoti, hoc tribuendum Ecclesiae professi sunt, quod ad omnes civitatis gradus se porrigat providentem, atque ad illos praecipue qui misera in fortuna versantur. Satisque uberes ex documentis Nostris catholici percipere fructus. Nam inde non incitamenta solum viresque hauserunt ad coepta optima persequenda; sed lucem etiam mutuati sunt optatam, cuius beneficio huiusmodi disciplinae studia tutius ii quidem ac feliciter insisterent. Hinc factum ut opinionum inter eos dissensiones, partim submotae sint, partim mollitae interquieverint. In actione vero, id consecutum est ut ad curandas proletariorum rationes, quibus praesertim locis magis erant afflictas, non pauca sint constanti proposito vel nove inducta vel aucta utiliter; cuiusmodi sunt: ea ignaris oblata auxilia, quae vocant secretariatus populi; mensae ad rusticorum mutuaciones; consociationes, aliae ad suppetias mutuo ferendas, aliae ad necessitates ob infortunia levandas: opificum sodalitia; alia id genus et societatum et operum adiumenta.

Sic igitur, Ecclesiae auspiciis, quaedam inter catholicos tum coniunctio actionis tum institutorum providentia inita est in praesidium plebis, tam saepe non minus insidiis et periculis quam inopia et laboribus circumventae. Quae popularis beneficentiae ratio nulla quidem propria appellatione initio distingui consuevit: *socialismi christiani* nomen a nonnullis invecum et derivata ab eo haud immerito obsoleverunt. Eam deinde pluribus iure nominare placuit *actionem christianam popularem*. Est etiam ubi, qui tali rei dant operam, *sociales christiani* vocantur: alibi vero ipsa vocatur *democratia christiana* ac *democratici christiani* qui eidem dediti; contra eam quam socialistae contendunt *democratiam socialem*. — Iamvero e binis rei significandae modis postremo loco allatis, si non adeo primus, *sociales christiani*, alter certe, *democratia christiana* apud bonos plures offensionem habet, quippe cui

ambiguum quiddam et periculosum adhaerescere existiment. Ab hac enim appellatione metuunt, plus una de causa : videlicet, ne quo oblecto studio popularis civitas foveatur, vel ceteris politicis formis praeoptetur ; ne ad plebis commoda, ceteris tamquam semotis rei publicae ordinibus christianae religionis virtus coangustari videatur ; ne denique sub fucato nomine quoddam lateat propositum legitimi cuiusvis imperii, civilis, sacri, detrectandi.— Qua de re quum vulgo iam nimis et nonnunquam acriter disceptetur, monet conscientia officii ut controversiae modum imponamus, definientes quidnam sit a catholicis in hac re sentiendum : praeterea quaedam praescribere consilium est, quo amplior fiat ipsorum actio, multoque salubrior civitati eveniat.

Quid *democratia socialis* velit, quid velle *christianam* oporteat, incertum plane esse nequit. Altera enim, plus minusve intemperanter eam libeat profiteri, usque eo pravitatis a multis compellitur, nihil ut quidquam supra humana reputet ; corporis bona atque externa consecetur, in eisque captandis fruendis hominis beatitatem constituat. Hinc imperium penes plebem in civitate velint esse, ut, sublati ordinum gradibus aequalisque civibus, ad honorum etiam inter eos aequalitatem sit gressus ; hinc ius dominii delendum ; et quidquid fortunarum est singulis, ipsaque instrumenta vitae, communia habenda. At vero *democratia christiana*, eo nimirum quod *christiana* dicitur, suo veluti fundamento, positae a divina fide principiis niti debet, infimorum sic prospiciens utilitatibus, ut animos ad sempiterna factos convenienter perficiat. Proinde nihil sit illi iustitia sanctius ; ius potiundi possidendi iubeat esse integrum ; dispares tueatur ordines, sane proprios bene constitutae civitatis ; eam demum humano convictui velit formam atque indolem esse, qualem Deus auctor indidit. Liquet igitur *democratiae socialis* et *christianae* communionem esse nullam : eae nempe inter se differunt tantum, quantum socialismi secta et professio christianae legis.

Nefas autem sit *christianae democratiae* appellationem ad politicam detorqueri. Quamquam enim *democratia*, ex ipsa notatione nominis usuque philosophorum, regimen indicat populare ; attamen in re praesenti sic usurpanda est, ut, omni politica notione detracta, aliud nihil significatum praeferat, nisi hanc ipsam beneficam in populum actionem christianam. Nam naturae et evangelii praecepta quia suo iure humanos casus

excedunt, ea necesse est ex nullo civilis regiminis modo pendere ; sed convenire cum quovis posse, modo ne honestati et iustitiae repugnet. Sunt ipsa igitur manentque a partium studiis variisque eventibus plane aliena : ut in qualibet demum rei publicae constitutione, possint cives ac debeant iisdem stare praeceptis, quibus iubentur Deum super omnia, proximos sicut se diligere. Haec perpetua Ecclesiae disciplina fuit ; hac usi romani Pontifices cum civitatibus egere semper, quocumque illae administrationis genere tenerentur. Quae cum sint ita, catholicorum mens atque actio, quae bono proletariorum promovendo studet, eo profecto spectare nequaquam potest, ut aliud prae alio regimen civitatis adamet atque invehat.

Non dissimili modo a democratia christiana removendum est alterum illud offensionis caput : quod nimirum in commodis inferiorum ordinum curas sic collocet, ut superiores praeterire videatur : quorum tamen non minor est usus ad conservationem perfectionemque civitatis. Praecavet id christiana, quam nuper diximus, caritatis lex. Haec ad omnes omnino cuiusvis gradus homines patet complectendos, utpote unius eiusdemque familiae, eodem benignissimo editos Patre et redemptos Servatore, eademque in hereditatem vocatos aeternam. Scilicet, quae est doctrina et admonitio Apostoli : ‘ Unum corpus, et unus spiritus, sicut vocati estis in una spe vocationis vestrae. Unus Dominus, una fides, unum baptisma. Unus Deus et Pater omnium, qui est super omnes, et per omnia, et in omnibus nobis.’¹ Quare propter nativam plebis cum ordinibus ceteris coniunctionem, eamque arctiorem ex christiana fraternitate, in eosdem certe influit quantacumque plebi adiutandae diligentia impenditur, eo vel magis quia ad exitum rei secundum plane decet ac necesse est ipsos in partem operae advocari, quod infra aperiemus.

Longe pariter absit, ut appellatione democratiae christianae propositum subdatur omnis abiiciendae obedientiae eosque aversandi qui legitime praesunt. Revereri eos qui pro suo quisque gradu in civitate praesunt, eisdemque iuste iubentibus obtemperare lex aequae naturalis et christiana praecipit. Quod quidem ut homine eodemque christiano sit dignum, ex animo et officio praestari oportet, scilicet *propter conscientiam*, quemadmodum ipse monuit Apostolus, quum illud edixit : ‘ Omnis anima potestatibus sublimioribus subdita sit.’² Abhorret autem a professione christianae vitae, ut quis nolit iis subesse et parere, qui cum

¹ Ephes. iv. 4-6.

² Rom. xiii. 1-5.

potestate in Ecclesia antecedunt : Episcopis in primis, quos, integra Pontificis romani in universos auctoritate, 'Spiritus Sanctus posuit regere Ecclesiam Dei, quam acquisivit sanguine suo.'¹ Iam qui secus sentiat aut faciat, is enimvero gravissimum eiusdem Apostoli praeceptum oblitus convincitur : 'Obedite praepositis vestris, et subiaceite eis. Ipsi enim pervigilant, quasi rationem pro animabus vestris reddituri.'² Quae dicta permagni interest ut fideles universi alte sibi defigant in animis atque in omni vitae consuetudine perficere studeant : eademque sacrorum ministri diligentissime reputantes, non hortatione solum, sed maxime exemplo, ceteris persuadere ne intermittant.

His igitur revocatis capitibus rerum, quas antehac per occasionem data opera illustravimus, speramus fore ut quaevis de christianae democratiae nomine dissensio, omnisque de re, eo nomine significata, suspicio periculi iam deponatur. Et iure quidem speramus. Etenim, iis missis quorundam sententiis de huiusmodi democratiae christianae vi ac virtute, quae immoderatione aliqua vel errore non careant ; certe nemo unus studium illud reprehenderit, quod, secundum naturalem divinamque legem, eo unice pertineat, ut qui vitam manu et arte sustentant, tolerabiliorem in statum adducantur, habeantque sensim quo sibi ipsi prospiciant ; domi atque palam officia virtutum et religionis libere expleant ; sentiant se non animantia sed homines, non ethnicos sed christianos esse ; atque adeo ad *unum* illud *necessarium*, ad ultimum bonum, cui nati sumus, et facilius et studiosius nitantur. Iamvero hic finis, hoc opus eorum qui plebem christiano animo velint et opportune relevatam et a peste incolumem socialismi.

De officiis virtutum et religionis modo Nos mentionem consulto inieciimus. Quorundam enim opinio est, quae in vulgus manat, *quaestionem socialem*, quam aiunt, *oeconomicam* esse tantummodo : quom contra verissimum sit, eam moralem in primis et religiosam esse, ob eandemque rem ex lege morum potissime et religionis iudicio dirimendam. Esto namque ut operam locantibus geminetur merces ; esto ut contrahatur operi tempus ; etiam annonae sit vilitas : atqui, si mercenarius eas audiat doctrinas, ut assolet, eisque utatur exemplis, quae ad exuendam Numinis reverentiam alliciant depravandosque mores ; eius etiam labores ac rem necesse est dilabi. Periclitatione atque usu perspectum est, opifices plerosque anguste misereque vivere, qui, quamvis operam habeant

¹ Act. xx. 28.² Hebr. xiii. 17.

breuiorem spatio et uberiorem mercede, corruptis tamen moribus nullaue religionis disciplina vivunt. Deme animis sensus, quos inserit et colit christiana sapientia; deme providentiam, modestiam, parsimoniam, patientiam ceterosque rectos naturae habitus; prosperitatem, etsi multum contendas, frustra persequare. Id plane est causae, cur catholicos homines inire coetus ad meliora plebi paranda, aliaque similiter instituta invehere Nos nunquam hortati sumus, quin pariter moneremus, ut haec religione auspice fierent eaque adiutrice et comite.

Videtur autem propensae huic catholicorum in proletarios voluntati eo maior tribuenda laus, quod in eodem campo explicatur, in quo constanter feliciterque, benigno afflatu Ecclesiae, actiuosa caritatis certavit industria, accommodata ad tempora. Cuius quidem mutuae caritatis lege, legem iustitiae quasi perficiente, non sua solum iubemur cuique tribuere ac iure suo agentes non prohibere; verum etiam gratificari invicem, 'non verbo, neque lingua, sed opere et veritate;' ¹ memores quae Christus peramanter ad suos habuit: 'Mandatum novum do vobis; ut diligatis invicem, sicut dilexi vos ut et vos diligatis invicem. In hoc cognoscent omnes quia discipuli mei estis, si dilectionem habueritis ad invicem.'² Tale gratificandi studium, quamquam esse primum oportet de animorum bono non caduco sollicitum, praetermittere tamen haudquaquam debet quae usui sunt et adiumento vitae. Qua in re illud est memoratu dignum, Christum, sciscitantibus Baptistae discipulis: 'Tu es qui venturus es, an alium expectamus?' demandati sibi inter homines muneris arguisse causam ex hoc caritatis capite, Isaiae excitata sententia: 'Caeci vident, claudi ambulant, leprosi mundantur, surdi audiunt, mortui resurgunt, pauperes evangelizantur.'³ Idemque de supremo iudicio ac de praemiis poenisque decernendis eloquens, professus est se singulari quadam respectuum ratione, qualem homines caritatem alter alteri adhibuissent. In quo Christi sermone id quidem admiratione non vacat, quemadmodum ille, partibus misericordiae solantis animos tacite omissis, externae tantum commemorarit officia, atque ea tamquam sibimetipsi impensa: 'Esurivi, et dedistis mihi manducare; sitivi, et dedistis mihi bibere; hospes eram, et collegistis me; nudus, et cooperuistis me; infirmus, et visitastis me; in carcere eram, et venistis ad me.'⁴

¹ 1 Ioann. iii. 18.

² Ioann. xiii. 34, 35.

³ Matth. xi. 5.

⁴ *Ibi.* xxv. 36, 36.

Ad haec documenta caritatis utraque ex parte, et animae et corporis bono, probandae, addidit Christus de se exempla, ut nemo ignorat, quam maxime insignia. In re praesenti sane suavissima est ad recolendum vox ea paterno corde emissa: 'Misereor super turbam,'¹ et par voluntas ope vel mirifica subveniendi: cuius miserationis praeconium extat: 'Pertransiit benefaciendo et sanando omnes oppressos a diabolo.'²—Traditam ab eo caritatis disciplinam Apostoli primum sancte naviterque coluerunt; post illos qui christianam fidem amplexi sunt, auctores fuerunt inveniendae variae institutorum copiae ad miseras hominum, quaecumque urgeant, allevandas. Quae instituta, continuis incrementis provecta, christiani nominis partaeque inde humanitatis propria ac praeclara sunt ornamenta: ut ea integri iudicii homines satis admirari non queant, maxime quod tam sit proelive ut in sua quisque feratur commoda, aliena posthabeat.

Neque de eo numero bene factorum excipienda est erogatio stipis, eleemosynae causa; ad quam illud pertinet Christi: 'Quod superest, date eleemosynam.'³ Hanc scilicet socialistae carpunt atque e medio sublatam volunt, utpote ingenitae homini nobilitati iniuriosam. At enim si ad evangelii praescripta,⁴ et christiano ritu fiat, illa quidem neque erogantium superbiam alit, neque affert accipientibus verecundiam. Tantum vero abest ut homini sit indecora, ut potius foveat societatem coniunctionis humanae, officiorum inter homines fovendo necessitudinem. Nemo quippe hominum est adeo locuples, qui nullius indigeat; nemo est egenus adeo, ut non alteri possit qua re prodesse: est id innatum, ut opem inter se homines et fidenter poscant et ferant benevole.—Sic nempe iustitia et caritas inter se devinctae, aequo Christi mitique iure, humanae societatis compagem mire continent, ac membra singula ad proprium et commune bonum providenter adducunt.

Quod autem laboranti plebi non temporariis tantum subsidiis, sed constanti quadam institutorum ratione subveniatur; caritati pariter laudi vertendum est; certius enim firmitusque egentibus stabit. Eo amplius est in laude ponendum, velle eorum animos, qui exercent artes vel operas locant, sic ad parsimoniam providentiamque formari, ut ipsi sibi, decursu aetatis, saltem ex parte consulant. Tale propositum, non modo locupletum in proletarios officium elevat, sed ipsos honestat proletarios; quos quidem dum excitat ad clementiorem sibi fortunam parandam, idem a periculis

¹ Marc. viii. 2.

² Act. x. 38.

³ Luc. xi. 41.

⁴ Matth. vi. 2-4.

arceat et ab intemperantia coerceat cupiditatum, idemque ad virtutis cultum invitat. Tanta igitur quum sit utilitatis ac tam congruentis temporibus, dignum certe est in quo caritas bonorum alacris et prudens contendat.

Maneat igitur, studium istud catholicorum solandae erigendaeque plebis plane congruere cum Ecclesiae ingenio et perpetuis eiusdem exemplis optime respondere. Ea vero quae ad id conducant, utrum *actionis christianae popularis* nomine appellentur, an *democratiae christianae*, parvi admodum refert; si quidem impertita a Nobis documenta, quo par est obsequio, integra custodiantur. At refert magnopere ut, in tanti momenti re, una eademque sit catholicorum hominum mens, una eademque voluntas atque actio. Nec refert minus ut actio ipso, multiplicatis hominum rerumque praesidiis, augeatur, amplificetur.— Eorum praesertim advocanda est benigna opera, quibus et locus et census et ingenii animique cultura plus quiddam auctoritatis in civitate conciliant. Ista si desit opera, vix quidquam confici potest quod vere valeat ad quaesitas popularis vitae utilitates. Sane ad id eo certius breviusque patebit iter, quo impensius multiplex praestantiorum civium efficientia conspiret.

Ipsi autem considerent velimus non esse sibi in integro, infirmorum curare sortem an negligere; sed officio prorsus teneri. Nec enim suis quisque commodis tantum in civitate vivit, verum etiam communibus: ut quod alii in summam communis boni conferre pro parte nequeant, largius conferant alii qui possint. Cuius quidem officii quantum sit pondus ipsa edocet acceptorum bonorum praestantia, quam consequatur necesse est restrictio ratio, summo reddenda largitori Deo. Id etiam monet malorum lues, quae, remedio non tempestive adhibito, in omnium ordinum perniciem est aliquando eruptura: ut nimirum qui calamitosae plebis negligat causam, ipse sibi et civitati faciat improvide.— Quod si actio ista christiano more socialis late obtineat vigeatque sincera, nequaquam profecto fiet, ut cetera instituta, quae ex maiorum pietate ac providentia iam pridem extant et florent, vel exarescant, vel novis institutis quasi absorpta deficiant. Haec enim atque illa, utpote quae eodem consilio religionis et caritatis impulsa, neque re ipsa quidquam inter se pugnantis, commode quidem componi possunt et cohaerere tam apte, ut necessitatibus plebis periculisque quotidie gravioribus eo opportunius liceat, collatis benemerendi studiis, consulere.—Res nempe clamat, vehementer clamat, audentibus animis opus esse viribusque coniunctis; quum

sane nimis ampla aerumnarum seges obversetur oculis, et perturbationum exitium impendeant, maxime ab invalescente socialistarum vi, formidolosa discrimina. Callide illi in sinum invadunt civitatis : in occultorum conventuum tenebris ac palam in luce, qua voce, qua scriptis, multitudinem seditione concitant ; disciplina religionis abiecta, officia negligunt, nil nisi iura extollunt ; ac turbas egentium quotidie frequentiores sollicitant, quae ob rerum angustias facilius deceptioni patent et ad errorem rapiuntur.—Aequae de civitate ac de religione agitur res ; utramque in suo tueri honore sanctum esse bonis omnibus debet.

Quae voluntatum consensio ut optato consistat, ab omnibus praeterea abstinendum est contentionis causis quae offendant animos et disiungant. Proinde in ephemeridum scriptis et concionibus popularibus sileant quaedam subtiliores neque ullius fere utilitatis quaestiones, quae quum ad expediendum non faciles sunt, tum etiam ad intelligendum vim aptam ingenii et non vulgare studium exposcunt. Sane humanum est, haerere in multis dubios et diversos diversa sentire : eos tamen qui verum ex animo persequantur addeceat, in disputatione adhuc ancipiti, aequanimitatem servare ac modestiam mutuamque observantiam ; ne scilicet, dissidentibus opinionibus, voluntates item dissideant. Quidquid vero, in causis quae dubitationem non respuant, opinari quis malit, animum sic semper gerat, ut Sedi Apostolicae dicto audiens esse velit religiosissime.

Atque ista catholicorum actio, qualiscumque est, ampliore quidem cum efficacia procedet, si consociationes eorum omnes, salvo suo cuiusque iure, una eademque primaria vi dirigente et movente processerint. Quas ipsis partes in Italia volumus praestet institutum illud, a Congressibus coetibusque catholicis, saepenumero a Nobis laudatum ; cui et Decessor Noster et Nosmetipsi curam hanc demandavimus communis catholicorum actionis, auspicio et ductu sacrorum Antistitum, temperandae. Item porro fiat apud nationes ceteras, si quis usquam eiusmodi est praecipuus coetus, cui id negotii legitimo iure sit datum.

Iamvero in toto hoc rerum genere, quod cum Ecclesiae et plebis christianae rationibus omnino copulatur, apparet quid non elaborare debeant qui sacro munere fungantur, et quam varia doctrinae, prudentiae, caritatis, industria id possint. Prodire in populum in eoque salutariter versari opportunum esse, prout res sunt ac tempora, non semel Nobis, homines e clero allocutis, visum est affirmare. Saepius autem per litteras ad Episcopos

aliosve sacri ordinis viros, etiam proximis annis,¹ datas, hanc ipsam amantem populi providentiam collaudavimus, propriamque esse diximus utriusque ordinis clericorum. Qui tamen in eius officiis explendis caute admodum prudenterque faciant, ad similitudinem hominum sanctorum. Franciscus ille pauper et humilis, ille calamitosorum pater Vincentius a Paulo, alii in omni Ecclesiae memoria complures, assiduas curas in populum sic temperare consueverunt, ut non plus aequo distenti neque immemores sui contentione pari suum ipsi animum ad perfectionem virtutis omnis, excolerent.—Unum hic libet paulo expressius subiicere, in quo non modo sacrorum administri, sed etiam quotquot sunt popularis causae studiosi, optime de ipsa, nec difficili opera mereantur. Nempe, si pariter studeant per opportunitatem haec praecipue in plebis anima fraterno alloquio inculcare. Quae sunt : a seditione, a seditiosis usquequaque caveant ; aliena cuiusvis iura habeant inviolata ; iustam dominis observantiam atque operam volentes exhibeant ; domesticæ vitæ ne fastidiant consuetudinem multis modis frugiferam ; religionem in primis colant, ab eaque in asperitatibus vitæ certum petant solatium. Quibus perficiendis propositis sane quanto sit adiumento vel Sanctæ Familiae Nazarethanae præstantissimum revocare specimen et commendare praesidium, vel eorum proponere exempla quos ad virtutis fastigium tenuitas ipsa sortis eduxit, vel etiam spem alere præmii in potiore vita mansuri.

Postremo id rursus graviusque commonemus, ut quidquid consilii in eadem causa vel singuli vel consociati homines efficiendum suscipiant, inemerint Episcoporum auctoritati esse penitus obsequendum. Decipi se ne sinant vehementiore quodam caritatis studio ; quod quidem, si quam iacturam debitæ obtemperacionis suadeat, sincerum non est, neque solidæ utilitatis efficiens, neque gratum Deo. Eorum Deus delectatur animo qui, sententia sua postposita, Ecclesiae praesides sic plane ut ipsum audiunt iubentes ; iis volens adest vel arduas molientibus res, coeptaque ad exitus optatos solet benignus perducere.—Ad haec accedant consentanea virtutis exempla, maxime quae christianum hominem probant osorem ignaviae et voluptatum, de rerum copia in alienas utilitates amice impertientem, ad aerumnas constantem, invictum. Ista quippe exempla vim habent magnam ad salutares spiritus in populo excitandos ; vimque habent maiorem quam praestantium civium vitam exornant.

¹ Ad Min. Gen. Fratrum Ord. Min 25 Nov. 1893. *Ofr. Anal. Eccl.* Vol. vi., p. 437.

Haec vos, Venerabiles Fratres, opportune ad hominum locorumque necessitates, pro prudentia et navitate vestra curetis hortamur; de iisdemque rebus consilia inter vos, de more congressi, communicetis. In eo autem vestrae evigilent curae atque auctoritas valeat, moderando, cohibendo, obsistendo, ut ne, ulla cuiusvis specie boni fovendi, sacrae disciplinae laxetur vigor, neu perturbetur ordinis ratio quem Christus Ecclesiae suae praefinivit. Recta igitur et concordia et progrediente catholicorum omnium opera, eo pateat illustrius, tranquillitatem ordinis veramque prosperitatem in populis praecipue florere, moderatrice et faultrice Ecclesia; cuius est sanctissimum munus, sui quemque officii ex christianis praeceptis admonere, locupletes ac tenues fraterna caritate coniungere, erigere et roborare animos in cursu humanarum rerum adverso.

Praescripta et optata Nostra confirmet ea beati Pauli ad Romanos, plena apostolicae caritatis, hortatio: 'Obsecro vos . . . Reformamini in novitate sensus vestri . . . Qui tribuit, in simplicitate; qui praest, in sollicitudine; qui miseretur, in hilaritate. Dilecti sine simulatione. Odientes malum, adhaerentes bono: Caritate fraternitatis invicem diligentes honore invicem praevenientes: Sollicitudine non pigri: Spe gaudentes: in tribulatione patientes, orationi instantes: Necessitatibus sanctorum communicantes; hospitalitatem sectantes. Gaudere cum gaudentibus, flere cum flentibus: Idipsum invicem sentientes: Nulli malum pro malo reddentes: Providentes bona non tantum coram Deo, sed etiam coram omnibus hominibus.'

Quorum auspex bonorum accedat Apostolica benedictio, quam vobis, Venerabiles Fratres, Clero ac populo vestro amantissime in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum, die 18 Ianuarii anno MDCCCXI, Pontificatus Nostri vicesimo tertio.

LEO PP. XIII.

¹ Rom. xii. 1-17.

POEM OF HIS HOLINESS POPE LEO XIII. TO THE NEW
CENTURY

AN. CHRISTI MDCCCC. PRIDIE KALENDAS IANVARIAS A IESU CHRISTO
INEUNTIS SAECULI AUSPICIA

Cultrix bonarum nobilis artium
Decedit aetas : publica commoda,
Viresque naturae resectas,
Quisquis avet, memoret canendo.

Saeculi occidentis me vehementius
Admissa tangunt ; haec doleo et fremo.
Proh ! quot, retrorsum conspicatus,
Dedecorum monumenta cerno.

Querarne caedes, sceptraque diruta,
An pervagantis monstra licentiae ?
An dirum in arcem Vaticanam
Mille dolis initum duellum ?

Quo cessit Urbis, principis urbium,
Nullo impeditum servitio decus ?
Quam saecula, quam gentes avitae
Pontificum coluere sedem ?

Vae segregatis Numine legibus !
Quae lex honesti, quae superest fides ?
Nutant, semel submota ab aris,
Atque ruunt labefacta iura.

Auditis ? effert insipia conscius
Insanientis grex sapientiae,
Brutaeque naturae supremum
Nititur asseruisse numen.

Nostrae supernam gentis originem
Fastidit excors : dissociabilem,
Umbras inanes mente captans,
Stirpem hominum pecudumque miscet.

Heu quam probroso gurgite volvitur
Vis impotentis caeca superbiae.
Servate, mortales, in omne
Iussa Dei metuenda tempus,

Qui *vita* solus, certa*que veritas*,
Qui recta et una est ad Superos *via*.
Is reddere ad votum fluentes
Terrigenis valet unus annos.

Nuper sacratos ad cineres Petri
Turbas piorum sancta petentium
Is ipse duxit ; non inane
Auspicium pietas renascens.

I^{ESU}, futuri temporis arbiter,
Surgentis aevi cursibus annue :
Virtute divina rebelles
Coge sequi meliora gentes.

Tu pacis almae semina provehe ;
Irae, tumultus, bella*que tristia*
Tandem residant : improborum
In tenebrosa age regna fraudes.

Mens una reges, te duce, temperet,
Tuis ut instent legibus obsequi :
Sit*que* unum Ovile et Pastor unus,
Una Fides moderetur orbem.

Cursum peregi, lustra*que* bis novem,
Te dante, vixi. Tu cumulum ad*iice* ;
Fac, quaeso, ne incassum precantis
Vota tui recidant Leonis.

LEO XIII.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

ORESTES A. BROWNSON. By Henry F. Brownson.
Brownson Publishers, Detroit, Michigan. 3 vols. 8vo.
1898, 1900.

To the list of remarkable men of a past generation whose fame has been cared for by their sons, we have now to add the name of the American philosopher, Orestes Brownson. Mr. Wilfrid Ward, in recent times, gave the world an insight into the life and labours of his father, William George Ward. A similar duty was performed for Tennyson by his son, Lionel, now the second Lord Tennyson. Mr. Leonard Huxley has paid the filial tribute to his father, Thomas Henry Huxley, whose voice will be heard no more in the contests of the world; and now Henry F. Brownson has just published the third and final volume of his father's biography.

Mr. Brownson's work is not a model of condensation or of artistic combination of materials. It does not err on the side of modesty, or display any tendency to refrain from pronouncing judgment on all sorts of authorities in Church and State. It contains much that might have been omitted without any loss, much also that might have been modified to great advantage.

Nevertheless we welcome the book for very many reasons. It contains, at first hand, many papers and letters that shed a vivid light on the history of Catholicism in America during a very eventful time; it reveals to us the personality of one of the most interesting figures that appeared above the Catholic horizon during the nineteenth century; it brings into pretty clear perspective the delicate relations of the Episcopate to the Catholic press, and of the Catholic press to the Episcopate, and gives very practical examples of the difficulties that sometimes arise between the ablest and the very best-intentioned of Catholic writers and those who have received from the Holy Ghost the mission to rule the Church.

Brownson was intellectually a self-made man. He does not appear to have received, at any period of his life, any regular mental training, or to have been at any school worth speaking of for more than a few years. Yet there is no doubt that he became

in due course one of the deepest, the ablest, and the acutest philosophers of his age. His logical acumen left him no option but to embrace the only form of Christianity that would stand the historical as well as the exegetical test. By the aid of divine grace the famous Boston rector, the Protestant reviewer, the friend of Lincoln and of Calhoun, the correspondent of Cousin and of Jouffroy, the great lecturer and preacher, the troubled soul, that had been in succession Congregationalist, Presbyterian, Universalist, philanthropist, infidel, Independent, and Unitarian, found his way into the haven of Catholicism, to which he remained devotedly attached to the end of his life.

Brownson, though born of Congregationalist parents, practically began life as a Presbyterian. He was very religious in his inclinations. He attended church and reviewed his life, and frequently exclaimed that he 'had sinned every day, and that every breath of his life was drawn in iniquity.' As his powers of reasoning developed, however, his mind rebelled against the teaching of Calvin and Arminius. The doctrine of unconditional election and reprobation—that God foreordains the wicked to sin necessarily that He may damn them justly—was so cruel and revolting that he would have no more of it. He threw *orthodoxy* overboard entirely, and proclaimed himself, at the age of twenty, a Liberal Christian or Universalist. The world was out of joint; things were not as they should be. The Christianity that was supposed to govern its progress was little better than veneer.

'Get money, the spirit saith, get rich, no matter how—by gambling in stocks, by false pretences, by extortion, by swindling, cheating, feeing lawyers, buying up legislators, corrupting incorruptible courts of justice—and you will be great, honoured, and followed. Add to this that, out of some portion of the money you have contrived to transfer from the pockets of others to your own, you found a seminary, endow a professorship; or, when you are old, health is failing, death is approaching, and you have no heirs, and cannot carry your money with you or enjoy it any longer, take care, with the sounding of trumpets, the beating of drums, fanfarronade, and bluster, to dispose of your wealth to the poor, but so that the real poor and needy will receive no benefit from it, and count with certainty on your apotheosis, and that the Old World and the New will unite to do honour to your lifeless remains. Behold your gods, O England and America! Thy gods, O Anglo-Saxondom, are mammon and cant—cant pious, cant liberal, cant philanthropic.'

The most interesting stage of Brownson's development is that

in which he devoted himself mainly to philosophy. His criticism of the French Eclectics is very remarkable. His acute analysis of Cousin is simply wonderful, coming from a self-made philosopher. It is refreshing to see the enthusiasm with which he takes up the study of Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason*.

'Brownson's visitors [writes his biographer], coming so far as from Boston to Mt. Bellingham, usually stayed to a meal, and frequently remained at his house over night. The conversation in the study was probably, and that at meals was certainly, about Kant, till every member of the family seemed to know all about intuitions, and the emptiness of conceptions without them; synthetic judgments *a priori*, and their formation; and understood perfectly what Kant seemed not to have apprehended—that the *not-me* is not the *me*, nor the *inneity* of the *me*, as his disciple, Fichte, had the good fortune to discover.'

Very interesting also are Brownson's efforts to find in the cult of humanity the satisfaction that he sought for in vain among the sects. His practical experience of the Fourier 'phalanxes,' both in the establishment of Fanny Wright and at 'Brook Farm,' was worth to him years of study. But it is as a reviewer, of course, that he was best known, and through his own reviews that he exercised the most potent influence, and that, whilst enlightening others, he really educated himself.

What troubled him most, when he came at last to knock at the door of the Catholic Church, was the horrible idea that those he loved and honoured most in the world should be shut out for ever from the light and love of God. He unfolded his troubles to the Bishop of Boston, who strongly advised him to turn his mind to the other aspects of the problem, and that ultimately this one would present no difficulty. The bishop did not seek to minimize or accommodate; he simply asked the neophyte to view this matter in the full and clear light of Catholic theology, and to wait until that light could be turned on the question by prayer and study.

For many years Brownson stood forward in America as the champion of Catholicism. He lectured, laboured, argued, wrote unceasingly in defence of Catholic doctrine. He was unquestionably a tower of strength to the Church militant in America. But, whilst he carried the war into the enemy's camp with unwonted vigour, he was in constant conflict with the Catholic authorities. Now with one bishop, now with another, he argued, disputed, contended.

He transferred his residence more than once in order to avoid what appeared to him unseemly friction; yet he never wavered in his fidelity to the Church and unqualified submission in matters religious to her supreme authority.

Whilst this great work, in three volumes, reveals, as we have said, many defects, it would be unfair and unjust to deny its great merits; and, although the author is a little too much inclined to set himself up as the supreme authority in matters philosophical and theological, it is with no slight pleasure we have found a Catholic American layman equal to the task of dealing with the deepest and most abstruse questions of philosophy, scholastic and modern, in a manner, on the whole, most creditable to himself.

J. F. H.

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS OF THE CITY OF ARMAGH. By James Stuart. New Edition, by Rev. Ambrose Coleman, O.P.

THIS is a work which should be found in every Irish priest's library. It gives reliable and complete information about the see of St. Patrick, from the time of its founder down to that of its present occupant, Cardinal Logue. We need hardly say that Armagh possesses an interest peculiarly its own, and that in the many centuries which have passed since St. Patrick built his cathedral there, whatever befell Armagh has been felt throughout the length and breadth of Ireland. So true is this that Father Coleman's book throws light not only on the ecclesiastical history of Ulster, but on that of the whole country.

And what a chequered record it is! Few other nations in Christendom have passed through such vicissitudes as our own. The Celt has borne the onslaught of Dane, Norman, and Saxon, and still outlives them all. Everywhere the traces of these successive invasions may be seen, and the mixing of these various races has resulted in making the course of events in Ireland one of the most interesting, but at the same time one of the most complex in any country of Europe.

The history of the Catholic Church in Ireland has still to be written in a manner worthy of the subject. This, of course, cannot be done until all the diocesan records are published, but if they are brought out as well as those of Armagh, the task of the future historian will be considerably lightened. We notice with pleasure that Father Coleman's book contains abundant

information on chronology. He has evidently taken great pains to determine dates, and to do so with accuracy—a circumstance which, though so vital to history, does not always receive the attention it deserves. As regards the succession of bishops in early times, and various other points where exact scholarship is required, Father Coleman acknowledges the invaluable help afforded him by Dr. MacCarthy's *Annals of Ulster*. For the history of the Middle Ages precise knowledge has been secured by the constant use of Theiner and other authorities. Coming nearer to our own time we see that Cardinal Moran's *Spicilegium Ossoriense* has been largely availed of, and we believe for the first time by any Irish ecclesiastical historian. Besides these sources of information, the civil records, such as the State Papers and the various annals of the country, have been turned to such good account, that the reader is put in possession of a complete view of the subject.

The task set Father Coleman was to keep all that was worth preserving in Stuart's history, and to incorporate it with all that could be gleaned from the many sources of knowledge that were not accessible when Stuart wrote. This he has succeeded in doing. As an example of the way in which the work has been accomplished, we may take Chapter V. It would be impossible to present a better picture of the state of Armagh in the eleventh century, when for a time lay intruders ruled over the ancient see, till at length order was restored by Celsus and St. Malachy. During the penal times Armagh suffered heavily. Nevertheless the succession of great prelates was kept up. Where everything is well told, it is difficult to make selections, but we may observe in conclusion that few biographies in the book are more interesting than that of the venerated Primate, Richard O'Reilly.

R. W.

1. STUDENT'S HEBREW GRAMMAR. By Gesenius. English translation by Davies. Revised and enlarged by Mitchell.
2. STUDENT'S HEBREW LEXICON, founded on those of Gesenius and Fürst. By Davies. Revised and enlarged by Mitchell. London: Asher & Co.

1. STUDENTS of the Old Testament will find these works very useful. From the time of its publication, Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar has been regarded as the best all-round work on the subject. Professors know by experience that it is by far the most

suitable book that can be put into the hands of anyone who has mastered the rudiments and is now desirous of obtaining a thorough acquaintance with the structure and peculiarities of the language. Gesenius was remarkably cautious and accurate. He confined himself to the analysis of Hebrew considered in itself, and his experimental method of dealing with grammatical problems has led to lasting results. Ewald and Olshausen respectively took different views of the matter. Ewald strove to account for the many phenomena of Hebrew etymology by the application of a few philological principles, and he strove with even more success to gain for the principles of logic, or the fundamental laws of thought, a recognized place in every treatise on Hebrew Syntax. His method was synthetic and speculative. Olshausen, who succeeded him, endeavoured to place Hebrew Grammar on a scientific basis by getting down to the original Semitic language, or to those primitive roots, of which all the words in Hebrew and the cognate languages are so many offshoots.

It need hardly be said that researches such as these would prove bewildering to the average learner, but the products so far as they are intelligible and useful to the student at this stage of his progress have been incorporated with Gesenius' Grammar by his pupil Roediger, and afterwards by Kautsch. The work thus completed by the product of the best German scholarship is presented in an English translation by Davies and Mitchell.

As a proof of the high esteem in which the original is held in Germany, we may mention that it has reached its twenty-sixth edition. Mitchell's revised translation is made from an earlier edition, nevertheless its Hebrew index is even more copious than that of the most recent German one. The utility of such an index is but too well known to everyone that has experience of the many difficulties which beset the path of the translator.

2. This Lexicon is intended to be a companion to the Grammar, and is therefore made on the same plan. All lexical difficulties, or the rare form which a word sometimes assumes, are treated of under the word itself. Wherever a grammatical difficulty arises regarding a word, or its peculiar use in a certain text of Scripture, a reference is given to the section of the Grammar in which the explanation will be found. This means a great saving of time to the student. Moreover the practice of consulting will familiarize him with the idioms of the language, and what he thus learns by his own effort will never be forgotten. The etymologies and the

comparisons with other languages given in this lexicon are not always correct, but the beginner can afford to wait for an opportunity to learn comparative philology. He will require only a lexicon that will enable him to translate, and with the exception just mentioned, no more useful lexicon can be found. Both Grammar and Lexicon are excellently printed, and are brought out in very handy shape. It is, of course, understood that our remarks in favour of these works do not imply that they may be read without permission.

R. W.

TRACTATUS DE JUBILAEIO ANNI SANCTI, aliisque Jubilaeis, cui accedunt variae appendices praecipua documenta, quae de Jubilaeis fuerunt edita, continentes, auctore R. P. D. Petro Bastien, O.S.B. Julius de Meester.

It would be vain to look for a treatise that would solve all the difficulties that will occur to ingenious and enquiring minds in connection with the Jubilee of the Holy Year and its extension. But the learned author of this work, which has just appeared so opportunely, has spared no pains to clear up all the practical doubts that can arise. In the five parts into which his work is divided he treats—I. *De Origine et progressu indulgentiae Jubilaei*; II. *De Natura Jubilaei*; III. *De Operibus Jubilaei*; IV. *De Privilegiis Jubilaei*; V. *De Suspensione facultatum et indulgentiarum durante Anno Sancto*. Then we get a number of appendixes, containing Papal documents bearing on the Jubilee—among them the Apostolic Letter *Temporis quidem*, with a short but useful commentary—and finally, a fairly complete index.

The author shows a wide acquaintance with the authorities who have written on the Jubilee, and the copious references on every page of his book will be welcome and valuable to his readers. Without any unnecessary display of learning he manages to cover the whole ground of his subject. We venture to think that, in connection with the present Jubilee, the doubts are extremely few, to which one cannot readily find, in this book, a clear, concise and exhaustive solution. We have read it through carefully, and we can recommend it as a thoroughly satisfactory work on the Jubilee of the Holy Year. The price is moderate, and priests will find in its three hundred and fifty-seven pages much practical and valuable matter.

X.

ABSTINENCE FARE. By Sir Francis R. Cruise, D.L., M.D.
Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1901. Price, 3d.

WE heartily commend to the notice of our readers this little book of Sir Francis Cruise. He, himself, will explain to them its object in a short preface.

'I have always been under the strong impression that much of the difficulty of observing the abstinences of the Church lies in bad cooking. A flabby boiled cod or haddock, with badly prepared melted butter, is *not* appetising; and I believe such fare is responsible for many cases of inability to observe the rules under which we Catholics live. On the other hand, I feel equally satisfied that fish, properly cooked, is wholesome, nutritious, and appetising, and might enter more largely than it does into our ordinary dietary. I venture now to publish these few receipts, not as a treatise on abstinence cookery, but simply to enable families to vary agreeably that form of diet without much trouble or expense.'

The little book, it will be seen, is intended for Catholic families rather than for the clergy. It would be well, however, to bring it under the notice of such Catholic families as might be able to profit by it. A few of the receipts will show how far it may be suitable to parishioners, and how far it surpasses the powers of the kitchen of a parochial house.

TO MAKE A BULLABAISSE, SAY FOR FOUR PERSONS.

Take a pound of turbot, a moderate-sized lobster, a small gurnet and a whiting.

Cut these up into pieces about two inches square, and remove skin and bone. Add the smaller fragments and place all in a clean flat iron stew-pan. Add now a quarter of a pint of fine olive oil, a large tomato, two medium-sized onions, and a clove of garlic. These vegetables should be cut up rather fine. Add also two dried bay leaves, a small pinch of dried orange peel, pepper and salt to taste, and sufficient water to cover all completely. Now put the stew-pan on a brisk fire. The moment the content: boil add a *small* pinch of saffron, three teaspoonsful of finely powdered tapioca (Groult's is the best), and let all simmer for half-an-hour. Then the Bullabaisse is ready.

The liquid may be served as a soup, separate from the fish, or all may be sent to table in a tureen.

SAVOURY STEW OF FISH.

(A most important receipt for general use.)

Take fillets of any fresh fish in the market—turbot, sole, plaice, whiting, haddock, cod, hake, halibut, gurnet, &c.

Lay the fillets in a somewhat deep fireproof dish, say about

enough for four people, and place amongst them a few nice slices of cold boiled salt fish, such as ling, kippered cod, Findon haddie, or the like.

Sprinkle lightly with pepper and salt, and add a squeeze of lemon juice.

Now prepare sufficient sauce to cover the fish well, about a pint and a half, thus :—Make a pint and a half of *thin* melted butter. Add a full dessert-spoonful of anchovy sauce, and a dust of pepper, and pour it over the fish in the fireproof dish.

Now bake well, say for half or three-quarters of an hour, and serve in the fireproof dish.

This is an excellent dish, and very economical if the cheaper kinds of fish are selected.

If liked, a few slices of onion or a bayleaf may be added, a few oysters, a couple of scollops, cut in four, portions of lobster, or other tasty fish.

A nice variation of this stew may be made by adding some boiled macaroni, and dusting some grated cheese over all. If liked, the dish may be bordered with mashed potatoes.

J. F. H.

"*Ut Christiani sibi et Romani sibi.*" "As you are children of Christ, so be you children of Rome."
Ex Dictis S. Patricii, In Libro Armacano, fol. 9.

The Irish Ecclesiastical Record

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OUR DUTY AS PREACHERS

MUCH of the success of our preaching, whether it be in the pulpit or on a platform during a mission, will depend upon our properly realizing our duty in this important work of our ministry. Our vocation to the priesthood necessarily implies the duty of preaching the Word of God. Indeed, after the administration of the Sacraments, it is the next most important work which we have to perform. St. Gregory says, whosoever comes to the priesthood takes up the office of preacher: *Praeconis officium suscipit, quisquis ad sacerdotium accedit*. It was implied in the words of our divine Master to His apostles, whose successors we are:—

All power is given to Me in heaven and in earth: going therefore, teach all nations . . . teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you, and behold I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world.¹

These words express our mission; they are our credentials, with which we go forth with authority, 'as one having power.'² We are ambassadors of the divine word, as St. Paul says: 'For Christ we are ambassadors, God as it were exhorting by us.'³ Priests, therefore, are the constituted

¹ Matt. viii. 18-20.

² Matt. vij. 29.

³ 2 Cor. v. 20.

channels of knowledge to the people. Hence, St. Paul says :—

How shall they call on Him, in whom they have not believed? Or how shall they believe Him, of whom they have not heard? And how shall they hear without a preacher? And how shall they preach unless they be sent? as it is written : How beautiful are the feet of them that preach the Gospel of peace, of them that bring glad tidings of good things.¹

What a sublime mission, then, is ours as preachers of the divine word. Chosen, as we are, by God to go forth, not in our own name, but *in nomine Domini*, in the name of our divine Master, *sicut alter Christus*, to instruct others unto justice. Surely it behoves us not to look lightly on this sphere of duty, but rather to try to realize more and more its importance, and to labour to fulfil it more faithfully than ever, to the greater glory of God, and to the spiritual benefit of our people. St. Francis of Assisi says : 'Preaching is the channel which distributes the graces we have received from heaven.' The ministers of the Word of God are chosen by the great King to speak to the nations those things which they themselves have learned and gathered from His mouth.

The Council of Trent, Sess. V. c. 2, has laid upon bishops the duty of preaching, either *per se, vel per alios, si ipsi impediti fuerint*, on Sundays and the more solemn feasts. And the same obligation rests upon all who have the cure of souls. The Council of Trent, Sess. XXIII. c. 1, says : 'Praecepto divino, mandatum est omnibus, quibus animarum cura commissa est, oves suas verbi divini praedicatione pascere.' St. Liguori, in his *Homo Apostolicus*, says that this obligation binds *sub gravi*; and says that Barbosa, Salmanticenses, and Roncalia, not without reason, teach that a parish priest would sin grievously should he omit to preach to his people for one entire month, or for as many weeks throughout the year as would make in all three months.

The first requisite for a preacher is knowledge. Knowledge implies study, not only in the past, whereby we

¹ Rom. x. 14, 15.

satisfied all that was required of us for the attainment of our dignity of priesthood; but it is also necessary at the present time, and will be necessary in the future, so long as we are employed in the toil and labour of missionary life. Knowledge, like everything else, requires renewing. We soon exhaust our stock, and unless it is frequently replenished, it will get worn to shreds, like some threadbare garment. The material of our thoughts is derived from what we read and hear, and from our own experience of men and things. We cannot originate new things, for with the Church old things are new, and new things are old; but we can express them in a new way, and in a stronger light. The sources from which to draw our knowledge are our moral and dogmatic theology, the lives of the saints, the works of standard authors, like Wiseman, Newman, and Manning, and the works of Father Faber and others; but, above all, from the faithful and constant reading of the Holy Scriptures. The study of Holy Scripture is a mine of wealth to a preacher. It gives a scriptural tone to his thoughts; and the quotations which he uses, like a golden thread running through some rich texture, give richness and beauty to the subject-matter of his discourse.

It would well repay the trouble to keep a book to note down the ideas and thoughts that strike us in our reading for future use. In our sermons, dogma and morals naturally blend together; it is almost impossible to have one without the other. In dealing with purely dogmatic subjects it is always better to preach the simple teaching of the Church, and not to deal with the objections raised by heretics against them; for the objections very often make a deeper impression upon the mind than their solution. The Catechism of the Council of Trent is a fund of dogmatic matter, and at the beginning of the work there are given heads or points of a discourse for every Sunday in the year; and the same may be found in Cornelius a Lapide, at the end of the volume of Commentaries on the Gospels. The feasts of the Church, and of the saints; the various seasons and months of the year, like May dedicated to our Lady, June to the Sacred Heart, July to the Precious Blood,

March to St. Joseph, and November to the holy souls, afford a store of matter with which to fill our minds. Priests, in the beginning of their missionary life, should write their sermons *in extenso*; and, later on, when they have acquired a facility in expressing themselves, they should make it a rule, as far as possible, never to preach without first drawing up a synopsis or, at least, putting down the principal points of their sermon.

One word more on this part of our subject. In preparing our discourses let us try to grasp thoroughly the subject of which we are going to treat; for a man is always eloquent and fluent on what he has digested and knows well. After legitimate study, the next requisite for success in preaching is that we be men of prayer. Father Louis Lallemand, S.J., says:—

That if a preacher be not a man of prayer, he will never produce much fruit, because his discourses in matter of design, thought, style, action, and on account of the imperfect views and mixed intentions, with which all will have been done, will be full of sins, at least such as are venial. The advantage to the hearers depends very greatly on the holiness of the preacher and his union with God, who can give in a quarter of an hour's prayer, more thoughts, and thoughts better calculated to touch hearts, than he would derive from a year's reading and study. People weary themselves to death with labouring to compose fine sermons, and, nevertheless, scarcely any fruit is the result. How is this? Because preaching is a supernatural work, as much as the salvation of souls, which is the end proposed, and the instrument must be adapted to this end. Now it is not knowledge, nor eloquence, nor other human talents, but holiness of life, and union with God, which make us fitting instruments to effect the salvation of souls. Most preachers have sufficient knowledge, but they have not sufficient devotion or holiness. The true way of acquiring the science of the saints, and possessing matter wherewithal to fill a sermon, an exhortation, a spiritual conference, is to have recourse, not so much to books, as to inward humility, purity of heart, and prayer. A preacher must speak well, and not neglect elocution. The reverence which is due to the Word of God demands this of him. He must avoid, however, too studied an eloquence of style, lest the ear of his audience should stop short at mere words and eloquence, which would hinder the whole fruit of the sermon. He would preach himself and not Jesus Christ. When he has acquired a good style, his whole attention must be directed to this one object, viz., that

grace may enliven what art and nature have formed, and that the Spirit of God may reign in his whole discourse, as the soul animates the body.

We read in the life of St. Vincent Ferrer, whose preaching was attended with such wonderful success, that he abandoned himself to the Holy Ghost as well in preparing his sermons, as in delivering them ; and everybody went away deeply affected by them. It was easy to see that the Holy Spirit animated him and spoke by his mouth.* One day when he had to preach before a prince, he thought he must study more and use more diligence in the preparation of his sermon. He applied himself thereto with extraordinary pains ; but neither the prince nor the audience generally were as satisfied with this studied discourse, as they were with that of the next day, which he composed in his ordinary way, according to the movement of the Spirit of God. His attention was called to the difference between the two sermons. 'Yesterday,' said he, 'it was Brother Vincent that preached ; to-day it was the Holy Spirit.'

Father Louis Lallemant, S.J., says :—

It is a fearful sight to see men who are called to Apostolic life carrying ambition and vanity into the sacred ministry of preaching. What fruit can they produce ? They have gained what they have been pursuing for the space of six or seven years. They have accomplished their end, at the cost of innumerable sins and imperfections. What a life ! What manner of union with God ! Hence come dissatisfaction, vexation, disquietude, fatal falls. One falls in this way another in that. One man into scruples and torments of conscience which allow him no repose. Another into complainings against superiors and rebelliousness of spirit, which renders the yoke of obedience intolerable to him. A third abandons his religion.

This last sad calamity we, ourselves, have witnessed in our own time, to our great sorrow. We must, therefore, as preachers of the divine word, go forth in the spirit of St. John the Baptist, *in sanctitate et justitia*, as the *forma regis*, the ornament of the flock, enkindled with zeal for God's glory in the salvation of souls. With zeal, I repeat ; for what is zeal but the activity of divine love. Without this zeal we shall become as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal,

mere sound and nothing more, *vox et præterea nihil*. Cardinal Newman speaking of this zeal in his sermon, 'On the Salvation of the Hearer and the Motive of the Preacher,' says:—

Such a zeal, poor and feeble though it be in us, has been the very life of the Church and the breath of her preachers and missionaries in all ages. It was a fire such as this, which brought our Lord from heaven, and which He desired, which He travailed to communicate to all around Him. I came to send fire on the earth, He says, and what will I, but that it be kindled? Such, too, was the feeling of the great Apostle, to whom his Lord appeared in order to impart to him this fire. I send thee to the Gentiles, He had said to him on his conversion, to open their eyes, that they may be converted from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God. And accordingly, he at once began to preach to them, that they should do penance, and turn to God, with worthy fruits of penance, for, as he says, the charity of Christ constrained him, and he was made all things to all, that he might save all, and he bore all for the elects' sake, that they might obtain salvation, which is in Christ Jesus, with heavenly glory. Such, too, was the fire of zeal which burned within those preachers, to whom we English owe our Christianity. What brought them from Rome to this distant Isle, and to a barbarous people, amid many fears, and with much suffering, but the sovereign uncontrollable desire to save the perishing, and to knit the members and slaves of Satan into the body of Christ? This has been the secret of the propagation of the Church from the very first, and will be to the end; this is why the Church, under the grace of God, to the surprise of the world, converts nations, and why no sect can do the like; this is why Catholic missionaries throw themselves so generously among the fiercest savages and risk the most cruel torments, as knowing the worth of the soul, as realising the world to come, as shuddering at the thought of eternal woe, and as desiring to increase the fruit of their Lord's Passion, and the triumphs of His grace.

O! that our hearts were enkindled with this divine zeal; the spirit of God would soon renew the face of the earth: but alas! alas! how much we are wanting in this activity of divine love. Cardinal Manning, in lamenting the death of Father Thomas Burke, O.P., wrote thus:—

We shall no more hear that eloquent voice, eloquent because so simple; for in all, he spoke for God, he remembered God, and forgot himself. It was eloquence, not of study, nor of self-manifestation, but of the great soul speaking with God and for

God. The whole man spoke, and yet, in the pathos and beauty and light of what he spoke, we never remembered the speaker.

Let us now see what must be our style of preaching. It must be humble, plain, and simple. We must not use the pulpit to display the brilliancy of our talent, dealing in the flowery language of poetry, in metaphors, and involved sentences, in which only the more cultivated minds of our hearers can follow us. We must, with St. Paul, realize that we preach not ourselves, but Christ our Lord, whose language was ever brought down to the level of the minds of those He addressed, yet so powerful were His divine words, that the ministers sent to apprehend him, answered to those who sent them, 'Never did man speak like this man.'¹

Our sole object in preaching, then, must be to forget ourselves, and to preach to please God and to save souls. The preaching of the Apostles was 'not in the persuasive words of human wisdom, but in the shewing of the spirit and power'—*Non in persuasibilibus humanae sapientiae verbis, sed in ostentione spiritus et virtutis.*² Deservedly, therefore, does the Venerable Father Avila declare, that those who preach to gain the applause of men, are not the ministers, but the betrayers of Christ—*Non Christi ministri sed proditores*. St. Francis de Sales, too, says: 'Vana verba, periodi contorti et sonantes, descriptiones inutiles, sunt pestis concionis,' for the one end of a sermon, he says, ought to be to move the will of our hearers to what is good, and not unprofitably to please the intellect—*Non inutiliter intellectum pascere*.

Cardinal Newman, speaking of St. John Chrysostom, in his *Historical Sketches*, vol. iii., portrays in him the special qualities of a Christian preacher. He says:—

Great as was his gift of oratory, it was not by the fertility of his imagination or the splendour of his diction that he gained the surname of Mouth of Gold. We shall be very wrong, if we suppose, that fine expressions, or rounded periods, or figures of speech, were the credentials by which he claimed to be the first doctor of the East. His oratorical power was but the instrument by which he readily, gracefully, adequately expressed—expressed without effort, and with facility the keen feelings, the living ideas,

¹ John vii. 46.

² 1 Cor. ii. 4.

the earnest practical lessons, which he had to communicate to his hearers. He spoke, because his heart, his head, were brimful of things to speak about. His elocution corresponded to that strength and flexibility of limb, that quickness of eye, hand, and foot, by which a man excels in manly games or mechanical skill. It would be a great mistake, in speaking of it, to ask, whether it was Attic or Asiatic, terse or flowing, when its distinctive praise was that it was natural. His unrivalled charm, as that of every eloquent man, lies in his singleness of purpose, his fixed grasp of his aim, his noble earnestness.

Let then our style in preaching be earnest, humble, plain, and simple, and wholly for God's glory in the work of the salvation of souls.

Let us now see what are the defects we must try to avoid in our preaching :—

1. Too great rapidity and too great slowness of utterance.
2. Want of care in the pronunciation of our words and in giving proper emphasis, and a habit of stammering.
3. Monotony of tone of voice, and a sing-song style of delivery.
4. All expressions of anger and of ridicule or sarcasm.
5. All abuse of those who differ from us in religion.

Lastly, too great prolixity, which only tires our hearers. An ordinary sermon ought not to exceed twenty-five minutes, or at most thirty minutes.

It would be a desirable thing, where there are two or more priests living together, if an arrangement could be made between them, to tell one another of their faults and defects in preaching. We often see them in others, but seldom, if ever, see them in ourselves; mutual brotherly correction in this matter, would be very much to our advantage. We must never criticize our brother-priests' sermons before the laity.

From what we have said, let us now draw our conclusion as to our future conduct, with regard to this most important work of our ministry.

1. We must look on the duty of preaching as God regards it, as a divine work, and one especially given to us to do, by reason of our vocation to the priesthood, and one which entails a serious obligation,

2. We must not treat it lightly, but we must make it a matter for study and for conscientious preparation.

3. We must be thoroughly convinced, that the success of our preaching will depend, much more upon our being men of prayer, and men of union with God, than on all our talent and study.

In conclusion, let us make it a rule, never to enter the pulpit without first invoking the Divine Spirit, that our intellect may be illuminated, and that the fire of divine love may be enkindled within our hearts: and in imitation of St. Dominic, before beginning our sermon, let us fervently salute our dear Immaculate Mother in the words of the Angelic Salutation, the *Hail Mary*. Lastly, let us ever remember the words of the Prophet Malachias (ii. 7): 'The lips of the priest shall keep knowledge, and they shall seek the law at his mouth, because he is the Angel of the Lord of hosts.'

C. J. KEENS.

A PLAN OF TEMPERANCE REFORM

OUR present social condition is far from satisfactory. The population dwindles with alarming rapidity, and within ten months of the past year forty-five thousand of the best and bravest of our people have left our shores. Not reckoning in money value the immense loss entailed by the exodus of so many useful juvenile workers, does it not occur to an ordinary thinker that the continuance of this drainage will leave us in a few years with a population reduced to helplessness, and consisting largely of infants, aged, and infirm? Where, twenty years ago, we had school-attendances of one hundred, we have now, generally, less than fifty in our school-rooms; and, where then we had congregations of five hundred in our churches, we have now less than three hundred; and we cannot fail to remark the scarcity of the youths who have to recruit the ranks when the elders pass away. And, in a naturally rich country, capable of supporting three times its present population, we hear complaints on every side of poverty and depression; from the young, of the impossibility of securing any lucrative employment; from the aged, whining over the prospect of having no hands in the near future to do the country's work. Artisans who are not emigrating are, for the most part, idle, and partially starving in the towns and villages, run out of employment by the sale of ready and foreign-made articles in all our shops. And, in the face of all this poverty and appalling disappearance of our people, behold the social phenomenon of the drink-bill annually mounting up by leaps and bounds. Licence-holding appears to be the only thriving avocation in Ireland. As the population shrinks, public-houses are being multiplied and established at every road-crossing, practically at every man's door throughout the country.

Now, it requires no knowledge of political economy to recognise that there is here a social putridity eating away the very vitality of the nation. No sane man will attempt

to excuse or defend the vast expenditure of twelve or fourteen millions annually on the consumption of spirits within the four shores of an island containing but four millions of inhabitants. It is poor economic comfort to know that we are not worse than the Scotch or English in the matter of intemperance. But it is a grievously painful reflection to think that we get no other return from this woeful waste than the dissipation and degradation of our race. And this is the best priest-supplied country in the world, not only in the number, but the excellence and efficiency of its clergy. The Irish clergy now, as ever, wield a tremendous power. As a body, they are beloved of their people; and, despite all recent attempts to sunder the quasi-sacred bond of paternal interest on the one side, and of affectionate respect on the other, which have ever knit the pastor to his flock, the old relations are practically untouched, and the Irish priest now, as much as ever, has a strong, hopeful, healthy hold upon the hearts of the people.

Far be it from my intention to attempt to lecture the thousands of zealous and learned priests for whom I am writing, or make-believe that I am the only one amongst my missionary colleagues who observes the trend of the times and the drift of our people. But—call me pessimist if you will—I believe the time has pressingly come for us to use the great influence we have to keep our people at home; to show them how they may turn their time to some profitable account; and, above all, to join in a grand universal crusade to stamp out intemperance and the stigma that attaches in the face of the world to a shocking growth of the habit of drunkenness in the most Catholic country of the world, and amongst a population blighted by numerical, financial, and industrial decay.

By this time we ought to be trained to look at the question of Home Rule through the right end of the perspective glass, to realise how applicable to that question is the fable of Tantalus, and how utterly, hopelessly, beyond recovery the patient may be found when the doctor's prescription arrives. The country is badly bleeding, and why may we not strive to stanch her wounds? Many

good and patriotic priests, full of zeal for the welfare of their people, denounce landlordism and rack-renting as the *bête-noire* of Ireland, her cruellest misfortune, and the supreme cause of all her misery. But they should remember that other causes operate against her weal. The plain statistics published in every journal disclose a stubborn fact, that for every shilling the landlord receives for his land the publican receives another for his liquor. I am not disposed to deny that landlord exactions are often grinding and oppressive, and that a good priest acts a praiseworthy part in standing between the Shylock and his oppressed people; but I cannot help remarking that there is always some, if not a satisfactory, return from money spent as rent, whilst nought but crime and calamity is the outcome of alcoholic drinking.

There are, again, many able and eloquent clerical pioneers in the movement to redress our financial grievance. Their efforts are worthy of the admiration of every man who has a heart in his country's interests. But how soon are they likely to succeed? Strive how they may; what, from our experience of British beneficence, is the probability of the injustice being acknowledged and repaired? Unfair taxation is, undoubtedly, a great grievance. But, do we ever think to ask ourselves, how much of the twelve or fourteen millions, annually spent on drink, assumes the shape of taxation, freely, but blindly imposed on ourselves? Do we reflect at all that every public-house in the country ought to be sign-posted 'Government tax-office,' and that we, in the depth of blind folly, spontaneously pay over to the Government, through the medium of the publican's till, considerably more than the three millions of annual robbery against which we so loudly clamour.

And, again, whilst that financial question is more or less entirely material, this other question, of self-inflicted drink taxation, is, at once, material and highly moral; bound up with the character and religion of the people. Hence, the more reason for the clergy's regarding it a much more important question, and for their throwing themselves earnestly into any movement for the opening of the eyes of the community to this suicidal tax-robbery, which starves and

desolates their homes, and which induces every species of misery, and crime, and corruption. And though I am not hopeful that any agitation of ours will succeed in moving the British conscience to acknowledge, much less to repair that injustice, I have, on the contrary, a firm confidence in our ability to rouse up the people, *en masse*, to a sense of the injustice they voluntarily inflict upon themselves by a mad, unbridled consumption of a poison deadly to soul and body.

The drink evil in Ireland must, I believe, be suppressed through the medium of public opinion alone. Powerful pastorals from our Bishops, year after year; eloquent sermons without number, preached by prelates and priests, in season and out of season, week after week, from year's end to year's end, appear to fall on stony ground, and effect very little reform. The problem is a puzzle. Whilst religion flourishes, and the population decays, the consumption of drink shows a constant steady annual increase. It is quite plain the crave has taken a vice-grip of the nation's throat, that wholesale demoralization has set in, and that the disease has become so desperate as to demand a very active treatment. Is it not a national question? Is there any one of our questions more national, more pressing, more intimately identified with the preservation and prosperity of our race? Reduce, to-morrow, by some movement, the Irish drink-bill by twenty-five per cent., and *ipso facto*, we save an annual sum of three millions for the better maintenance of the people. And we do not require to be told, that the money loss is far from being the greatest amongst the many evils of intemperance. Education and religion find no congenial home in the hearts of drunkards, or even of drunkards' children.

It is eminently a question for the priesthood to tackle. Politicians proper carefully abstain from all reference to this subject; perhaps, because they regard themselves as mere legislators for whom ethical reform is no affair, or, perhaps more probably, it may not fit in so smoothly with the rôle they have to play, to declare any, even a modified hostility against a body of such ramifying influence as the Vintners' Association of Ireland.

For my part, I build no hopes for improvement on the possibility of getting Parliament to legislate effectively, some day or other, for the repression of excessive drinking. I am not in a position to state how many of the six hundred and odd members of the House of Commons are either actual owners of bars or drinking saloons, or have some direct personal interest in the welfare of some or other brewery or distillery, or owe their membership in the House to the powerful help of the licensed vote; but I am quite satisfied there is a number large enough of that interested class to save the spirit-traders from all adverse legislation.

We have in existence a National Temperance Executive, holding periodic meetings in Dublin and Belfast, and composed, no doubt, of well-intentioned and highly respectable men from various parts of the country. As far as I can learn, they ground all their hopes of success on the forcing on of prohibitory legislation. Do they flatter themselves, that when magistrates become stoical enough to refuse all further applications for licenses, and when public-houses are closed on Saturday evenings, and when drink is no longer sold to children of a certain age, that the demon of drunkenness must fly scared and worsted from the island? This is but the illusion of fanciful hope. These worthy gentlemen will have to place themselves more in evidence, if they mean to rouse the country into any practical movement. And, goodness knows, we have public-houses enough in the country to supply the occasions of drinking; in fact, so many, that it appears to me, from the view-point of the community's good, that it makes very little difference whether new licences are granted or refused.

The hierarchy, supported by a thousand or more earnest priests, is the one power I rely upon, to produce any sweeping results in the matter of temperance reform. Sixty years ago one simple priest, noted for neither great learning nor great eloquence, but for singular zeal and earnestness, did more, single-handed, in a few years, for the reformation of drunkards than has been done since by all temperance advocates combined. He roused up the people to such a pitch of enthusiasm, that many of them were known to

have trudged forty miles to get his pledge. And so much importance was attached to that pledge that we have been often unable to urge these old veterans, on their sick beds, to accept a necessary stimulant, even as a medicine. And we may ask, what was it produced such special respect for Father Mathew's pledge? It was simply because he created a public opinion on the question; he evoked a wholesale uprising against drink; in fact, he made his movement a crusade.

Is there any particular reason for thinking that the Irish Catholic heart of to-day would not be similarly moved and impressed under similar circumstances? I am convinced that, under the lead of as brilliant a body of Bishops as ever guided the destinies of the Irish Church, many a Father Mathew would step forth from the ranks of the priesthood to stir up with voice and pen the hearts and brains of the people to a lively sense of the crime, and shame, and degradation of this national curse.

Many a reader, no doubt, will say that such a movement is not practicable, that the people could never be organized into such a crusade as I am suggesting.

Who, a few years ago, would dream that the Irish Language League would effect the practical awakening that we see around us to-day? All honour to the pioneers of that movement, which saves us from a further growth of Anglicism, and the total extinction of the racial traditions, so linked with the faith our fathers handed down to us. Whom may we thank for that success but the Cardinal, the Bishops, and the clergy, who, seconded by a few leading patriotic laymen, have sounded the nationality of the movement on the nation's ears.

The National and United League organizations afford us a further proof of the feasibility of arousing the people into combined action, by creating public opinion on a national question. And if thousands of branches of these associations have been called into existence, by men who can promise no definite time for the getting of the Home Rule which is being organized for, why may not the people be brought combinedly into a league, which is bound, spiritually

and temporally, to secure them immediate and considerable advantage; an association that would undoubtedly pave the way to great industrial and educational developments; and which, in promoting the prosperity of the country, would tend to check the present heart-rending flow of emigration?

During recent years many of the priests withdrew disgusted from politics, and I believe they acted rightly and wisely, while politics continue to be what they are. Taken as a whole, the most disinterested patriots in the country are the clergy; no other body of men have such a whole-souled interest in the people's welfare. If, then, the political game does not please, or seem 'worth the candle,' why not throw ourselves, with all our energy, into a magnificent crusade, from which the immediate gain to nationality, material prosperity, and to the religion we were ordained to foster, will repay us a thousand times for our labours?

Readers of the *United Temperance Gazette*, published in London, will be aware of the wonderful success of 'The United Temperance Association,' which, having London for a head-centre, and all the shires surrounding an extensive area for work, embraces in its membership hundreds of thousands of total abstainers. Whilst each county has got its own council, entrusted with the rule and management of the several societies therein established, all these district councils are subordinate to a central executive in the metropolis, and all branches are so welded together in a great national combination, that they make a powerful phalanx (an embattled host) to combat the wide-spread gluttony. Delegates from these various branches are sent to county and general conventions to report the progress and the requirements of each individual district. Lecturers, at the expense of the Society's funds, are constantly sent around from branch to branch to keep up the enthusiasm, and knit all the parts in mutual emulation and solidarity. Millions of sheets of temperance literature issue from the press, and circulate amongst the members, and musical entertainments are regularly provided wherever possible.

There is nothing at all objectionable in our taking a leaf

from their books, and starting amongst our four millions a net-work of societies much on the same principle, and to be worked on similar lines. Surely we have got every facility for carrying such a programme into practise. Where we have not our town-halls we have our school-rooms, and our churches; we have a splendid lecturing and writing faculty, and we require nothing but an influential leading to arouse enthusiasm at the start, and a system of organization to perpetuate the zeal once aroused.

There are already in existence several temperance societies in the several dioceses doing, no doubt, excellent work; but their isolation robs them of the necessary enthusiasm. Standing by themselves, without a breath of public opinion to stimulate them, they drag out, in most cases, but a shaky existence—*Dispersi jactamur gurgite vasto*. I happen myself to have charge of such a society, and through this very want of union and mutual intercourse between the scattered guilds I experience much difficulty in securing a faithful observance of the pledge.

I may say, passingly, that the publicans will not, in the long run, be a whit worse off because of such a movement. Their greatest profits are derived from the sale of minerals, and the increased consumption of minerals and of other temperate drinks, such as hot milk and coffee at fairs and gatherings of a soberized community, would more than compensate for the diminished sale of alcoholics. And even though a certain number of them dropped out of the trade, would it be sound economics to stand aside on that account and permit the ruin of the multitude to save the prosperity of the few? The emigration of any one year would represent to the country a greater calamity than the largest possible extinction of spirit-traders that such a crusade can occasion.

What an excellent opportunity these proposed meetings of branches would afford the clergy to promote a knowledge of our native language, to educate the people to stay at home and cling to the sod on which God planted them; to urge them to patronise the few products of native industry that still remain to us. Through the medium of these

assemblies we can become the educators, the physicians, the bankers, the friends of the poor, who are bound in turn to recognise the good we do them, to love and respect us for our philanthropic labours, and regard us as they ever did their truest and best benefactors.

JEREMIAH MURPHY, C.C.

THE SYNOPTIC PROBLEM

NO one can read the first three Gospels and not be struck by their wonderful similarity. Not merely in incident and fact, but often in word and phrase, a strange resemblance will, in very many places, be found between them. In matter and form, in style and plan and outline, in substance and detail, in the selection, arrangement, and description of incident—in all we find a sameness and agreement not at all to be expected in the narratives of independent writers. Their similarity, indeed, is a feature which will escape very few. But there are others. Side by side, running concurrently with this sameness and harmony, the careful student will have noticed differences and peculiarities, slight shadings in colour and detail, discrepancies and disagreements, sometimes not easy to distinguish from contradictions. The question naturally arises: How are these facts, at once surprising and perplexing, to be accounted for? can any explanation be offered for this strange 'coincidence of consonance and dissonance'? Every attempt at solution must, of course, to be true, suppose inspiration, and be firmly based upon it. But to appeal in general terms to divine assistance does not, we think, solve the difficulty.¹ However adequate that reply may be fundamentally, it certainly is not sufficiently explicit. Inspiration, in the opinion of all, does not dispense

¹ Cornely, *Introd. Hist. et Critica*, vol. iii. pp. 177-189; Eidersheim, *Biblia Studia*, p. 77, *et seq.*; Steinkisti, *St. Matthew*, pp. 11, 12.

from personal effort ; nor does the human agent, though guided and illuminated, loose his personality. On the contrary, it supposes the individual character, the personal experience, the acquired knowledge, the turn of mind, and habits of thought and methods of expression of the writer.¹ Neither are there any useless miracles. And there is no reason why inspiration should act in apparently so arbitrary and purposeless a way as to produce this singular mosaic of accordance and difference. How, then, is the Synoptic problem—the similarity and dissimilarity of the first three Gospels—to be explained? The variations without the agreement would be no difficulty. The agreement would be no obstacle were it not for the differences ; it would only mark the same divine source whence they are all derived. It is both together—the harmony and variety—that constitute the difficulty, and offer to the Biblical student a problem as unique as it is mysterious, and as interesting as it is important.

We have said the question is an important one—far more so than may seem at first sight ; for it concerns the origin of the Gospels, their inspiration and authenticity, and strikes deftly, though silently, at the independence of their authors. Hitherto, though not exclusively, the question has been largely in the hands of rationalists and non-Catholics. Some few Catholics have, indeed, touched upon the point ; but, as a general rule, not at any great length, and only in connection with some other topic. It may be the question is not yet ripe for solution, and it would seem so from the uncertainty and variety of opinions which continue to be offered in explanation of the difficulty. Still it may not be entirely useless to review the labours of past criticism in this department, and gather whatever is worth storing from its conclusions.

In the present paper we purpose giving an outline of the state of the question, showing, within certain limits, the nature, extent, and variety of the Synoptic accordance and disagreement. Afterwards, perhaps, the more prominent of

¹ Franzelin, *De Traditione et Scriptura*, p. 302, et seq. ; Coleridge, *Works and Words of our Saviour*, p. 7.

the many theories and systems put forward in explanation of the phenomena may be examined.

For the most part, almost exclusively, the Synoptic Gospels confine themselves to the Galilean ministry—to that portion of our Lord's life which was spent in Galilee, around Bethsaida, and Cap'harnaum, and the shores of Genesareth.¹ So much so, indeed, is this the case, so rigidly do they keep within the borders of the northern province that, had we not St. John's Gospel, we should know very little, if anything, of the separate journeyings of Jesus to Jerusalem, or of His ministry there. They do not, it is true, exclude the Judæan ministry: rather they imply it.² But had we only the Synoptic Gospels—until we come to the final going up—we could never have known it with anything like the historical precision we now have from the fourth Gospel. If we except alone the last great scene, the Passion and Crucifixion, there is no incident whatever, neither miracle nor discourse, of the ministry in Judæa related by any of them.³ St. Matthew and St. Luke delay somewhat over the Birth and Infancy, but it is only by way of preface, and after a chapter or two we find them already with St. Mark narrating the events of the Galilean life. In the concluding chapters, too, short accounts are given of the Passion; but, with these exceptions, there can be very little doubt as to the subject of the substance of the Synoptic Gospels. In all three it is the public life in Galilee. It would be a great mistake, however, to suppose their survey of that period a complete one and thoroughly exhaustive. From St. John's Gospel we know otherwise. In the fourth Gospel we read of the miracle at the marriage feast of Cana, of the cure of the ruler's son at Cap'harnaum, and of the beautiful discourse which accompanied the miraculous multiplication of the loaves. All these things, St. John tells us, were done in Galilee, though not a word about them is to be found in the pages of the Synoptists. Their accounts

¹ Didon, *Jesus Christ*, Introd. p. xli.; Maas, *Life of Jesus Christ*, Introd. Diss. pp. xv., xviii.; Lange, *Life of Jesus*, vol. i. p. 124.

² Matt. xxiii. 37, xxvii. 57; Luke ix. 51, xiii. 22.

³ Alford, *The Greek Testament*, vol. i. p. 1.

are not exhaustive ones, nor did they ever intend them to be such. Each wrote with a definite object, often as polemical as it was historical; and those incidents were selected which were thought most in conformity with the scope of the writer and the people for whom he wrote. Yet in the selection of fact and incident, it is strange that all three should treat of the same events. All three, for the most part, relate the same miracles and narrate the same discourses. Not merely in plan and outline is there similarity, but, curiously enough, even in the events selected and the incidents omitted there is a strange sameness of procedure.

It is one thing, though, to speak of coincidences in general; it is quite another to point them out. Nor do the controversies of commentators not always agreed on the identity of similar events make the work an easier one. Still, some fair idea of the substantial sameness of our Gospels will be obtained if we distinguish certain periods in the life of our Lord. Three such periods may be distinguished: the first, terminating with the Baptism and Temptation; the second, with His formal entry into Jerusalem; and the third, with the Ascension. In the last division, all three of necessity travel over the same ground, and similarity is what we might naturally expect. Curiously enough here more than elsewhere do they differ and vary. Of the first period, that dealing with the Infancy and Hidden Life, scarcely anything is to be found in the summary account of St. Mark; and though St. Matthew and St. Luke both preserve for us the *evangelium infantiae*, both treating more or less of the Birth and Childhood, yet each for the most part narrates events omitted by the other. It is in the second part, embracing as we know a period of three years, and forming practically the sum and substance of the Synoptists, that their coincidence becomes most striking. Of the sixty distinct incidents narrated by St. Matthew, it is said¹ that all but six are given by one or both of the other Evangelists. Commencing with the Baptism and Temptation,

¹ *The Bible Educator*, vol. iii. p. 145.

we find the similarity becoming more and more marked as we proceed, until finally it reaches its highest point in the Crucifixion and Death. After the Passion, in the account of the Burial and Resurrection, the coincidences are few; so that a direct ratio might almost be said to exist between the amount of agreement and the nearness of the facts related to the Passion.¹ St. Matthew and St. Luke are very often together, though each have considerable portions not recorded by the other.² Of the three St. Mark is in some respects the least original. Rich he is undoubtedly in graphic detail, but to the common stock of combined narrative he adds very little. Practically his Gospel is all but contained in the other two; and with the exception of two miracles and one parable he narrates no new fact or incident which is not to be found in the other Evangelists.³

No general description can convey an adequate idea of the extent of this coincidence. To be realized in its full one must read, and compare, and collate for oneself. A fairly accurate knowledge may be had from a representation by numbers. But the figures for the most part are only approximate, and the usual allowances, as in the case of all statistics, must be made.

If, for instance, we suppose the Gospels to be divided into a hundred sections, it will be found that in fifty-three of them, all three, St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, coincide; that St. Matthew and St. Luke further coincide in twenty-one; St. Matthew and St. Mark in twenty; and St. Mark and St. Luke in six.⁴ At once we are struck with the extent of coincidences—more than half the sections being similar in the three. We learn, too, that where only two of them agree, St. Matthew is just as often with St. Luke as St. Mark. St. Mark on the contrary, outside cases of triple harmony, shows a decided preference to follow the first Evangelist.

¹ Smith, *Dict. of the Bible*, vol. i. p. 714.

² Matt. xiv. 22, xvi. 12; Luke ix. 51, xviii. 4.

³ *Oxford Helps to the Bible*, pp. 192, 193.

⁴ Westcott, *Study of the Gospels*, p. 196.

Again, if the total contents of the several Gospels be represented by one hundred, the coincidences and peculiarities may be thus exhibited':—

| | | Coincidences. | Peculiarities. |
|-------------|-----|---------------|----------------|
| St. Matthew | ... | 58 | 42 |
| St. Mark | ... | 93 | 7 |
| St. Luke | ... | 41 | 59 |

St. Mark of the three is the least original. With the exception of seven peculiarities he is nearly always in agreement with St. Matthew, or St. Luke, or both. His ninety-three coincidences out of a possible hundred show, at least, that however prolific he may be in detail he adds very little by way of fact or incident to the common narrative. On the other hand St. Matthew and St. Luke are almost equal in the amount of fresh matter they bring to their Gospels.

Once more. If we follow our modern division of verses some very interesting details will be revealed. Unfortunately our verse-divisions are at times very unequal, and our numbers in places are, consequently, more or less indefinite. But such as they are they will help to bring home to us with more than ordinary force the similarity and variation of our Gospels. St. Matthew's Gospel we find contains one thousand and seventy-two verses; but of these there are only about three hundred and thirty 'proper' or peculiar to his Gospel. With the exception of sixty-eight there is scarcely one of the six hundred and seventy-eight which make up St. Mark's Gospel which may not be placed in juxta-position with parallel passages in St. Matthew or St. Luke. St. Luke, on the other hand, has a goodly five hundred and forty-one verses, or nearly half his Gospel, 'proper' to himself. St. Matthew and St. Mark have about one hundred and seventy-five not to be found in St. Luke; St. Luke and St. Matthew have between two hundred and thirty and two hundred and forty with nothing similar in St. Mark; whilst St. Mark and St. Luke have a bare fifty without a parallel in St. Matthew.² Speaking

¹ Stroud, *Harmony of the Gospels*, p. 117.

² Reuss, *Histoire évangélique*.

roughly, or in round numbers, all three have somewhat more than three hundred and fifty verses in common.¹

Other combinations may be made and further information obtained, but sufficient has been said, we think, to show the extent and in some degree the variety of the coincidences. Looking in a general way at the broad results, it may be said that about two-fifths of the coincidences are common to the three; and that the parts peculiar to one or other of them do not exceed more than a third of the whole.²

Yet, with all this sameness and similarity there are differences—differences, too, not easy sometimes to reconcile and explain. As we shall see, it is a case of unity of substance with variety of circumstance. The variations may not be so striking, but none the less they are very remarkable. If they be examined their extent and variety will leave little doubt of the independence of the writers. Certainly, if it be true to argue from similarity to a common source, it is equally common sense to see in the peculiarities independence of thought and purpose. In dialect and style and mode of narration they are all different. Each has his own individual characteristics and personal traits. St. Matthew, the Hebrew Evangelist, and writing for Hebrews,³ as we might expect, abounds in Hebraisms—to be found indeed in all, but most in him. In the best sense of the word, his is the most distinctly Jewish of the Gospels. From beginning to end and all through his narrative, in thought and word and purpose, there is a marked Jewish tinge, a strong Hebrew element. On every page it bears the impress to preach the Gospel, but ‘beginning at Jerusalem’ and ‘to the Jew first.’ Over and over again he appeals to the Old Testament and seems never to weary of proving how Jesus of Nazareth fulfilled and accomplished the longings of the Prophets.⁴ Yet in all this, for the most part, there is little trace of Jewish narrowness or Jewish scorn

¹ Cf. Patritii, *De Evangelistis*, pp. 52-61, 73-78, 84-90; also *Speaker's Commentary*, N.T., vol. i. p. viii.

² Westcott, *Study of the Gospels*, pp. 196, 197.

³ Steinkist, *St. Matthew*, pp. 24, 25; Lamy, *Introd. in S. Scripturam*, pp. 215, 216.

⁴ Alford, *The Greek Testament*, vol. i. p. 16.

for the Gentile. From the Far East come Gentile strangers to adore the Infant King and announce to the Jewish Sanhedrin the birth of the world's Messiah. A Roman soldier and a Canaanitish woman win the highest praise for faith not found in Israel. All nations are seen gathered before the King for judgment, no place being reserved for the chosen people; and the declaration that all power in heaven and earth is in the hands of the Son of God is coupled with the command to go forth into the world and make disciples from among the nations.

Not so obvious, it may be, as the Jewish colouring of the first Gospel is its careful and methodic structure. Its elaborate arrangement should prepare us for chronological disturbances. It is a treatise rather than a history. And for this reason, perhaps, more than any other, furnishes us with the clearest notion of the doctrines and teachings of our Lord.¹ St. Matthew alone has preserved in full for us the glorious Sermon on the Mount, and from him is best realised the Master's teaching on the counsels of perfection, The parables, too, so peculiarly Hebrew in caste and form, are not unnaturally prominent in his narrative. And in his Gospel in their strictest verbal connection, not to mention others, are to be found the Saviour's panegyric on the Baptist, the discourse on blasphemy against the Spirit, and the commission to the Apostles.² His indeed is the Gospel of the discourses.³ They are to his narrative what the mountain chains of a country are to its basins and shores. They are its most salient feature, the great landmarks in his Gospel, around which all other facts are grouped and to which all things are made subsidiary and secondary.

St. Mark, on the other hand, is the Evangelist of the miracles as St. Matthew was of the discourses. The power of Jesus is more accentuated than His teaching. Facts play a far larger part than discourses; and the miracles are given a prominence we find nowhere else outside the second

¹ A Lapidé, *De Evangelis*, tom. viii. p. 21.

² Alford, *The Greek Testament*, p. 32.

³ Coleridge, *Works and Words of our Saviour*, p. 13.

Gospel.¹ Of the twenty-one recorded by St. Matthew he inserts fifteen, adds one more given by St. Luke, and two not mentioned in the other Gospels.² Miracle follows upon miracle in quick succession; each in turn is made to stand out from the surrounding narrative, and in every scene the energy and power and activity of the Son of God is graphically portrayed. St. Mark's Gospel is the shortest of the Synoptic records, but it is rich and beyond measure in graphic detail.³ More primitive in style, as less original in matter, there is a quickness, a vividness, and abruptness in his method of narration peculiarly unique. The curt, short, incisive sentences at once catch hold of the mind; whilst his portraiture of Christ, by reason of his wealth of lively detail, is the clearest and most realistic. With the exception of twenty-four verses his Gospel is practically contained in the other two,⁴ but there is scarcely an incident which he does not reinvest with a new interest. There is a definiteness, a realism in his story which at once seizes hold of the imagination, and makes his Gospel for meditative purposes the clearest and the best. No detail, no circumstance, however minute, seems at times too trifling to be passed over or omitted.⁵ A slight graphic touch from his pen and the scene is before us—the house, the hills, the sea, the boat, the followers, the growing throng. At one time it is a look or gesture of the Saviour, at another the wonder and amazement of the multitude; now an act of sympathy, now a word of kindness—at all times a pen-picture is brought before us clearcut and definite, glowing with life and full of power and energy.

St. Mark has been called by some a condenser and his Gospel a mere compendium. Short his Gospel is and condensed in places, but in detail, in lively incident, in circumstantial and vivid colouring he far surpasses St. Matthew or St. Luke. Through him is made known the

¹ Didon, *Jesus Christ*, Introd. p. xv.

² *Cambridge Companion to the Bible*, p. 131.

³ Knapenbaur, *St. Mark*, p. 7.

⁴ i. 13; iii. 9, 17, 21; iv. 26-29; vii. 31-37; viii. 22-26; xi. 1^a; xiv. 51, 52; xvi. 16-20.

⁵ Cf. Westcott, *Study of the Gospels*, pp. 368-369.

humble origin of St. Peter (i. 16-20) and his connection with Capharnaum (i. 29). He tells us that Levi was the son of Alpheus (ii. 14); that Peter was the name given to Simon by our Lord (iii. 16); and Boanerges, a surname added by him to two others (iii. 17). We owe to him the name Jairus, the word 'carpenter' as applied to our Lord, and the nation of the Syrophœnician women (vii. 26). He names Bartimæus (x. 46), substitutes Dalmanutha for the Magdala of St. Matthew (viii. 10), and tells us that Simon of Cyrene was the father of Alexander and Rufus (xv. 21).¹ All these are signs, indications of an independent writer, and that St. Mark was something more than a mere abbreviator. The peculiarities may be slight, but they are numerous. They are to be found on every page and in every verse of the narrative, and at once destroy the epitomatory theory of the origin of his Gospel. In the first chapter or two St. Mark may seem somewhat hurried and condensed, but his fertility in detail, in the opinion of such scholars as Alford² and Westcott,³ completely establishes his independence. His Gospel is undoubtedly the shortest and in places very compact, but the brevity arises not so much from greater conciseness as from large omissions. Unlike St. Matthew there are no quotations from the Old Testament. With the exception of the initiatory citations which open his Gospel, there is no further personal use of the law of Moses or the Prophets.⁴ His accounts, too, of the Saviour's discourses are characteristically brief. The Sermon on the Mount, a kind of giving of a new law from a new Sinai, is omitted. He condenses into three verses⁵ those tremendous denunciations of the Pharisees with which Jesus closed his public ministry, and inserts but five of the parables—one of which is peculiar to his Gospel. The Birth and Hidden Life are completely passed over; and the incidents which heralded the public ministry are summarily and succinctly told. These are large omissions; and they adequately account

¹ Smith, *Dict. of the Bible*, vol. ii. pp. 236, 237.

² *Greek New Testament*, vol. i. chap. iii. p. 39.

³ *Study of the Gospels*, p. 366.

⁴ xv. 28 is not found in most copies.

⁵ xii. 38-40.

for the shortness of his Gospel. For the rest, he is over the same ground as the other Evangelists, but always, as we have seen, with additional detail and more circumstantial fulness. 'Thus it comes that the Evangelist whose subject-matter is so occupied by others, that a few verses suffice to contain what is peculiar to him, vindicates to himself a special place and purpose, and his own tones blend into the fourfold hymn of praise distinct, yet harmonious with the rest.'¹

Nor is the beautiful Gospel of St. Luke without its own special characteristics. In style and diction it far surpasses the others, as we might expect from the name and profession of its author. Hebraisms are of course to be found, as indeed in all New Testament Greek, but in St. Luke they are fewer than in St. Mark or St. Matthew. The style is free and flowing; the sentences more studied and elaborate, though at times the narrative would seem not so well strung together. It has been² remarked that St. Luke gives not so much the long discourses as the occasional sayings and observations of the Saviour. If this be true—and we see no reason for doubting it—a reason is already had for the more or less anecdotal character of the third Gospel. But this is only partially true, and it must be admitted that in sequence and comprehensiveness St. Luke's narrative is the most historical. From the Annunciation to the Ascension he covers the whole ground; and there is no prominent or important feature in the whole series of the mysteries and actions of our Lord's life which he does not touch upon.³ For this reason his Gospel is, to a great extent, new—new from the many fresh incidents it adds to what has been already narrated. Prescinding, for the moment, from the Gospel of the infancy, which is not treated by St. Mark, it may be said, with truth, that all three are in substantial accordance in the events which precede the public ministry, as well as in those which follow the final going-up to

¹ *Speaker's Comment.* N.T., vol. iv p. xxxi

² A Lapipe, *De Evang.* tom. viii. p. 21; Olshausen, *On the Gospels*, vol. i. p. 16.

³ Coleridge, *Works and Words of our Saviour*, p. 16.

Jerusalem. To the history of both sections, however, St. Luke brings a large margin of new incident. In the earlier section he alone tells us of the visit to Nazareth, of the miraculous draught of fishes, the raising of the widow's son and the penitent who annointed our Lord's feet. The same is true of the latter part ; there is substantial agreement with the others, but with many additions. In this period, and in the third Gospel alone, will be found the account of Zachaeus, the parable of the pounds, and the events which followed the Resurrection.¹ Between these two portions thus broadly agreeing we find a large amount of matter peculiar to St. Luke. Of the fifteen parables which are recorded in the third Gospel, thirteen will be found in these chapters. It contains ten incidents not mentioned elsewhere, three of which are miracles ; of the other seven the mission of the Seventy and the story of Martha and Mary are the chief. The rest of the section is made up of discourses or sayings closely parallel in the main with portions of St. Matthew, but differing in detail and in the connection of time, place, and circumstances.²

In order, too, and sequence—in the arrangement and grouping of facts—there are differences and variations, as harmonists only too well know. Certain events do not always hold the same relative position in the three narratives.³ Facts and incidents are grouped together at times very waywardly, and events completely separate in one Gospel are not seldom found linked together in another. In all the main outlines the salient features, what we may call the elements of a Gospel, are, on the whole, fairly well observed ; but in places, and not a few, the common plan is very variously and, to say the least, very mysteriously filled up. It must be obvious that chronology was not the sole principle, or the only determining factor in their order. To a certain extent it guides them, and in large and long sections we find them coincident in arrangement and sequence, as in matter and incident. But it is only to

¹ *Cambridge Companion to the Bible*, pp. 125-130.

² *The Bible Educator*, vol. iv. p. 3.

³ Alford, *The Greek Testament*, vol. i. chap. i. pp. 13 and 23.

a certain extent; and there are passages where one, or sometimes two, swerve considerably from the ordinarily received order.¹ Even St. Luke is no exception. His, indeed, is the most chronological account, the fullest and the most complete; but he, too, connects events at times rather loosely, and leaves his narrative in places very unconnected. St. Matthew, on the other hand, is in style the most continuous, his facts and incidents are most methodically grouped; but, as everyone knows, the first Gospel presents the greatest difficulties to the chronologist. If we except the history of the Passion week; where the sequence and order is practically the same in all, the Synoptists will not be very often found exactly identical in the arrangement of their narratives. There are, of course, exceptions. For instance, all three are together, and advance *pari passu*, in the narration of the events which immediately preceded the public life. But even here there are slight variations: St. Luke gives a different order in the scene of the Temptations, and connects the genealogy which opened St. Matthew's Gospel with the Baptism. These, however, are differences rather in detail than in sequence; and at present we are speaking not so much of peculiarities of arrangement as of variations in the order of time. There are instances, and many, where in all three the sequence is the same; but, as a general rule, or, at least, more frequently, only two will be found for any considerable length in perfect agreement.² We said that in subject-matter, in the selection and omission of incident, St. Mark was very often in coincidence with St. Matthew. But in the order and arrangement of materials it is the other way about; and we find the sequence, the grouping of events in the second Gospel, more like that of St. Luke, at least in the earlier chapters.³ Thus, for instance, St. Matthew represents the cure of a leper as having been wrought by Jesus previously to His being in Capharnaum on a Sabbath; but St. Mark, following

¹ Cf. Matt. viii. 28, Mark v. 1, Luke viii. 26, Matt. viii. 19-22, Luke ix. 57-61.

² Cornely, *Introd. Historica et Critica*, vol. iii. p. 173.

³ *Ibid.*

or along with St. Luke, represents what is obviously the same miracle as having been performed by our Lord after leaving the city.¹ Again, St. Matthew tells us, on the evening of the same Sabbath our Lord, accompanied by the disciples, crossed over the sea of Genesareth, miraculously stilled a tempest which befell them on the way, and passed into the country of the Gerasens. There, he tells us, He restored to sanity two demoniacs, and shortly after—perhaps after a day or two—again returned to Capharnaum. Here He cured a person afflicted with palsy, called St. Matthew to be a disciple, was present at a feast (in St. Matthew's house, as we learn from St. Luke), justified His disciples in not fasting while the bridegroom was with them, healed a woman with an issue of blood, and restored to life the daughter of Jairus.² On the other hand, St. Mark, with St. Luke, represents the voyage across the lake and the events of the following days—excepting the cure of the paralytic, the call of St. Matthew, and the entertainment in his house with the conversation on fasting—as having taken place at a much later period of Christ's ministry, after the discourse in which He delivered a number of parables from a boat to the multitude on the sea-shore.³ It would not be correct, however, to suppose that where St. Mark and St. Luke differ from St. Matthew they uniformly agree with one another. St. Mark,⁴ for instance, relates that St. Peter was called to be a disciple before the public appearance of Jesus at Capharnaum; but St. Luke refers the call of the Prince of the Apostles to a somewhat later period. The same is true of the accounts of Jesus' preaching in Nazareth, of His reply to the charge that He cast out devils by Beelzebub, of the appearance of the Blessed Virgin and His relatives when He preached to the people, and many others.⁵ In all these St. Mark is found to differ from St. Luke, and continues to differ from him to the end of his Gospel, though he followed his order

¹ Matt. viii. 1-4, Mark i. 40-45, Luke v. 12-15.

² Matt. viii. 16, ix. 26.

³ Mark iv. 35, v. 43; Luke viii. 22-26.

⁴ Mark i. 16-18; Luke v. 1-11.

⁵ Cf. Coleridge, *Story of the Gospels*.

and arrangement in the earlier chapters. These are but a few instances selected at random, and which may easily be multiplied of the many variations in grouping and connecting to be noticed in our Gospels. Of all the differences these divergencies in the matter of time are the most difficult to explain; at the same time they must be reckoned with and fairly met by the theory or system which would satisfactorily solve the Synoptic question.

It is not so much, however, in the selection and arrangement of events that the Synoptists differ most, it is rather in the general tone—the view each takes of the Master's life and teaching. In all three the central figure is Jesus Christ, and in contrast to the spiritual Gospel we are always in the presence of the Humanity. The Divinity is by no means excluded;¹ it is clearly implied, and sometimes very explicitly stated. But, in contrast to St. John's Gospel, it is the Man not the God who is brought before us. The subject of all three is the God-Man, Jesus Christ. The Synoptic Gospels are not, however, mere repetitions. They may be similar, but they are not the same. And as we read the triple narrative we cannot help feeling that different pictures of the Son of Man have been brought before us; that all through we have been meditating upon the Humanity, but as we passed from Gospel to Gospel we came in contact with the Saviour and Son of Man under different aspects. Each gives a true picture, but not a complete one. Each sees his subject and treats it in the light of the environment in which he wrote, and influenced by the circumstances in which he found himself placed. The first three Gospels, similar though they may seem to us, were not originally intended for the same churches or groups of people. At one time it is a church of Jewish converts, at another one of Christian Gentiles; while again it is a congregation mixedly composed of Jew and Gentile which is contemplated and held in view. Evidently all could not be appealed to in the same way. To the Hebrew, whose mind was fixed on the past, whose thoughts were of Abraham,

¹ Norton, *Genuineness of the Gospels*, vol. i. note D. pp. 247-249.

² Matt. ix. 6, xii. 8, xvi. 28, and parallels.

and Isaac, and Jacob, and inseparably linked with the law of Moses, the Christ had to be shown to be the fulfilment and verification of the old-time prophecies. To the Roman, powerful and active, proud of his gods and his heroes, his empire and its glory, living *in* the present, and *for* the present, the superior greatness and energy of Jesus had to be demonstrated. In Greece, and throughout the Asiatic provinces, where Jew and Greek lived side by side, and often prayed together—perhaps not always in friendliness—Jewish exclusiveness and Gentile scorn had to be firmly though prudently combated, and the universality of the new religion distinctly held forth to all. Hence, the Hebrew colouring, the Old Testament complexion of St. Matthew's Gospel. Full of Hebraisms, and abounding in Jewish references, civil, religious, and domestic, there is never a word in explanation.¹ For a Palestinian Jew there was no need. Writing for his own countrymen he strives to reunite the present and the past, Judaism with Christianity, and shows by large quotation from the Old Testament that Jesus was the Messiah, the Expected of all nations, the Holy One to whom at all times the favoured nation looked forward, the King, the Lord, and the Judge, whom prophet foretold and poet sung.² Writing for the Romans³ with no keen perception of the future, and no memory of a heavenly-favoured past, rooted to the present, imbued with the wealth and grandeur and magnificence of the empire, St. Mark draws a vivid picture, graphic in every detail of the superior power and might of the Son of God, and the Son of Man. Deeds not words are the prominent feature of his Gospel. Miracle follows upon miracle; power and activity and energy are written on every page, and a living picture of a living man, mighty in work and deed, is graphically portrayed. St. Luke, 'the gentle Gentile,' and the disciple of St. Paul, forgets not the lessons and example of his great master, the Apostle of the Gentiles, and brings before Jew and Greek a picture of the future Church composed of all peoples and all classes. Through

¹ Steinkisti, *St. Matthew*, vol. i. pp. 24, 25.

² Patritii, *De Evang.* 1, p. 9.

³ Knapenbaur, *St. Mark*, pp. 7, 8.

his Gospel shines most brightly the light of redemption and forgiveness for all, whether Jew or Gentile or Samaritan. The barriers of prejudice are broken down, and the door of redemption opened wide to all if only they do penance. The mighty and the proud are cast aside, and the lowly exalted; the publican and the sinner is preferred before the Pharisee and the Scribe; and the Great High Priest, instant in prayer, seeking all and desiring all, is lovingly delineated before an incipient Church which already was spreading throughout the world and gathering disciples from among the nations.

So far we have been treating of the material coincidences and peculiarities of the Synoptists—of their similarity and dissimilarity in substance. But besides being similar in subject-matter, they are frequently found strangely alike in the words and phrases they use in narration and description. Very often we find not merely the same incident narrated, and in the same connection, by the three, but not unfrequently told in words, if not the same, strangely alike. More than that: in not a few of these verbally coincident passages a strange word or an irregular form will sometimes be noticed occupying almost the same position in the triple narrative.¹ In places, too, where St. Matthew and St. Luke are partially in agreement and partially divergent St. Mark will be seen, curiously enough, combining as it were the peculiarities of both, and forming the connecting link between them.² Without doubt a portion of this sentential and verbal similarity is traceable to scribes and copyists who in the days of manuscripts aimed at correcting the Gospels by bringing them into closer conformity. But after allowing sufficiently for these textual alterations there still remains a large margin unaccounted for. Rarely, if ever, will a passage of any considerable length be come across, where the words continue to be exactly alike, or the sentential phrasing absolutely identical.³ Fitful and wayward in the extreme

¹ See lists in Cornely's *Introd.* vol. iii. p. 174; also Alford's *Greek Testament*, vol. i. chap. i. p. 10, note 5.

² Cornely, *Int. oductio*, vol. iii. p. 178

³ Norton, *Genuineness of the Gospels*, vol. i. note D. pp. 243-245.

the verbal coincidences are for the most part fragmentary and broken, and often interrupted. Sometimes the most remarkable similarities will be found prefaced by most startling divergencies. Now and again the threefold narrative will be noticed to commence in words almost alike, to continue so for a sentence or two and then break off mysteriously, winding up often as differently as in places they began.¹ There are narratives, too, where neither do begin nor end with anything approaching similarity; their likeness being confined to the crisis or emphatic part of the story.² Often coincidences will turn up where they were least expected and not unfrequently where they were most looked forward to, as in the institution of the Blessed Eucharist and the words on the title of the cross we meet with strange differences both in the words themselves and their order.³

A good deal has been written on this verbal harmony of the Synoptic Gospels, so much so, that the idea is not at all uncommon that it is more extensive than their similarity in substance and subject-matter. But that is not so. The passages common to St. Matthew with some other of the Synoptists for instance constitute, speaking roundly, a little more than four-sevenths of the whole, but the corresponding verbal coincidences do not amount to one-sixth. Still less is the proportion in the other Gospels. Those in St. Luke form about one-tenth, and in St. Mark about one-sixth of the whole Gospels, while the general concordances⁴ form respectively about two-fifths and thirteen-fourteenths.⁵ These approximate relations of the verbal to the general coincidences laid down by Professor Norton are thus clearly tabulated by Dr. Westcott:⁶—

| St. Matthew. | St. Mark. | St. Luke. |
|--------------|-----------|-----------|
| 7; 24 | 7; 39 | 1; 4 |

Nor is the distribution of these coincidences without its peculiarities and special features. As a general rule the

¹ Matt. xi. 25-27; Luke x. 21, 22.

² Matt. viii. 3, Mark i. 43, Luke v. 13.

³ Matt. xxvi. 26-29, Mark xiv. 22-24, Luke xxii. 19, 20.

⁴ Norton, *Genuineness of the Gospels*.

⁵ Westcott, *Study of the Gospels*, vol. i. p. 197.

verbal agreement occurs most frequently in the citation or recital of the words of others, and more particularly of the words of our Lord. And this is as we might very naturally expect. In the simple narrative or non-recitative parts the verbal coincidences are rare—we are speaking comparatively—though some notable examples occur in the case of the call of the first four disciples, that of St. Matthew, the Transfiguration, and some other important events.¹ Still by far the greater proportion occurs, as we have said, in the recital of the words of others. Thus of the verbal coincidences in St. Matthew about seven-eighths, of those in St. Mark about four-fifths, and of those in St. Luke about nineteen-twentieths occur in the records of others' words.² In the passages common to all three Evangelists about one-sixth consists of verbal coincidences, and of these four-fifths occur in the recitative parts. In the recital of our Lord's words St. Matthew and St. Luke are very often together and coincident, but the verbal similarities in their narratives cannot be rated at more than one-hundredth part of the others.³ To be brief, if we suppose St. Matthew's narrative to occupy about one-fourth of his Gospel, St. Mark's about one-half, and St. Luke's about one-third, the proportion of verbal coincidence found in the narrative part of each Gospel compared with what exists in the other part is about in the following ratios: in St. Matthew as one to somewhat more than two, in St. Mark as one to four, and in St. Luke as one to ten.⁴

Such in a general way are the salient features, the main characteristics, the shell—if we may so speak of what is technically known as the Synoptic problem. Throughout for the most part we have kept to the broad outlines. And advisedly. Did we enter more fully into details we should have been led into statements which, however acceptable to some, at most would be only probable for others. Enough, however, has been said to show that our Gospels, though

¹ f. Patritii, *De Evang.*; Coleridge, *Story of the Gospels*.

² Norton, *Genuineness of the Gospel*, vol. i. pp. 239, 240.

³ Westcott, *Study of the Gospels*, pp. 193, 199.

⁴ Norton, *Genuineness of the Gospels*, vol. i. pp. 239, 240.

markedly distinct in their composition, have a greater amount of similarity and sameness than we might naturally expect in independent narratives. They are similar though not the same. They are like and yet unlike. It is obvious that the theory which would solve the question must not merely account for the coincidences but also be prepared to satisfactorily explain the divergences. As we have seen there is a marked distinction between the narrative and recitative parts of our Gospels. In the former you have independence and individuality of style, in the latter substantial unity with very considerable and very fitful differences. The two points must be reckoned with the material and verbal coincidences, the general similarity and the peculiar variations; and any theory which leaves one or other unexplained must be rejected as inadequate and as not true.

THOMAS J. BUTLER.

A GLIMPSE OF THE AUSTRALIAN FOREST

'THE old order changeth yielding place to new' is applicable to all things in this ever-shifting world, but with special propriety can it be applied to those new countries to which the vigorous British race has migrated. A semblance of sameness hangs about the effete nations of the East, and the ruins amid which they listlessly wander seem to preserve unchanged the silence and desolation which long ages ago surrounded them; but with modern peoples and especially with the enterprising Britons, the old order passes away swiftly and completely. The old landmarks are quickly lost in the great tide of progress that advances irresistibly in their track. Very few vestiges of what America was in the time of Columbus are to be seen to-day, and a few years hence even these will disappear. Africa is at present in a state of rapid transition and soon will lose the distinctive peculiarities which characterize the home of the sons of Ham.

But it is in Australia we see the most marked changes taking place. Here the transition can hardly be said to be gradual. It occurred with marvellous rapidity. As the darkness of night is dissipated by the light of the morning sun, so was the wild Australian continent transformed into a land bearing all the marks of civilization. Europeans streamed into it not intermittently and in small numbers, but suddenly and in swarms, attracted by the rich treasures it held locked up in its bosom. And when they arrived they displayed a feverish activity that manifested itself not only in the search after gold, but in all their works. They plunged into the forests where Eucalyptus and Malbe scrub had been growing since the days of Adam, and with great efforts opened them out into smiling plains and valleys. They erected their cities and towns on the still living roots of huge trees hoary with age. The lonely paths along which the aboriginals wandered they converted into spacious highways. They threw numberless bridges across the rivers.

They ran lines of railway north and south, east and west, till the shores of Queensland were connected with the coastline of the Southern Ocean. All this they did well-nigh in a generation, and did so effectively that Australia is to-day little discernible from European countries. The old names are still retained, and the Australian will still designate as 'the bush' all places outside the hallowed precincts of Melbourne, Sydney, Brisbane, Adelaide, Ballarat, and a few other large centres; but the title is now too often misleading and the bush in many of these places is only a thing of the past. The settled portions of Australia exhibit to the eye a spectacle little different from what can be seen in European countries. They are dotted with peaceful homesteads embowered in their clumps of shady trees. They consist of large opening plains and running valleys through which a creek or river meanders. In the temperate seasons of the year they are covered with a verdant turf on which the eye loves to rest. In harvest-time they are yellow with waving corn. The cities are little different from English or American cities; the streets indeed may be more spacious, the architecture of the buildings more ornamental, but otherwise they are similar.

Half a century ago, however, how different was the scene! With the exception of a few coastal districts there were no well-cultivated plains or valleys, no verdant fields to fascinate the gaze, no waving corn to cheer the heart of the husbandman. There were no happy homesteads scattered up and down reposing under the shadow of their spreading trees, no magnificent cities with their glittering streets, no busy crowds moving eagerly to and fro, no multitudes diving deep down into the earth to disembowel it of its treasure. Instead dense forests raised their sombre mass to heaven. Swarthy savages flitted like spectres among the trees ignorant of the wants of civilization, heedless of its arts and enjoyments. They had no need to till the ground: nature made ample provision for them in the animals and birds of the forest. Permanent habitation was a thing unknown to them; the boundless woods roofed in by the vault of heaven sufficed for them, and the ravishing softness of their climate

rendered unnecessary the comforts of colder climes. They roamed about like the wild animals they preyed on, making a home nowhere. They were ignorant of or they despised the riches of nature which lay hidden beneath their feet. They knew not labour. They lived only for sensual enjoyment, and for carrying on their sanguinary quarrels. Hopelessly sunk in barbarism, they were in complete harmony with their surroundings—wild and dense as the forests through which they roamed, and fit only to experience the fate of these forests, to be swept from off the face of the earth. The forests have gone or are going, they are following or rather preceding them swiftly, certainly. 'The old order changeth, yielding place to new.'

To the philosopher of history, and, perchance, to the humanitarian, such a transition will not be regretted, conducing as it does to the progress of the human race. But to the poet whose gaze is not fixed on material advantages, and to the romantic mind that feels

A pleasure in the pathless woods, a rapture in the lonely shore,
the change will bring with it a slight shade of sorrow. Lord Byron tells us 'nothing dies but something mourns,' and, perhaps, if we had souls cast in a sufficiently fine mould, and attuned with a sufficient delicacy, we should catch the impression of that sorrow. Some of Shakespeare's ethereal beings listened in rapture to the 'music of the spheres;' there may be some who hear the wail of nature's sorrow. However this may be, certain it is, that none can gaze unmoved on the destruction and passing away of what had long existed. The lands on which the superfluity of Europe's fertile population has been poured out have cast off their savage state and decked themselves in new and glorious robes, but, at the same time, they have undergone in the transformation a species of dissolution. And we are forced to view that dissolution with feelings akin to sadness. We wander through new cities that have risen up, as if by magic, in the midst of the forest, and we view enraptured this evidence of man's power, but our thoughts steal back to the days when the city did not exist, when silence brooded

over those scenes of bustle and life, and we lament the fate of that wild and unfortunate race that our minds associate with them. We dream of the stillness and woodland grandeur that has disappeared for ever. We miss the charm of nature in the works of art and industry, splendid as they may be, that have succeeded. It may be mere sentiment, and these feelings may spring solely from a too vivid imagination, and an excessive sensibility of heart, but, however the prosaic man of the world, and the philosopher who measures and weighs with mathematical exactness, may regard such things, there are those who view them with feelings chastened by some admixture of sadness.

For my own part I must own to such feelings when seeing Australia for the first time. I marvelled at its greatness which, as I said, is the result of a generation. I looked up with wonder at the piles of gorgeous palaces as I walked through the streets of its cities, and I could with difficulty realize to myself that fifty years ago not one of those magnificent buildings was in existence, and that the brilliant scene all about me was then a forest tract. I saw in amazement the numberless improvements in the arts and comforts of life—the railroads, the factories, the various industries, and I was loath to believe these were not the fruits of centuries. But when the wonder caused by the sight of this signal triumph of civilization abated I felt a kind of disappointment at finding the distinctive features of this great southern land fast departing. I had heard of its strange animals and its songless birds, in whom brilliancy of plumage sought to compensate for beauty of voice, but I found them receding in terror from the presence of their new masters; the animals and birds of civilized countries were occupying their place. I had heard of its trees which shed their bark instead of their leaves, and refuse to spread out their leaves to the sun—but these, too, I found melting away to make room for the products of northern countries. I had heard, especially, of its bush, which had been growing undisturbed for thousands and thousands of years, and that, too, I found gradually vanishing. In another half century, I thought, all will have gone—trees, animals, birds, natives,

and will not leave a vestige behind. Only the indelible traits of nature, like that 'azure brow' on which 'time writes no wrinkle,' will remain.

At present, however, the change has not taken place, only is in progress, and old Australia can still be seen in all its native peculiarities. It cannot be seen, indeed, in the neighbourhood of populous coastal districts, but far inland it still exists as it was before Cook or the Dutch navigators wandered by its shores; as it was, in all probability, when the antediluvian giants stalked the earth. It was my fortune to reside in a locality where the two opposing forces met, and blended as it were the advancing civilization and the retreating forest. Near by was the thriving young city with its long streets and industrious inhabitants, but away to the horizon circled the dark forest. It was like an oasis in the desert. I longed to plunge into the depths of this forest, and see with my own eyes the secrets that lay within. Soon my desire was satisfied to the full, and it became a matter of duty not of pleasure to gain a personal knowledge of the Australian bush.

One bright Autumn night I found myself moving quickly along towards the black horizon, called to perform the most touching ministrations of religion, to attend the death-bed of a dying woman. Many circumstances combined to make this midnight journey undesirable. The time was unseasonable, the day that preceded was one of almost uninterrupted labour, and the morrow that was fast approaching was to be a day of fasting and toil. But the excitement attending such a summons, the hopes and fears, and the deep religious feelings such a summons excites, compensated for any physical hardships occasioned. I was soon driving rapidly along the hushed streets along which the faint sickly light was struggling. Centres of labour are likewise places of deep repose. There was not a sound to be heard save those caused by our own horse and carriage, and the echoes they evoked all round. All light and joyous thoughts fled from the mind and gave place to solemn musings. The midnight city is certainly the antithesis of what it was in the noon-day in the effect it produces on the mind. Pleasure,

dissipation, worldliness rush in on the soul in the busy streets; but these same streets, with their sleeping inhabitants, and their expiring lights, speak of religion, of death, and of the nothingness of all things men so eagerly seek in this transitory world. A city at night is a solitude of marked intensity. Soon the silent streets were passed, and the broad expanse of country on which the moon poured a flood of light presented itself to view. The clumps of trees, scattered over its surface, casting their long shadows around, and intercepting the light, gave variety to its appearance, whilst the mellow effulgence imparted a softness to the scene. Here was silence too, but a chaster, if I may use the word, a less oppressive, and less solemn silence. Men had never thronged here in their thousands, and their absence now was not felt as it was in the populous city. In scenes like this dreams of love, and hope, and happiness, and longings after an indescribable and indefinite something fill the soul.

For miles and miles I travelled along through this picturesque country, gradually approaching the black fringe that darkened the horizon. Darker and darker grew that circling mass; behind me was an ocean of soft light; away in the distance shone the spires of the city; but ahead was an indescribable gloom. Nearer and nearer I advanced, till individual trees seemed to stand out and be discernible. Then the road plunged into the forest, and I was in the Australian bush. A long vista, on which the moon shed its rays, opened out before me; the trees rose up like gigantic ramparts on each side. I glided along this delightful avenue for some distance till it gave an abrupt turn, and resolved itself into a serpentine line among the trees. I followed its windings for several miles, going deeper and deeper into the forest, but still holding to the public highway, and maintaining my connection, as it were, with the civilized world outside. This connection, however, was not of long duration. My guide soon abandoned the highway and turned off into a bye-path, and I found myself amid the unknown, as ignorant of my exact position as the mariner without compass in the darkness of mid-ocean. Now, in

reality, I had reached the Australian bush; such as it was: well-nigh when the aboriginals roamed through it. And here in this trackless bush lay dying a poor Irish-woman; here, miles and miles away from civilization, twelve thousand miles away from the green hillside by the Shannon where she was born and where her friends still lived. Was it for this she left her native land, her home, her family, her friends? Was it for this she embarked on the boundless ocean, sailed down tropical seas, and arrived in far off and unknown lands? Was it such a consummation as this she desired? Was this the limit of her aspirations—to die alone in the home of the Australian aboriginal, and be forgotten like him? Alas, how far differently did her hopes tend when she left her native land and set out for the El Dorado of the southern hemisphere! She fondly hoped to amass a fortune and return after a few years in triumph to the land of her birth. Had she seen the fate that awaited her she would have been prostrated by despair. But hope buoyed and decoyed her, and Providence, in its mercy, hid the future from her. Otherwise, as I say, her life would have been crushed at the prospect the future would display to her.

Heaven from all creatures hides the book of fate,
All but the page prescribed their present state.

And the reason springs from the goodness of the Creator, for, as the poet continues:—

Else who would suffer being here below.

But, though in one sense the end of this poor woman was sad to the last degree, in reality, looking with the eyes of faith, it was a glorious one. Who would not envy the death of St. Francis Xavier alone in that desolate island in the China sea? This woman was not a saint like St. Francis Xavier, and she did not seek the martyr's crown. She wandered for fortune, not for God; but her death reproduced many of the happy circumstances that surrounded the death of St. Francis Xavier. Her end was, I believe, the end of the just. She brought her faith pure from her native land; but out here in the Australian bush,

away from home and friends, with the wonders of nature for her only book and her only instructor, the sorrows of her life still more purified and elevated and strengthened it, and now at her death it is burning as brightly as it ever burned in the hearts of God's chosen ones. Her wish was to see a minister of that religion she loved before she died; her fear was that the wish would not be gratified, but the fear was groundless. Distance, night, pathless forests are no barrier to the execution of God's beneficent will, and this poor daughter of Erin, who clung to her faith with unflinching tenacity, will have the sorrows of death lightened by the tenderest and most inspiring consolations of religion. She went to add another to that glorious multitude which the 'island of saints' has given to God's kingdom.

I was extremely touched by this death-bed scene, and it has made, I believe, an indelible impression on my memory. I never realized till then what love of country was, and the deep hold it has on the human heart. Here was one whom, because of her religion, I would willingly serve at great inconvenience to myself, but the motive urging me would, to a great extent, reside in the intellect only: the feelings and the passions would not be excited. But when I found she came from my native land, and that the blood of our common ancestors flowed in her veins, I felt as if I could, with pleasure, sacrifice my life to serve her. Let no one delude himself with any illusions of great perfection, when in the pursuit of a vain philanthropy he strips himself of his patriotism. It may be, indeed, a grand ideal to recognize no distinction of country or race, but to regard all men as brothers, and love them with a uniform affection; but such an ideal is to be contemplated only in that life where nature has not created such distinctions. A well-regulated patriotism which co-exists with a genuine spirit of brotherhood towards other peoples is the true ideal to be aimed at. Almighty God does not forbid us to love our parents and friends with a stronger affection than that which we feel towards our ordinary neighbours, and neither is it against His will to love our countrymen and to serve them more than we love or serve the members of other nationalities.

I came away from that poor woman consoled and cheered, and free from any anxiety in her regard. In my journey outward the fear of arriving too late, and the probability, or, at least, the possibility of the eternal interests of a human soul being at stake, made me impatient to reach my destination and, consequently, unfit to observe the strange scenes through which I was passing. But when the strain was removed from my mind, and I set out leisurely for my homeward journey, I felt thoroughly disposed to take advantage of my situation. I had all the opportunities I could desire. The Australian bush lay all about me under circumstances the most favourable for viewing it. The moon was careering majestically through a sky chequered by not even the faintest speck of cloud. There was not a breath to shake the aspen leaf: nature was hushed into profound repose. An Australian night must be observed before it can be realized; imagination utterly fails to reproduce its calm, its mellow softness, its beauteous sky with its myriad of twinkling luminaries and its majestic orb shedding a full unclouded light on the sleeping earth beneath. The only descriptions that seem to me at all adequate or applicable to it are those in which the author of the *Semè du Chrétienisme* paints what he saw in the midnight forests of the New World. But this night was, even in Australia, exceptionally splendid. I returned by the same tortuous path along which I had come, carefully observant of my surroundings. In the light of the moon I saw what I had long since read of, and what I so much desired to see, the lovely Australian bush. It was not what it appeared as I approached. Density or darkness is not its characteristic. It was entirely free from underwood, and the trees which rose up straight and gaunt were devoid of any but the most scanty foliage. The branches were few and stunted, and in most cases did not stretch out their arms till many feet from the ground. The leaves stood up erect, parallel to the trunk, or reversed themselves and drooped down perpendicularly towards the ground. They never assumed a horizontal position as in the case of the thickly covered trees of European countries, and afforded no protection to the naked

limbs that bore them. Neither did they produce any shade, so that the light streamed freely through. Far along beneath the eye could penetrate through the bare trunks, whilst overhead the vault of heaven was fully visible. The effulgence of the moon cast itself on the trees not indeed as a flood of light, but it searched them thoroughly, piercing them in every direction, and illumining the ground underneath wherever their slender shadows were not cast. Heaviness and gloom were entirely absent. The whole scene—and this is I believe generally true of Australian forests—had an air of lightness about it. To a certain extent, therefore, it lacked sublimity, and the impression it conveyed to the mind was not such as would be caused in the forests of the Old World with their dense foliage, spreading trees, and thick undergrowth. But though in this respect unfit to cause any grand and solemn emotions, in other respects the deficiency is amply supplied; and though Australian forests are remarkable for their airiness and lightness, still they impress the soul most profoundly.

Life and lightness, as I say, characterize their appearance but otherwise all is rest and silence. Not a sound will be heard for the most part to break in on the stillness that reigns about them. There are no birds to fill the air with their music and make the trees re-echo their soft notes. The few that are there are dumb. There are few leaves to rustle in the breeze, and few branches to moan when shaken by the wind. The strong, firm-set trunk alone rises up prominently to resist the influences of the gale. There are no brooks to give forth their rippling sound as they creep along under the shady covering. Even wild animals will rarely be met with. The graveyard is animated in comparison with the Australian bush, for there, at least, we have the remembrances of past life, there at least the trees moan and rustle in the breeze, but in the Australian forest all is silence and rest—silence, deep oppressive silence, is the dominant feature. I do not think it is possible to exaggerate the profundity and awfulness of this silence; it is indescribable in its intensity. The mind, though at first soothed under its influence, soon becomes appalled at

its monotonous uniformity. If it only were broken now and then, if only the voice of a bird broke in on it from time to time enlivening it with song, if only a streamlet babbled along making only the faintest murmur, it would be not only tolerable but tranquillizing and subduing. But Providence seems to have doomed it to absolute abandonment by all that is songful and cheering in nature, or in the irrational creation. If ever this dreadful silence will be broken it will only be when the animals and birds of other lands will have grown sufficiently numerous to penetrate those forests and impart to them that life and song which they so sadly want.

But in these endless forests it is not alone the awful silence that presses on the mind. They have a history and associations, and possess an interest superior in some respects to anything the civilized world can boast of. They are the 'ancients of days,' old as the limitless ocean that bathes their shores. The Pyramids of Egypt and the Great Wall of China are young in comparison with them. They existed when as yet the human race had not advanced across the Caucasus or the Caspian sea, before the Tower of Babel raised its ill-starred head to heaven. It may be they are older than the Deluge. Northern countries were submerged under the divine wrath when, perhaps, they enjoyed undisturbed serenity. They were not polluted by the wickedness of man, for as yet no human voice was heard within them and no human foot awoke an echo from their depths. They merited not therefore the divine chastisement, and possibly, nay probably, they did not receive it; they may have been coming and going, fading and blooming, dying and reviving long ages before the commission of those crimes which made the Creator 'repent that He had made man.' Who can tell if they are not as old as the Garden of Eden, nay that they spread their dark mass on the earth long before man had been created. They could not have been, indeed, when the *primaeval* waters rolled over the chaotic globe, but none can say they did not spring up long ages before the irrational creation came into being. Their age, regard it as you may, is something appalling, of itself it is sufficient to lend to their grandeur and sublimity.

Then their connection with the unhappy race that so long held undisputed possession of them cannot fail to invest them with a new and thrilling interest. Numberless questions rise up in the mind about this wild people that made these woods their home. Who were these strange inhabitants of the forest? When did they come? Whence came they? They sprang from the great common father of the human family, and their original home must have been in the Asiatic plains; how did they migrate across the broad expanse of ocean that stretched away to the southern continent? How did they lose so much of what they once possessed, and become hideous in body and degraded in mind? It is hardly possible to contemplate the Australian bush without at the same time thinking of that strange and unhappy race that once animated it, and asking oneself such questions about them. But conjectures will be the only answer. Their origin and history are wrapped in impenetrable darkness. It is known that they were members of the great human family, that they were wild and uncouth, and brutal and degraded, but who they were and where they came from exactly will never be ascertained with certainty. Soon all remnant of them will have disappeared. They are melting away before the light of civilization. The presence of the white man has proved the bane of their existence. His vices are their destruction. Never more will they bound through these silent forests. Never more will their 'boomerang' hurtle through the air. Never more will their fantastic 'corroborrees' startle the wild birds from their slumbers. They are going rapidly, irresistibly. The white man seeks to retain a remnant of them as curiosities and relics of vanished times, but the course of nature cannot be stayed by him, and in a few years they will be among the 'things that were.'

This silent, lonely, awful bush will survive them a little while, but only a little while. It, too, is advancing swiftly to its fate. Its age will not save it. Of immeasurable antiquity it will add little of the future to its past. Its knell has sounded. The curling smoke that rises up and spreads itself as a black cloud so often over yonder silent

city is ominous of its destiny. The sounds that so often resound through its streets are a sure presage of its doom. It will vanish to make room for a new state of things, to be succeeded by green fields, and happy homes, and clustering hamlets.

As I said, it will find a glorious successor. Civilization and religion will benefit by the change, but it will not be all gain. The romance, the wildness, the silence that speak to the heart and awaken such beautiful sentiments will have gone for ever. The race whose degradation and misfortunes would inspire to such heroic self-sacrifice, and call into existence a new constellation of saints, will have been swept away, and much that is undesirable will come in the train of civilization and civilized men. Much refined vice, much abandonment to the wealth and pleasure of this world, much that deforms the moral countenance to a greater extent than the too often inculpable vices of the denizen of the forest.

JOHN MURPHY.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

JURISDICTION TO HEAR THE CONFESSIONS OF NUNS

REV. DEAR SIR,—When writing in the February issue of the I. E. RECORD on the question under the above heading, I endeavoured to show that parish priests can, by virtue of the office they hold, without any other approbation or faculties, hear the confessions of nuns with simple vows, who may happen to be their parishioners.

In support of this view, I ventured to maintain: (a) that the doctrine, as here stated, is clearly laid down by Génicot and Gury in their respective treatises on Moral Theology; (b) that canonically-constituted parish priests in Ireland have, from the common law of the Church, ordinary jurisdiction, *in foro interno*, over these nuns; and (c) that, as this jurisdiction is in possession, it must, as a matter of course, be sustained till it is conclusively proved that they have been deprived of it.

The learned writer, in the same issue of the I. E. RECORD, holds the opposite opinion. He maintains 'that, in Ireland, parish priests, as such, do not hold faculties to hear the confessions of nuns with simple vows; that the faculty to hear the confessions of these nuns is usually or universally withdrawn from them; and that parish priests are affected by the reservation of nuns in precisely the same way as curates and other confessors.'

In support of this opinion two arguments were advanced. The first of these I shall, for brevity sake, call the argument from oral testimony; and the second, the argument from documentary evidence. Before, however, examining these arguments in detail, I deem it advisable to reaffirm here the following principle laid down in my former letter, *i.e.*, that in Ireland, as elsewhere, canonically-constituted parish priests have, by virtue of their office, from the common law of the Church, ordinary jurisdiction *in foro interno* over nuns with simple vows. By their canonical institution they acquire this jurisdiction, and they continue to hold it till it is expressly withdrawn from them. They cannot, of course, in virtue of this jurisdiction, absolve nuns or others from reserved

cases—sins or censures; for, as Bouix, in a passage already quoted, says:—‘*Quamvis ordinariam jurisdictionem suam habeat parochus a lege, eam tamen habet dependentem ab ordinario, quoad culparum reservationem.*’

Having premised this principle, I submit that anybody holding the opinion that parish priests in this country have been deprived of the jurisdiction certainly conferred on them by the Church must be prepared to bring forward unquestionable proofs in support of it. In other words, the *onus probandi* rests with him, and, as before stated, the jurisdiction of parish priests must be maintained till it is proved that they have been deprived of it. This much will, I feel confident, be admitted by all; and I shall now proceed to consider the arguments.

The first of them is of the following nature:—Inquiries were made in a large number of the dioceses of Ireland for the purpose of ascertaining what is the exact position of parish priests as regards the confessions of nuns in their parishes. The result, we are told, was: ‘That in not even one of the twelve dioceses in which the inquiries were made have parish priests, as such, the faculty to hear the confessions of nuns.’ The argument itself runs thus:—

‘This is a question of fact, not of law. Whether or not parish priests, as such, can, in Ireland, hear the confessions of nuns depends on the will of the bishops. So much is rightly conveyed by Gury in the passage above quoted. Is it, then, the fact that the bishops in Ireland reserve the confessions of nuns from parish priests? Of course there is only one decisive way of solving that question—by instituting inquiries in the various dioceses.’

This is the first argument, and it is, I confess, not easy to grapple with it. We are not told whether the answers to the inquiries represented the individual opinions of the persons consulted, or whether they may not have been mere statements of the fact that in these dioceses there are confessors—ordinary and extraordinary—appointed to hear the confessions of nuns. There was, apparently at least, no statute or synodal decree of any kind quoted; and, of course, legal enactments are of vital importance in a discussion such as this. This is, I think, what is conveyed by Gury in the passage referred to; for, he writes: ‘*Certum est tamen episcopos statuere posse, ut etiam pro talibus (Sororibus a Charitate) audiendis specialis approbatio sit obtinenda. Unde statutis episcopalibus standum est.*’

I do not, moreover, feel disposed to admit that 'the question under discussion is one of fact, not of law.' To me it seems to be a question of law rather than of fact. It is what is known to jurists and canonists as a *factum juridicum*, or a fact connected with and founded on a law; and the existence of the fact depends on the establishment of the law. If, therefore, the fact exists it can, and indeed ultimately it must, be proved from the existence of some law, or some legally established custom. As, however, facts of all kinds are proverbially stubborn things, and if proved, effectually dispose of theoretic reasoning and speculation, I prefer to proceed no further with this point, till we are told something more of the nature of the facts upon which it rests.

I shall now discuss the second argument. It is taken from a passage in the *Statuta Diocesana* of Dublin, 1831, and will be found in the *Synodus Diocesana Dublin.*, 1879, page 105. The passage is as follows :—

'Among the statutes binding throughout the whole province of Dublin, as far back in the last century as 1831, we find the following :—" . . . declaramus quod cum facultatem confessiones excipiendi concedimus nullo modo intendimus includere potestatem absolvendi a casibus reservatis nisi talis potestas explicite conceditur." And in a footnote is added (and to this we draw attention) :—" Similiter reservatur facultas excipiendi Confessiones Monialium."

'As the ordinary reservation of sins affected parish priests as well as others, so the confessions of nuns were by this declaration reserved from parish priests throughout the province of Dublin.'

In replying to this argument, which is more tangible than the preceding one, I shall, in the first place, interpret the passage here quoted, just as I should do if I found it in any of the books of the decretals of Pope Gregory IX., or in any other part of the *Corpus Juris Canonici*. It will be noticed that it is taken from that part of the chapter on the Sacrament of Penance which treats of reserved cases. It must, therefore, be interpreted according to the ordinary rules of hermeneutics applicable to these cases. 'We declare' [says the statute] 'that when we give faculties to hear confessions we do not intend to include the faculty (*potestatem*) of absolving from reserved cases, unless this faculty is expressly given.' And in the footnote of a line in length it is stated that the faculty of hearing the confessions of nuns is, in like manner, reserved. Here there is question of a reservation of some kind—a *res odiosa* in Canon Law. It must,

therefore, be interpreted strictly, according to the strict sense of the terms used :—‘*Odia restringi et favores convenit ampliari.*’ (Reg. 15, in 6°.) Consequently the term *Monialium* must be taken in its strict acceptation; and the meaning of the passage then is: ‘When we give faculties to hear confessions we do not include the faculty to absolve from reserved cases; and, in like manner, is reserved the faculty to hear the confessions of (*Monialium*) nuns who have solemn vows.’ This is the natural and rational interpretation of the passage quoted; it is the interpretation already given in my former letter, and it excludes from the reservation nuns who have only simple vows.

It may not be out of place to call attention to the fact, that the same word—*Moniales*—occurs in the *Bulla Æterni Patris*, announcing the late Jubilee of the Holy Year. Nuns—*Moniales*—had the privilege of selecting any confessor, to whom they might make their Jubilee confession, with the limitation, however, that he should be of the number of those approved for nuns. A question was proposed as to whether this legislation applied to nuns having only simple vows. The answer was in the negative; that it did not include these nuns—that nuns with simple vows could select any approved confessor to hear their confessions. ‘*Ad moniales [says the reply] quoque simplicia vota professas spectare beneficia Bullæ Æterni Patris, eisque licere confessarium sibi semel eligere ex simpliciter approbatis ad audiendas confessiones personarium secularium. S. Poenit. data die II Jan. 1900, super quæsitis Em̃ni. Card. Vic. Urbis.*’ This reply speaks for itself; and it shows that the interpretation given above is the correct one.

But, in the second place, even if for argument’s sake—*dato sed non concesso*—we understand by *Moniales*, nuns with simple vows, it will not, it seems to me, follow, that parish priests cannot, therefore, hear their confessions. In the passage quoted, there is a question of mere reservation of some kind—‘*Reservatur facultas excipiendi confessiones Monialium.*’ Now if this affected parish priests it would be something more—a good deal more—than a mere reservation. It would be a revoking of the jurisdiction given them by the Church. I confess, that I cannot conceive a footnote, such as this, of a line in length, producing the effect here attributed to it, *i.e.*, withdrawing from all ‘the parish priests throughout the province of Dublin’ a jurisdiction conferred on them by the Church. It may, indeed, suffice to withhold or reserve this faculty from confessors who have only delegate jurisdiction—who have only

what faculties they receive from the Ordinary. But it is one thing to withhold or reserve jurisdiction from those who have never received it—not to delegate or sub-delegate jurisdiction; and quite a different thing to withdraw jurisdiction from those who have received it from the Church. 'Turpius ejicitur quam non recipitur hospes.'

This distinction between ordinary and delegate jurisdiction is well explained by Carninal de la Luzerne in the following passage taken from his (*Droits et Devoirs des Evêques et des prêtres*), Migne edition, page 145:—

'La qualité d'*ordinaire* employée dans le droit, est la contradictoire de *délégée*. . . . On entend par pouvoir ordinaire celui qui, par le droit Communet non pas seulement par la volonté transitoire du Supérieur, est propre à un titre; qui se confère avec le titre; qui ne se perd qu'avec le titre; qui comprend l'universalité des fonctions attachées au titre. Le pouvoir délégué est celui qui n'est point affecté par le droit à un titre mais qui est confié par le Supérieur à une certaine personne; celui dont l'étendue et la durée dépendent de la volonté de celui qui le confère.'

In the third place, I beg to call the attention of your readers to the following note, which will be found in the *Synodus Diocesana Dublinensis* (page 105), immediately under the one just quoted—'Vide Syn. Dioc. Dub. (1879) Dec. 5, ubi exhibentur omnes casus in Dioecesi Dub. Ordinario reservati: proinde Ordinario non reservantur peccata hic recensita quae in tabula supra tradita (page 14) non continentur.'

From the place here referred to (page 14) it will be seen that the reserved cases of the year 1831, have been modified, limited, and changed. And what is more to the point the troublesome footnote—'Reservatur facultas excipiendi Confessiones Monialium'—has been altogether omitted.

It remains now to say just a word about the passage from Gury quoted in my former letter. The sentence is as follows:—'Episcopi tamen assignando talibus Monialibus Confessarios ordinarios et extraordinarios (ut expedit), non videntur tollere a parochis facultates ordinarias quas in tituli sui habent, excipiendi Confessiones earum quae in sua parochia versantur.' Of this sentence the learned writer in the I. E. RECORD says:—'It is worth mentioning that the words in which Gury hesitatingly put forward the opinion just referred to were deliberately omitted by various editors of Gury's work. The omission is suggestive;

perhaps it is significant.' The words here quoted are not omitted by either the Roman (Propaganda) editor of Gury, or by the Ratisbon editor of his work. They are given in these editions of Gury just as I have quoted them here. They are, indeed, omitted from the text in the Ballerini and Palmieri editions of Gury; only, however, to be replaced by the following words:—

'Quando aut ecclesia aut Confessarii ab Antistita designati fuerint, manifestum est, utique praeter regulam, sed valide confiteri monialem, quemcunque demum Confessarium et ubicumque eligat. Immo juxta generale principium, odia esse restringenda, id ipsum retinendum, si designatio ab ordinario fiat, nisi expresse hic addat, neminem praeter designatos, haberi posse uti pro illis monialibus approbatum.'

The change here effected is, no doubt, very significant.

DEF. PAR.

The controversial methods of our correspondent may have some advantage. But, they have no attraction for us. Life is too short. The point at issue is clear and what we, at all events, have to say in regard to it can be put in a few words.

The question that still troubles our correspondent is whether, according to the prevailing ecclesiastical discipline in Ireland, parish priests, as such, retain jurisdiction to hear the confessions of nuns with simple vows. An appeal to the common law of the Church will not answer that question. For, as our correspondent admits, the bishops may, in this particular, restrict the faculties, which a parish priest, as such, derives from the common law. Is there such a restriction placed on the faculties of parish priests in Ireland? In order to satisfy our correspondent on that *question of fact*, as we must still regard it, we made inquiries in each of the four provinces and in almost half the dioceses of Ireland and we gave the result in the February issue of the I. E. RECORD. Our correspondent now suggests that, perhaps, our inquiries were not addressed to the proper quarters, or that we put some irrelevant questions, and then, to suit our own purposes, switched on the answers as a reply to the question with which he is concerned. We are sure that the implied charge of stupidity or bad faith has been made unintentionally. And we, therefore, assure our correspondent

—(1) That we sought information, regarding this point of diocesan discipline, from the bishops themselves. (2) That the question put to the bishops was, not some irrelevant question, but the identical question that he is desirous to solve. And (3) that we have direct testimony, in writing (in most instances), from these bishops, that, in their respective dioceses, parish priests, as such, do not hold faculties to hear the confessions of nuns with simple vows. We selected the dioceses in which to make inquiries without any special antecedent knowledge of the diocesan arrangements. As the replies have been unanimous, we have assumed that, leaving room for possible exceptions, the practice all over Ireland is what we have found it to be in the test cases. This argument from the testimony of the bishops was the one and only argument which we used in the February issue to support our main contention. We think it sufficient. For when a bishop states expressly that certain cases are reserved in his diocese, we, for our own part, do not, even for the purpose of satisfying our correspondent, feel justified in questioning the fact. That, then is our whole case; it needs no further comment. All else is beside the main question.

The other points of our correspondent's letter, therefore, need not detain us long. It is truly discouraging, however, to find that, at this stage, our correspondent, in the opening paragraphs of his present letter, explicitly represents us as denying certain propositions which we have never so much as questioned.¹ In this and other matters we leave our previous communications to speak for themselves.

Our correspondent missed the point of our reference to the fact that throughout the province of Dublin in 1831 the confessions of nuns were reserved from parish priests, as well as from other confessors. The discipline of 1901 is not the discipline of 1831; nor did we attempt to prove cases reserved now, because they were reserved early in the last century. But our correspondent had stated that he 'never heard or read of such a wholesale withdrawal of faculties' in regard to the confessions of nuns as that for which we

¹ i.e., The propositions marked (a), (b), and (c) in the second paragraph of our correspondent's letter, page 339 above.

contended. In view of that statement, we thought it relevant to point out that, whatever may be said of existing legislation, he could find in the Diocesan Statutes, printed for his own province in 1831, the very reservation with which he professed himself unacquainted. He now asks us to believe that this reservation referred to the confessions of nuns with solemn vows. But, these confessions were already reserved by the general law of the Church, so that our correspondent's interpretation makes the four bishops of the Dublin province formally reserve what was already reserved. Are we to assume, also, that our correspondent has satisfied himself that there were, in 1831, in each of the dioceses of that province, convents of nuns with solemn vows? It is needless to call attention to that passage, in which it is objected that, as this reservation occurs in a footnote, it cannot affect parish priests. Curates, it is urged, may be dealt with in footnotes but not parish priests; and it passes all belief that a parish priest should be disposed of in a footnote 'of a line in length.' The humour of this is on the surface, but we can offer no help in finding the argument. It is only fair to all persons concerned to say that the author of the argument is not a parish priest.

From our correspondent's reference to the changes in the statutes of the diocese of Dublin, an unguarded reader might understand him to state that parish priests, as such, in Dublin, can now hear the confessions of nuns with simple vows. But, it is only just to point out that he does not commit himself to that statement. We commend his prudence.

The words quoted from Ballerini, in the last paragraph of our correspondent's letter, expressly refer to places in which nuns confess like the ordinary faithful in the parochial churches, and in which, according to the testimony of Ballerini, the custom is that they can confess validly, not merely to the parish priest but *to any other approved confessor*. These words, then, do not avail to sustain any special privilege for parish priests; nor do they throw any light whatever on the extent of the faculties of a parish priest in Ireland. For, as we said in our last paper on this subject, wherever it is known, from an express declaration

of the bishop or from the traditional or recognized discipline of the diocese, that the bishop does or does not withdraw from parish priests the faculty to hear the confessions of nuns with simple vows that settles the question. We have endeavoured to learn from the bishops the state of existing diocesan legislation. If our correspondent is not satisfied with the result, we incline to believe that the fault is not ours.

NOTES ON THE EXTENSION OF THE JUBILEE¹

It is unnecessary, and, in the space available, it would be impossible, to give here all the queries that we have received regarding the present Jubilee. Correspondents will, no doubt, be content if they find in these notes the solution of their difficulties. Once for all, we may be allowed to say that, throughout, we mean to speak of the present extended Jubilee only. Statements made in these notes, therefore, must not be applied, without discrimination, to other Jubilees.

For gaining the indulgence of the Jubilee certain conditions are required: (1) *Ex parte operum*; (2) *Ex parte lucrantis*.

(1.) *Ex parte operum*. It is necessary (a) that all the works prescribed, *i.e.*, confession, communion, and the required number of visits, be accurately completed within the six months appointed by the Ordinary. Any notable omission, even indeliberate—the omission, for example, by mistake, of one of the prescribed visits—would entail the loss of the indulgence.

(b) The works done must be, according to what seems the only safe opinion, *moraliter honesta*. A visit to the church, made solely or mainly for vain glory, would not, therefore, suffice. But, on the other hand, a work substantially good is not invalidated, as a condition for the Jubilee, owing to the fact that it is accompanied and partly vitiated by some unworthy end or circumstance. Hence, a visit mainly

¹ To economise space we omit, as a rule, quotations and references. Besides the older writers, we have freely used Loiseaux, *Traité du Jubilé*; Bastien, *De Jubilæo Anni Sancti*, 1901; also the valuable articles contributed at various times to the I. E. RECORD by His Grace the present Archbishop of Dublin.

devotional, but also an occasion for vain glory, would be sufficient. It is needless to say that a person in mortal sin may perform an act that is morally good, and, therefore, secure the condition of which we now speak.

(c) Works, already obligatory under the ecclesiastical law, will not suffice as conditions for the Jubilee. Hence, the annual Confession and Communion will not avail as the Jubilee Confession and Communion; nor, can one make a visit while satisfying the Sunday obligation to hear Mass.

(d) No special order need be observed in the fulfilment of the various conditions. The faithful, indeed, are to be exhorted to perform all the conditions in the state of grace, and, therefore, it is sometimes advisable to begin with confession. But this is by no means necessary. Those who are in mortal sin may begin by making the prescribed visits; while, those who are in the state of grace may put off their confession until after their communion. A correspondent states that his bishop seems to require the faithful to begin with confession. A bishop may recommend, but he has no power to insist on such an arrangement. We know, as a matter of fact, that our correspondent has, in this instance, misinterpreted the intention of his bishop.

(2.) *Ex parte lucrantis*, the following conditions are required:—

(a) Baptism.

(b) Freedom from major excommunication. In view of this condition the Church gives most ample power to confessors.

(c) A debt of temporal punishment, due to God in respect of sin, the guilt of which is already forgiven. If there be no debt there can be no remission; if there be a debt in regard to sin not yet forgiven, that debt cannot yet be cancelled. In neither case will the indulgence remain, as it were, suspended for future use.

(d) The state of grace. One must be in the state of grace at the moment when he completes the last of the prescribed works. Moreover, if he wants to ensure that the indulgence shall have the full effect, which it is *per se* capable of producing, he must, at the time of gaining it,

have obtained forgiveness of all, even his venial sins. But, as we have already conveyed, it is not necessary to be in the state of grace while one is making the visits to the church unless, indeed, in the case where one completes the conditions for the Jubilee by a visit.

In connection with this condition, the question is raised whether a person who has made a good confession and communion, but subsequently falls into mortal sin, and while in that state completes his visits, may afterwards, by a kind of reviviscence, analogous to that of the Sacraments, reap the fruit of the indulgence, when he recovers sanctifying grace. Diana thought this theory of reviviscence tenable. There is nothing repugnant in supposing that the Pope could make such reviviscence possible. But, on the other hand, there is no evidence whatever that such is the intention of the Pope, and Diana's opinion is universally rejected. The only remedy for the person in question, therefore, would be to confess again, if that be possible, within the time prescribed.

(e) Intention. Authors commonly lay down, among the conditions necessary for profiting by indulgences generally, that one must have the intention of gaining them. But, when they come to specify what is the precise nature of the intention required, there is much variety of opinion. Some are satisfied with what they call an interpretative intention. This, as they explain it, is really no intention. It merely supposes (1) that a man is not positively unwilling to gain an indulgence, and (2) that if he adverted to the possibility of gaining it, he would positively desire to gain it. Such an intention is always present in the case of those for whom the question is at all practical. Others require, and are content with, a habitual intention, even though it be merely implicit. Hence, if one has ever expressly intended to gain all the indulgences he can, or, if he has ever desired to be and remain a member of the Church, and to participate in all the graces and privileges attaching to membership, and, if he has never retracted such intention, he has an express or an implied habitual intention, which is sufficient for gaining all the indulgences attached to his good works. It seems

practically impossible, that any Catholic should be found without the implied habitual intention here spoken of. Some writers seem to require a virtual intention; so that according to them, in order to gain any indulgence, one should while performing the work or works to which an indulgence is attached, be acting in virtue of an intention previously formed. But when they come to explain what they mean by a virtual intention, it is generally found to be nothing more than a habitual intention.¹

To us it seems, as we have already said, that, in practice, every Catholic has, at least, an implied habitual intention of gaining the indulgence of the Jubilee, and all other indulgences, and moreover that this intention is quite sufficient. But looking at the question speculatively, we are inclined to think that even an interpretative intention, in the sense above explained, is sufficient for gaining indulgences generally and among them the indulgence of the Jubilee. If, as Lugo² urges, the satisfactory efficacy of the Mass, for example, can be applied to us, without any intention on our part, if the same be true of the efficacy of our own good works, or of those of our neighbour offered to God on our behalf, there seems to be no reason why the Pope may not, if he wishes, apply to us the satisfactory efficacy of an indulgence, without requiring anything more than an interpretative intention on our part. On the other hand, a special intention of gaining an indulgence is nowhere expressly required as a condition, and we know, moreover, as Lugo testifies, that the Pope often grants an indulgence in respect of a work already performed, where it may be presumed that there was no more than an interpretative intention. We do not think, therefore, that there is much room for solicitude regarding the intention necessary for gaining the indulgence of the Jubilee. At the same time, the faithful should be urged, as a matter of counsel, to have, not only in making the visits, but also at their confession and communion an express actual intention of gaining the indulgence.

In order to prevent any misconception, it may be well,

¹ *Vide, v.g., Beringer, Les Indulgences I. p. 63,* ² *De Poenitentia Disp. 27.*

before passing from this point, to add a few words. An express intention (not necessarily renewed on the occasion of gaining each indulgence) is necessary, if we wish to *apply* indulgences to the souls in Purgatory. It is for *applying*, however, not for *gaining* these indulgences that the special intention is necessary. Again, as the works performed for gaining the indulgence must be morally good, one requires, of course, an intention—*finis honestus*; also, when any of the works enjoined requires a specific intention, *v.g.*, prayer for the intention of the Pope, manifestly this intention is absolutely necessary, in order to comply with the required conditions. But, in both these cases, the intention necessary is quite distinct from the intention of gaining the indulgence. Lastly, if one who has not yet fulfilled the conditions for gaining the Jubilee comes to confession and seeks to have any of the Jubilee privileges exercised in his favour, it will be the Confessor's duty, to satisfy himself that his penitent has a *bonâ fide* intention of fulfilling the other conditions and gaining the Jubilee.

We may now take up in order the Visits, the Confession, and the Communion. We shall endeavour, as we proceed, to reply to the questions that have reached us in connection with each.

THE VISITS.—1. The visits prescribed are, apart from legitimate dispensation or commutation, sixty in number. They must be made to churches or chapels duly designated by the Ordinary or his delegate, four visits being made each day for fifteen days. The days may or may not be consecutive. If more than four churches be anywhere designated, as they may be, the faithful may chose any four of them each day, but they are not bound to visit more than four churches any day, or to increase the total number of visits. Where more than one, but not more than four, churches have been designated, it will be necessary, unless there be an express provision to the contrary, to visit, each day, all the churches named. It would not suffice, as one correspondent suggests, to make all or an undue proportion of visits to one church, or to make all the visits due at one church, before making any at the others.

2. For the purpose of making these visits, the natural or the ecclesiastical method of reckoning the day may be used, *i.e.*, one may count either from (a) midnight to midnight—the natural day; or (b) from ‘first Vespers’ to night-fall on the following day—the ecclesiastical day. A series of four visits may, therefore, be made, at any time between midnight and midnight, or within the longer period extending from 2 p.m. until night-fall of the following (natural) day. Whether the days selected for making the visits be consecutive or not, both ways of reckoning the day may be used promiscuously. Hence, a person, who has made four visits in the forenoon, may, after 2 p.m. of the same day, begin a new series of (four) visits, which may be validly completed at any time before night-fall of the following day.¹ If one uses the ecclesiastical method of computing the days, the same portions of time, *i.e.*, from ‘first Vespers’ to night-fall, will manifestly belong to two different days. A person, therefore, can, between ‘first Vespers’ and night-fall, make two series of visits. But one series of visits should be completed before the next is begun. It would not, we think, suffice, for instance, to make two series concurrently, making two successive visits to each of four designated churches.² Again, if one has made four visits in the forenoon of Monday, and a second four for Tuesday, after ‘first Vespers’ on Monday evening, he cannot begin his third series until after ‘first Vespers’ on Tuesday evening.³

3. The churches designated need not be visited in the order in which they are named by the Ordinary. The journey to the churches need not be on foot. One should enter the church for each visit; if, however, the crowd be so great that one cannot enter, it is sufficient to form one with the body of worshippers.⁴ Again if the church be closed, it is held that one can make a visit by praying outside. If a second visit is to be made to the same church, on the same

¹ S. Cong. Poen., 20 Feb. 1900.

² Arizzoli, *Dubia et Responsa*, p. 22.

³ Bastien, *De Jub Anni Sancti*, p. 96.

⁴ S. Cong. Poen., 11 Jun., 1875.

occasion, it will be necessary to come out of the church and re-enter.

4. The visit should be devotional. In the words of Benedict XIV: 'Necesse est ut visitatio fiat consilio atque animo exhibendi honorem Dei et sanctis ejus . . . ut tam in itinere quod ad Basilicas habetur, quam in easdem ingrediendo modeste incedatur, atque in hisce, aliquis religiosus actus exerceatur. Ex quo deduci potest, quod si quis nullo pio fine, sed mera ductus curiositate, visitatum ecclesias se confert, aut animi relaxandi seu quod dicitur, deambulationis habendæ gratia iter conficit, Jubilæum minime consequitur.'¹ Some writers maintained that it would be enough to pray in the church, no matter with what intention one entered it. But, as well because it is, perhaps, somewhat doubtful whether that could really be called a visit to the church, as because of the authority of Benedict XIV., it is right to insist that, not merely the stay in the church, but also the entry into the church should be a religious act. We do not, however, see any solid reason for thinking with some of our correspondents, that one should start from home with the intention of making the visit. If a person who lives next door to the church can make a visit by walking a few paces to the church, we do not see why those who live at a distance cannot, if they happen to be passing by the church, there and then make up their minds to make one of the Jubilee visits. Again, all can make a second visit to the same church, on the same occasion, by merely coming out and then re-entering devoutly. Why should a longer journey be required for the first visit? No doubt Benedict XIV. states that the *iter*, as well as the *ingressus*, should be an act of religion. But he does not say what the *length* of the devotional journey to the church should be. We have dwelt on this point, because we are aware that some priests are inclined to press the words of Benedict XIV. very far. It may be useful to point out to them that Benedict XIV. also states, in the passage above quoted, that we should visit the church to

¹ *Inter Præteritos*, n. 73.

honour God and *the saints*. And yet we doubt if the intention of honouring *the saints* is considered essential to the visit. For our part, we are inclined to think that if a person, without any obligation on the one hand, and, on the other, without any intention of making a Jubilee visit, enters the church for the purpose of making his devotions, and while inside prays for the intentions specified by the Pope, he has made a valid visit. We suppose, of course, that he has an intention, as already explained, of gaining the Jubilee. However, it will be safer to come out to re-enter with the intention of making a visit for the Jubilee. One other remark in this connection. Some correspondents speak of the necessity of having an *intention of gaining* the Jubilee while one is coming to the church. If what we have already said regarding the intention of gaining the Jubilee be true, there can be no question of the necessity of such an intention. The question they mean to raise is whether, in entering the church and on the way, one should have an *intention of making a devotional visit*.

5. The visit must be one that is not otherwise obligatory. One cannot, *v.g.*, make a visit while satisfying the Sunday obligation to hear Mass; moreover, one who has heard Mass on Sunday should, we think, leave the church and re-enter to make a visit. For his entry, in the first instance, was obligatory.

6. During the visits one must pray for the intentions specified by the Holy Father. It is not necessary that one should, at each visit, have these intentions distinctly and formally in mind.¹ If one has read or heard them previously, it will certainly be sufficient if he afterwards prays for them in a general way. But is it necessary to know them explicitly *at any time*? Or is it sufficient to pray for the intentions of the Holy Father without knowing what they are? One who prays expressly for the intentions of the Pope, prays implicitly for the several ends determined by the Holy Father. Nor, is it anywhere expressly required by the Pope that his intentions be explicitly known. Prayers for the Pope's intentions are required, as a condition for many indulgences.

¹ S. Cong. Indul., 21 Jun. 1847.

But the faithful, we believe, do not consider it necessary to know the Holy Father's intentions explicitly. Hence it is not, we think, by any means necessary, in order to gain the Jubilee, that one should at any time know explicitly the intentions of the Pope. However, as several theologians of name require an explicit knowledge, and as there has been no authoritative decision on the matter, it is, perhaps, safer, and it is certainly advisable, that priests should be careful to announce the Pope's intentions distinctly to the faithful.

7. During the visits one may laudably pray mentally; but he should also use some vocal prayer for the Pope's intentions. Deaf mutes, however, can fulfil the condition by mental prayer. It is safe to say that five Paters and Aves, or any prayers of equal length, will suffice. The vocal prayers may be recited alternately.

8. The Ordinary has power from the Apostolic Letter, *Temporis quidem*, to reduce the number of visits for those who make them processionally. Where processions through the public thoroughfares are not permitted, it has been decided¹ that it will be sufficient if the faithful assemble in the church and make their visit in common. We are informed, however, by an eminent legal authority that the Jubilee processions are not illegal in this country. Nor is there, in most parts of Ireland, any danger of interference with religious processions. We could not, therefore, undertake to say that the decision referred to avails for this country generally. Persons forming a procession must belong, to some one recognised body or association. Chapters, religious congregations, sodalities, confraternities, universities, or colleges, as well as members of the same parish, may, according to the Apostolic Letter, *Temporis quidem*, make processional visits. The parochial procession must be accompanied by the parish priest, or a priest delegated by him. There seems to be no necessity that a priest should accompany colleges or the other bodies just named.² Anyone may join one of those processions and make his visit with the body; but he cannot thereby share in the privilege of reducing the required number of visits

¹ S. Cong. Poenit, 25 Jan. 1901.

² Cong. S. C. Poenit, 20 April, 1926.

unless he belongs to the parish, or the confraternity, or other body by which the procession is organised. The procession is made on foot, and those taking part in it should form one moral body; all persons claiming the privilege of reduced visits should belong to that body. It does not seem, however, that any prayers are necessary on the way to the churches, or that one is bound to join in the public prayers usually recited in the church by the processionists. One who has joined in the procession may recite his prayers for the Pope's intention privately and still claim the reduction of visits. It does not seem to be necessary that members of a confraternity or sodality should wear the dress or habit of their association. We have been asked whether, in making the first of a series of visits, the procession should be formed before entering the church. We think the people should enter processionally. Unless where the special privilege above referred to is available, we do not think it would be sufficient that the people should assemble in the ordinary way in the church and there recite prayers and then leave the church processionally to make the other visits. One may make some of his visits processionally, and the remainder privately, and he may allow for each of his processional visits that number of private visits to which it is equivalent, according to the arrangement made by the Ordinary.¹ The Ordinary has power to commute the visits for those who are legitimately impeded from making them into equivalent pious works; and this power he can delegate to confessors.

CONFESSION.—What is to be said of the confession may be briefly stated. We reserve the question of the extent and use of the extraordinary faculties granted to confessors for those who wish to gain the Jubilee. Sacramental confession is, like the visits to the church and the communion, an essential condition for the Jubilee, even in the case of persons free from mortal sin; and it must be made within the time prescribed. But, though confession is necessary for all, absolution is necessary for those only who are in

¹ One who belongs to one or more confraternities may make some of his processional visits with the parochial procession, others with one or more of the confraternities to which he is attached.

mortal sin.¹ Benedict XIV. recommends a general confession, but it is not necessary. A sacrilegious confession will not suffice; nor a confession due *aliunde*, like the annual confession. It should be noted, however, that the precept of annual confession binds those only who sin mortally within the year, and binds them to one confession only. If, after his Jubilee confession and before he has completed the other conditions, one falls into mortal sin, it is necessary to confess again; to recover the state of grace otherwise will not suffice.² It is not, however, in such a case, necessary to repeat the works already performed. Confessors are warned of the obligation to impose a sacramental penance in the Jubilee confession, as in other confessions; though, in view of the probability of gaining remission of temporal punishment through the plenary indulgence, the severity of the penance may be mitigated.

COMMUNION. — Sacramental communion is the only remaining condition. It must be a good communion, not already obligatory, and made within the prescribed time. A sacrilegious communion, therefore, or the Paschal communion, or a communion made on the eve of the Jubilee, would not be sufficient. It should be noted that communion received *per modum Viatici* will suffice for the Jubilee. An express decision to that effect was given by the S. Cong. of the Penitentiary, March 28, 1900. For those who have not yet received first communion, a commutation of the communion may be made by the Ordinary or his delegate. It would seem, however, that, in the present Jubilee, no commutation can be made for adults who, without being subjects for receiving the Viaticum, cannot communicate owing to their inability to remain fasting, or some other cause.³ So much seems to be implied in a response of the S. Cong. of the Penitentiary.⁴ Yet, as it is difficult to believe that the gaining of the Jubilee is made impossible for persons so afflicted, and as there is some doubt, moreover, attaching to the opinion which we have advanced, confessors may, as some authors advise, make a commutation *in quantum*

¹ S. C. Indul., 15 Dec., 1841, and authors generally.

² Benedict XIV., *Inter Præteritos*, n. 79.

³ Conf. Bastien, p. 91; *N. R. Theol.* 1900, p. 333.

⁴ March 28, 1900.

possunt, in the hope that this inconvenient opinion may not, after all, be the true one.

Before concluding, we must say something on a difficulty that has come from various quarters. As we have said above, the annual confession and the Paschal communion will not satisfy the conditions for the Jubilee. As far as communion is concerned this requirement does not cause much practical difficulty. But, if we can judge from the questions we have received from several correspondents, the same cannot be said of the Jubilee confession. One doubt especially has caused widespread perplexity; and though we cannot say that we are quite satisfied with any solution that has suggested itself, we think it due to our correspondents to refer to it without further delay.

The case is this: A person comes to confession with reserved censures or sins. He has not yet complied with the precept of annual confession—perhaps, he has not been to confession for many years. He now desires to gain the Jubilee. Has his confessor the extraordinary faculties of the Jubilee for dealing with the reserved cases? It would seem that he has not. For, it may be said to be the unanimous teaching of the theologians that once a man does what is commanded by a law he fulfils that law in spite even of an express intention to the contrary. Thus a man satisfies the Sunday precept by the first Mass he hears on Sunday morning, no matter what his intention may be. Therefore, it seems to follow that the confession which this penitent now makes goes necessarily to satisfy the precept of annual confession. But if this confession be his annual confession, and not his Jubilee confession, it would seem that the confessor does not possess the Jubilee faculties, because the Pope distinctly requires that the Jubilee confession be distinct from the annual confession. The result would be that the extraordinary faculties of the Jubilee would not be available for those who are most likely to stand in need of their exercise.

The case, we may remark, is not as practical as it may, at first sight, appear. For since 1886 Confessors have, apart from the Jubilee altogether, power to deal with Papal cases

of urgency and necessity. The same provision is, or, at all events, can be, made by bishops. However, it may sometimes occur, perhaps, that a confessor cannot satisfy himself that the case with which he is dealing falls within the meaning of the legislation of 1886. What is to be done then?

1. Now, everyone admits the desirability of making the Jubilee faculties available for absolving this penitent. And some, perhaps, will proceed without scruple to absolve and let casuists dispute about the source of their faculties. But, we are bound, of course, to try and interpret the law as we find it.

2. Various ways out of the difficulty regarding the confession may be suggested. (a) Some are inclined to hold that one can, by an express intention, defer the fulfilment of his annual confession, and make his first confession the Jubilee confession. If he can, the confessor, of course, has the Jubilee faculties. But this solution, though it commends itself to many, seems to involve much difficulty. It seems to be based on a reply of the S. Cong. of the Penitentiary given in 1875, to the effect that, a person can by one confession and two communions satisfy the ecclesiastical law, and fulfil the conditions of the Jubilee '*manente obligatione satisfaciendi, si nondum quis satisfecerit, praecepto annuae confessionis*.'¹ From these last words it is sought to infer that one who is in mortal sin can defer his annual confession. But, on the other hand, it would seem that these words should, if possible, be interpreted consistently with what has been the common, we might say the universal, teaching.

For almost all theologians hold that, once we perform the work commanded by the ecclesiastical law, we fulfil that law, even in spite of an intention to the contrary. Suarez, for example, is clear that a priest who recites the Divine Office with the express intention of not fulfilling the ecclesiastical precept, nevertheless fulfils that precept.² Laymann writes: '*Qui opus praeceptum secundum substantiam prae-stat, etsi non habeat voluntatem implendi praeceptum; imo contrarium habeat, revera tamen satisfacit*.'³ And Bouquillon:

¹ *Vide*, Lehmkuhl, II. n. 549.

² *De Horis Canonicis*, vol. xiv., cap. xxvi. p. 399. Viv. Ed.

³ *De Legibus* I., Tract. iv., cap. 4, n. 7.

'Legi satisfacit ab eo qui actionem inunctam ponit etiamsi ad obligationem non attendat, vel eam ignoret, imo etsiamei eam ad implere nolit.'¹ Laicroix,² St. Alphonsus,³ Billuart,⁴ Aertnys,⁵ Haine,⁶ D'Annibale,⁷ Marc,⁸ Ballerini,⁹ Génicot,¹⁰ Morino,¹¹ Varceno,¹ and all modern writers, teach the same doctrine, without qualification or restriction. There is, therefore, no room for doubt about the teaching of theologians. In the face of this consensus of opinion, it would appear to us that the reply of the Sacred Congregation, in 1875, meant nothing more than that a man, who has not hitherto sinned mortally within the year, can, during Paschal, satisfy his obligations and gain the Jubilee with one confession and two communions; but, that if he sins mortally afterwards within the year, he remains, notwithstanding his previous confession, bound to satisfy the precept of annual confession. If this interpretation is admissible, it ought to be accepted in preference to an interpretation which would upset the recognised teaching. If it be accepted, the reply of the Congregation supplies no argument for the possibility of deferring one's annual confession.

In support of the same theory, it is urged, that in view of the *incommodum* to the penitent in question, the Church will not urge her right to regard and exact the first confession as a fulfilment of the ecclesiastical precept. But this also presents difficulties. We could understand the force of this contention, if the precept of annual confession were really two distinct precepts—one requiring confession sometime within the year, the second requiring that the first confession, made after the obligation has begun to be urgent, should, apart from an excusing cause, be intended, or at all events, allowed to be a fulfilment of the annual obligation. But this seems quite a novel interpretation. Moreover, it would seem to follow from such an interpretation of ecclesiastical

¹ *Theol. Moralis Fundamentalis*, n. 124 (e). 2nd Edit.

² *De Legibus*, n. 693.

³ *De Legibus*, n. 104.

⁴ *Disert.* iv., art. 2.

⁵ *Theol. Mor.* i., n. 154.

⁶ *Theol. Mor.* i., q. 62.

⁷ *I.*, n. 186.

⁸ *Instit. Mor.* i., n. 213.

⁹ *Opus Mor.* i., n. 223. 2nd Edit.

¹⁰ *Theol. Mor.*, i. n. 109. Ed. prin.

¹¹ *Theol. Mor.* i., n. 169.

¹² *Theol. Mor. de Leg.*, art. iii.

law generally, that on a Sunday, on which a person hears only one Mass, he might *validly* intend assistance at that Mass, as a Jubilee visit, for example, and so leave the Sunday obligation unfulfilled, though he actually hears Mass. We do not think such a consequence or the theory on which it is based can be readily accepted. The truth seems to be, as theologians unreservedly teach, that the ecclesiastical law obliges us to do a certain thing, and is not concerned with our intention;¹ and as the intention is in no way necessary to the fulfilment of the law, so once the act commanded is performed, our intention can in no way defeat the fulfilment of the law. These are some of the difficulties that have to be met by those who suppose that the penitent of whom we speak can validly intend his first confession as his Jubilee confession.

(b) Another solution is suggested by those who assume that the first confession in the case proposed must be the annual confession, but contend that the reserved cases may be absolved *indirectly* at that confession, and afterwards directly at a subsequent Jubilee confession made, of course, within the time allowed. But for Papal cases, at all events, there seems to be no room for indirect absolution since change of procedure introduced in 1886. Wherever an indirect absolution could, as it was alleged, have been given, according to the law as it existed before 1886, a confessor can, since that date, give direct absolution, certainly from censures; also probably, and, therefore, with practical certainty, from sins reserved without a censure.

(c) A third theory again assumes that the first confession, in the case under discussion, is necessarily the annual confession. But the authors of this theory contend that the penitent is, in the circumstances, in urgent need of receiving absolution, within the meaning of the legislation of 1886, and therefore that, in virtue of that legislation, the confessor has power to deal with all Papal cases, and with episcopal cases also, if the bishop so arranges. It is, of course, true that the power given by the legislation of 1886 is very wide, and, wherever faculties from that source are available the case

¹ There is no question here, of course, of those cases in which a specific intention is an essential part of the work enjoined, as, for example, a parish priest's obligation to offer Mass *pro populo*.

presents no difficulty. But we do not, without an authoritative decision, feel justified in holding that the mere fact that the penitent in question wishes to gain the plenary indulgence of the Jubilee immediately, *eo ipso*, places him within the meaning of the clause that gives special faculties to confessors in cases of urgent necessity. It will be observed that if this theory be true, the absolution would be given not in virtue of the Jubilee faculties, but, in virtue of the faculties derived from the legislation of 1886.

(d) Yet another solution suggests itself. Assuming, as before, that the first confession is the annual confession and cannot, therefore, avail as a condition for gaining the Jubilee, perhaps, we may contend that the Jubilee faculties are, nevertheless, in the circumstances, available at the annual confession. For, the use of the Jubilee faculties is not restricted to that one particular confession, which a penitent intends to be a fulfilment of the condition for gaining the Jubilee. The several faculties may be used at more than one confession, *v.g.*, made during the time that a person is fulfilling the other conditions with the requisite intention. There is no intrinsic reason why, in the case we are considering, the faculties should not be available, even at a confession, such as the annual confession, which cannot itself be a condition for the Jubilee. And though the Pope expressly lays down that the annual confession will not suffice as a condition for gaining the Jubilee, he does not state, expressly, at all events, that the extraordinary faculties will not be available, at the annual confession, for a person, who, having the intention of gaining the Jubilee indulgence, makes, whether from choice or necessity, his annual confession before his Jubilee confession. A parallel case suggests itself, in which, possibly, we may hold that the Jubilee faculties are available at a confession which cannot suffice as a condition for gaining the indulgence. Suppose that, not merely confession, but also absolution was necessary for all, as a condition for gaining the Jubilee. That was the fact, in certain Jubilees. And suppose that a man *bonâ fide* makes up his mind to gain the Jubilee and comes to confession. He does not, for some reason, let us suppose, wish to be

absolved on that occasion, or the confessor thinks it better to defer absolution. The penitent, however, at that confession, asks his confessor, by the exercise of his extraordinary faculties, to grant a dispensation of some kind. Can the confessor exercise his faculties? If he can we have a case, in which the extraordinary faculties are available at a confession which is distinct from the Jubilee confession, and which, moreover, could not, because there was no absolution, satisfy the condition for gaining the Jubilee indulgence. Similarly, perhaps, the Jubilee faculties are available at the annual confession in the case we are considering.

The solution just suggested has this advantage over that first named, that it does not run counter to any express recognised teaching of theologians generally. It has its own difficulties, however. Not the least of them is that of the few authors who have touched this question—for no author that we have seen discusses the matter expressly—no one seems to have adopted it. That fact is certainly against a solution itself is so obvious. We prefer that others should take the responsibility of saying whether the last—or any one—of the suggestions offered furnishes a satisfactory way out of the difficulty proposed. We can only express the hope that an authoritative decision may be had on the interesting point raised by so many of our correspondents.

D. MANNIX.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE ANGELUS AND THE PREFACE OF A REQUIEM MASS

REV. DEAR SIR,—I do not remember seeing any objection made anywhere to the first verb used in the English translation of the Angelus. At what date did the Angelus begin to be said in English, and have the first words always been translated thus? 'The Angel of the Lord declared unto Mary.' 'Declared' seems a very strange version of *nuntiavit*. What did Gabriel declare? The word is not even *annuntiavit* but *nuntiavit*, from *nuntius*, 'a message or messenger.' Would one be justified in making this little change for oneself in the Angelus? 'The Angel of the Lord brought a message to Mary, and she conceived of the Holy Ghost.'

Another more important change in the Liturgy would come less frequently into play, for it regards the Preface of a Requiem Mass.

The late Father Denis Murphy, S.J., was the least sentimental of men, especially in matters of devotion; yet he was the first that I ever heard urging—and he did so with much earnestness—the expediency of having a special Preface in the *Missa pro Defunctis*. I do not think that he knew at the time, what I have lately learned, that there is such a proper Preface for the Dead, allowed to be used in some places. In the *Missa pro Defunctis ex Missali Romano excerpta*, published by Mame of Tours in 1879, I find at page 9:—

'*Loco Praefationis communis, dicitur Praefatio sequens, ubi est concessa.*

'Vere dignum et justum est, aequum et salutare, nos tibi semper et ubique gratias agere, Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, aeternae Deus, per Christum Dominum nostrum. In quo nobis spem beatae resurrectionis concessisti, ut, dum naturam contristat certa moriendi conditio, fidem consoletur futurae immortalitatis promissio. Tuis enim fidelibus, Domine, vita mutatur, non tollitur; et, dissoluta terrestres hujus habitationis domo, aeterna in coelis habitatio comparatur. Et ideo cum Angelis et Archangelis, cum Thronis et Dominationibus, cumque omni militia coelestis exercitus, hymnum gloriae tuae canimus, sine fine dicentes: Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus,' etc.

'It is truly meet and just, right and salutary, that we should

always and everywhere give thanks to Thee, O holy Lord, almighty Father, eternal God, through Christ our Lord: in Whom Thou has granted to us the hope of a blessed resurrection, so that, while the certain condition of dying saddens nature, the promise of future immortality may console faith. For to Thy faithful, O Lord, life is changed, not taken away; and, the house of this earthly habitation being dissolved, there is prepared an everlasting habitation in heaven. And therefore with angels and archangels, with thrones and dominations, and with all the heavenly host, we sing a hymn to Thy glory, saying without end: Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord God of Hosts. The heavens and the earth are full of Thy glory, Hosanna in the highest. Blessed is He who cometh in the name of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest.'

To specialize thus to the Dead this portion of the Requiem Mass seems to be quite according to the spirit of the Church. She varies the Liturgy in their favour, and almost for them alone; omitting the psalm *Judica*, and transferring in some measure to the Dead the blessings given in other Masses to the priest himself and to the people. I can well imagine the personal devotion of the priest helped by the use of such a special Preface, *ubi est concessa*. In how many places has the privilege been obtained of using this special *Praefatio pro Defunctis*? Perhaps the present page may be read by some one who may have influence enough to spread this act of piety towards the faithful departed. It would, I think, in particular, add greatly to the devotion of priests assisting at a Requiem Office to hear these solemn and consoling words sung to the beautiful music of the Church by one of these sweet and impressive voices that are generally selected for such functions. The celebrant of a Requiem High Mass can generally sing, whatever may be said of the sub-deacon.

While there is question of modifications in the form of usual prayers, I may express my surprise that the 'Directio Intentionis' before Mass, *Ego volo celebrare Missam*, should ignore the Holy souls in Purgatory. *Curia triumphans* is a more suitable phrase for the Church in Heaven than *curia militans* for the Church on earth. Would not *ecclesia triumphans* and *ecclesia militans* be better? And ought not the *ecclesia patiens* be linked with them? *Scio hominem* who inserts here the words *ad solatium meorum defunctorum totiusque ecclesiae patientis*. The same person makes another addition to the concluding portion of the prayer which begins with *gaudium cum pace*, inserting before *tribuat nobis* the

words *et tandem felicem mortem vitamque aeternam*. It is strange that the first grace that the priest is taught to ask for should be joy—*gaudium cum pace*. One might think that peace would be enough to expect in this vale of tears. M. R.

HOW TO COMBAT INTemperance

REV. DEAR SIR,—There seems to be no question about which there is such unanimity of opinion as that drunkenness is a great and growing evil in Ireland. Year after year—and the present is no exception—the Lenten pastorals of the episcopacy of this country bear melancholy testimony to the ravages of intemperance, the horror with which the bishops regard it, and their anxiety that a great and speedy reform should take place in the habits of the people in this respect.

Volumes might be written on the appalling evils of intemperance—moral and physical degradation, poverty, ignorance, and crime. But why pursue that train of thought? Those hideous consequences of drink stare us in the face at every turn. What follows from it all? There is no escape from the conclusion, that here is an urgent, a vitally urgent matter, a matter in connection with which exhortations, and warnings, and denunciations, however eloquent and impassioned, have been proved to be insufficient. The duty of adopting practical measures is imperative.

Now, I will take the liberty of suggesting one practical measure. I turn to the episcopacy for guidance. In the pastoral letters which the archbishops and bishops of Ireland, assembled in synod at Maynooth, last autumn, addressed to Catholic Ireland, I find the following paragraph:—

‘We should wish, too, that the occasions of intemperance were reduced. The multiplication of public-houses out of all proportion to any possible needs of our people is a great wrong, and we anxiously desire to see a considerable reduction in the opportunities of drinking, which are thrown in the way of our working men on Saturday nights and Sundays.’

I invite attention to that important statement. There is question, be it noted, of ‘occasions of intemperance,’ and of ‘a great wrong’ inflicted on the people. Is it not, I ask, the duty of the priesthood of Ireland, who are charged with the spiritual shepherding of Christ’s flock, to adopt *practical* measures against ‘the occasions of intemperance,’ and the infliction of the ‘great

wrong' involved in the unnecessary multiplication of public-houses? Surely we are not going to allow that paragraph of the Synodal Address which I have quoted to remain a dead letter. The bishops have indicated a splendid field for activity, if we seriously desire to combat and check the evil they so eloquently deplore.

Has anything practical been done? As far as I know, absolutely nothing. That the solemn words of the pastoral have had no effect in checking the evil they denounce is notorious, for even since that pastoral was issued new licences have been granted all over the country, and under circumstances to which the words of the pastoral—'out of all proportion to any possible needs of our people'—are peculiarly applicable.

I know that many good easy people say: 'After all, what difference does one licence more or less make?' Ah! that practice of *laissez faire* has produced the present state of things, with all its demoralizing consequences. And I could point out too that the addition of even one licensed house to those already existing in a district does make a difference, and a very great difference. I shall indicate one point out of many. Every additional licence makes the struggle to make ends meet on the part of the publicans the greater; and even with all the outlay on drink in Ireland the support of such an immense army is no easy matter. If they are to support themselves they must and do sell vilely inferior liquor, so that the awful lines become literally and horribly true:—

'The vitriol madness rushes up in the ruffian's head,
Till the fithy by-lane rings to the yell of the trampled wife.'

But surely it is not necessary to labour this point? The pronouncement of the bishops on the undue multiplication of public-houses—which was not lightly made—puts the matter outside the region of controversy.

I can safely state, then, that in this country not one other public-house is necessary. I might go further and say that the abolition of many of those already existing would be a great blessing. I can also state, on the authority of the Maynooth pastoral, that the addition of any more licensed houses to the multitudinous array of those already in existence would aggravate to an intolerable degree an evil which has already reached very serious dimensions. It can scarcely be necessary to add that, out of all the licences which, in my experience, I have known to be granted, not one was justified on any ground of public utility.

Feeling that it is a matter which calls for prompt attention, I take the liberty of suggesting that the priests throughout the country should set about giving practical effect to that important paragraph of the bishops' pastoral by offering a strenuous opposition to the granting of any further licences on any plea whatsoever. I feel sure that such a policy of opposition would have the hearty approval of the episcopacy of Ireland.

There, Very Rev. Sir, is one practical suggestion. The zeal and experience of other priests will suggest other ways of grappling with this frightful evil. But whatever steps are to be taken to abate intemperance must be promptly taken.

Your obedient Servant,

ANTI-INTEMPERANCE.

TRANSLATION OF THE 'GLORIA PATRI'

REV. DEAR SIR,—Monsignor Molloy's scholarly exposition of the *short* Doxology, as it is called, to distinguish it from the *Gloria* of the Mass, suggests one plain question, to which I think a plain answer is not far to seek. The question is: What is the subject of *erat* in *Sicut erat in principio*, etc.? And the answer is (not *Gloria* obviously, but)—the sense of the formula immediately preceding; that is, three Persons in one God.

The final stanza in the hymns is only an expansion of the *Gloria Patri* and *Sicut erat*, of which the former dates from apostolic times, and the latter was expressly added by the first Ecumenical Council of Nice. In the formulary of belief, as framed by that council, the doctrine of the Unity of God and the Trinity of Persons is first set forth: 'I believe in one God the Father Almighty . . . and in Jesus Christ His only Son . . . I believe in the Holy Ghost;' and immediately after this last-mentioned article comes the condemnation, in formal terms, of the Arian doctrine—*Anathema* to all those who say *there was a time* when these *relations* did not exist in the Trinity. According to the Arian errors the name *Father* was inapplicable before the conception of Jesus; in other words, *Paternity*, *Sonship*, and *Spiration* or *Procession*, were not eternal, nor was there any natural generation in the Divinity. It was to meet this blasphemous doctrine that the attribute of *eternity* was emphasised in the addition to the Doxology: *As it was in the beginning*, etc. The Acts leave no doubt on the subject, and Theodoret is equally clear.

The Council of Vaison, held in 529, orders that *Sicut erat* be

recited after the *Gloria Patri* in that part of Gaul, inasmuch as the Goths had been attempting to corrupt the Catholic teaching by Arian doctrines. It is worthy of note that this synod distinctly states that in Italy, Greece, and all the Eastern churches, the custom of appending the *Sicut erat* had been already long and continuously maintained. Therefore, it was everywhere recognised that this addition was devised and understood as a distinct reprobation of Arianism.

We may often hear the simple people in some parts of Ireland insert the phrase 'one God' before 'world without end;' and, whatever we may think of their disregard for grammatical accuracy, we cannot find fault with their orthodoxy. I fancy ninety-nine out of every hundred Catholics understand the Doxology as I have explained it. It is an act of faith and praise; we profess our belief and offer our homage; there is no petition expressed in this formula. Even if we understood it as a prayer of petition, like 'Thy will be done,' it would not necessarily follow that there was any uncertainty about the accomplishment of what we ask for. However, the main object of this uplifting of the heart in praise is to give expression to our faith in and our homage towards the *three Eternal Persons* in one God.

E. M.

TRANSLATION OF THE 'GLORIA PATRI'

REV. DEAR SIR,—I would wish to submit to your consideration a few suggestions on a subject discussed in the February number of the I. E. RECORD. I refer to the received English translation of the *Gloria Patri*.

What I would submit is that the Response is not a prayer, but a profession of faith in the eternal existence of one God in three Divine Persons, *i.e.*, that it refers to the latter portion of the Versicle, and not to *Gloria*. My reasons for this opinion are the following:—

It has been my experience that the faithful generally (who have learned their usual prayers orally and not from books) give the Response thus: 'As it was in the beginning, so now and ever shall (it) be, one God, world without end.' Now, this is a fact; and how is it to be accounted for? I think it is but the explicit rendering of what is implicitly contained in the translation as written in books, and in the Latin itself.

Now let us examine the Latin form, and I think it will fully show this. In the first place the words *sicut . . . et* express an exact comparison, meaning just as . . . so also. We see examples of this meaning in Our Lord's Prayer—*Et dimitte nobis . . . sicut et nos dimittimus*; also in Rom. v.—*Sicut per unius delictum . . . sic et per unius justitiam*; and, in fact, it is the common meaning both in Scripture and in profane writers.

Now, for the sake of argument, let us suppose that the Response is a prayer. If so, it asks that glory be given to God both now and for all time and eternity. But what kind of glory will it be a prayer for? It is not *such kind as was given in the beginning*? For, certainly, the glory that was given in the beginning was not the glory given by creatures, but God's own internal glory. And it is equally certain that the Church does not pray that God's internal glory be given to Him, but that His external glory be increased. For the actions of men cannot touch the internal glory of God, and the Church prays only for the end that men can reach.

The thing, then, to be determined is what is meant by *in principio*. If it refers to the eternity of the past, before creatures were made, I think it shows that it is not with *Gloria*, but with the Three Persons of the Blessed Trinity that the Response agrees. And that it does refer to eternity, I think, is clear.

First, it is the term used by St. John to express 'from all eternity'—*In principio erat Verbum*, and it is the common phrase used by all to express the same idea. It is only reasonable then to give it the same meaning here, *especially when mention of the three Divine Persons immediately precedes*.

Secondly, this meaning appears very probable when we consider the reference made in the Response to different portions of duration.

Now, *semper* here has not the same meaning as *per omnia saecula saeculorum*. For, at least, the whole clause is very condensed; and there is nothing so opposed to condensation as tautology. What, then, does *semper* refer to? and what does *per omnia saecula saeculorum* refer to? The most probable opinion is that *semper* refers to *all time, both present and past* (for this fits in with the condensation of the whole); and that *per omnia saecula saeculorum* refers to eternity when time shall be no more. The present time, the *nunc*, is the duration most prominent in the mind: it is the turning point of the whole. Consequently we

should expect to see the arms of the scale equally balanced. [I would ask you to note here that this is more than a mere metaphor. For the whole scale of duration is ever passing from one side to the other—from the future to the past—and the *nunc* is the fixed point between.] Now, on the one side—in the future—we have reference to time and eternity; on the other—in the past—we should expect to have reference also to time and eternity. *Semper* refers to time, and so *in principio* must be taken as referring to eternity.

The conclusion of the whole, then, is that *Gloria* is not the subject of the Response. Consequently it must be God. And if we suppose this all the difficulties cease; nay, they even demand such a conclusion.

Again, the construction of the whole sentence itself tends to prove this. For the Response, in every view, is an adjectival form of expression, and is it not reasonable to suppose that it agrees with the subject nearest it, especially when other reasons seem to require it?

And, finally, it is conformable to the spirit of the liturgy which so often, in the ending of prayers, expresses the same truth that 'Jesus Christ, the Son, . . . with the Father and the Holy Ghost, liveth and reigneth for ever and ever.'

On the whole, then, the received translation seems to me to be correct. It expresses implicitly, as does the Latin, the view I have put forward; and, as Monsignor Molloy himself shows, it certainly does not express a prayer. Consequently the received translation itself is in favour of this view.

Yours respectfully,

P. M. W.

DOCUMENTS

CIRCULAR LETTER OF THE S. CONGREGATION OF BISHOPS AND REGULARS REGARDING INSTITUTIONS WITH SIMPLE VOWS SEEKING APPROBATION

EX S. CONGR. EPISC. ET REGULARIUM

LITTERAE CIRCULARES, QUIBUS ORDINARIJ LOCORUM MONENTUR, UT
SUB SIGILLO ET DIRECTE AD SACRAM CONGREGATIONEM MITTANT
LITTERAS COMMENDATIONIS FAVORE INSTITUTORUM, SIMPLICIUM
VOTORUM, EXPOSCEMUR APOSTOLICAM APPROBATIONEM

PERILLUSTRIS AC REVERENDISSIME DOMINE UTI FRATER,

Usuvenit postremis hisce temporibus, ut Moderatores seu Moderatrices Institutorum vota simplicia nuncupantium hanc S. Congregationem Episcoporum et Regularium adeuntes, ad effectum impetrandi Decretum laudis vel approbationem respectivi Instituti sive constitutionum, una cum supplici libello allegent etiam commendatitias litteras patenter ipsis datas ab Ordinariis locorum, in quibus proprii Instituti sodales commorantur. Porro, per huiusmodi agendi rationem, contingere facile potest, ut Sacrorum Antistites haud plena gaudeant libertate plane aperiendi animi sui sensum, et aliquando forsitan impediuntur quominus S. Congregationem distincte doceant de nonnullis rerum adiunctis, quae ad recte iudicandum de precum merito utilia vel etiam necessaria forent.

Quare haec eadem S. Congregatio, quo tutius in re tam gravi procedi possit, omnes et singulos Ordinarios monendos esse censuit, ut quotiescumque, in posterum, ab Institutis votorum simplicium postulentur commendationes ad assequendum Decretum laudis seu approbationem Apostolicam, litteras ipsis oratoribus patenter ne tradant, sed eas cum opportunis informationibus et proprio voto, pro rei veritate et iustitia, directe ad S. Congregationem, sub sigillo, transmittant.

Haec itaque, pro meo munere, significo Amplitudini Tuae, cui fausta omnia a Domino adprecor.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria S. Congregationis Episcoporum et Regularium die 22 Iunii 1900.

F. H. M. Card. GOTTI, *Praefectus*.

A. PANICI, *Secretarius*.

DECRETE OF THE SACRED CONGREGATION OF STUDIES

EX S. CONGREGATIONE STUDIORUM

DECRETUM: OPORTET UT AD S. CONGREGATIONEM STUDIORUM
MITTATUR EXEMPLAR CUIUSVIS OPERIS QUOD PUBLICETUR A
PERSONIS, UNIVERSITATIBUS CATHOLICIS ADDICTIS

ILLME. AC REVME. DOMINE.

Summopere laetandum in catholicis Athenaeis vel Facultatibus canonice erectis viros adesse, qui, editis operibus, sacras praesertim disciplinas illustrent et ab insectatorum erroribus, nimis hoc aevo effrenate disseminatis, strenue vindicare satagunt, ut inde catholica veritas, omnium scientiarum amica, magis magisque splendescat.

Quum autem quidquid praeclarum in lucem profertur ex praedictis Facultatibus, in decus ac solatium quoque cedat huius S. Congregationis, studiis regundis praepositae, facile comperitur quam maxime intersit, ut eadem S. Congregatio cognoscat quae evulgantur opera ab iis, qui eisdem Facultatibus sunt addicti. Ne horum opera in posterum manibus aliorum et praesertim discipulorum versentur, quin perspecta sint huic S. Congregationi, quod prudenti consilio cautum fuit in percelebri Constitutione felic. record. Leonis XII, quae incipit *Quod divina Sapientia*, in mentem omnium revocandum censuimus, videlicet, ut quique vel docendi vel alio munere funguntur apud Athenaea vel Facultates quae iure ad nos pertinent, unum exemplar cuiusque operis quod ediderint, ad Sacram Congregationem, veluti argumentum obsequii, mittere teneantur.

Cum de re agatur haud levis momenti, Cancellarii cuiusque Facultatis, ea qua par est sedulitate curabunt ut huiusmodi lex omnibus innotescat atque insuper ut mittantur etiam ephemerides quascumque stato tempore prodeunt.

Datum a Secretaria Sacrae Congregationis Studiorum die 10 Februarii 1900.

FRANCISCUS Card. SATOLLI, *Praefectus*.

ASCENSUS DANDINI, *a Secretis*.

MAY A HERETIC BE ALLOWED TO ACT AS GODFATHER?

E S. R. UNIV. INQUISITIONE

AN PERMITTI POSSIT UT HAERETICUS ADMITTATUR UT PATRINUS
BEATISSIMO PADRE,

L'Arcivescovo N. N., prostrato ai piedi della S.V., umilmente chiede se possa permettere ad un protestante che faccia patrino nel battesimo cattolico di una figlia di coniugi di mista religione, sposati solo innanzi al ministro eretico.

Che ecc.

Feria IV, die 27 Iunii 1900.

In Congregatione Generali ab Emis. ac Rmis. DD. Cardinalibus Generalibus Inquisitoribus habita, proposito suprascripto dubio, praehabitoque RR. DD. Consultorum voto, iidem EE. ac RR. Patres respondendum mandarunt :

Permitti non posse.

Sequenti vero feria V, loco VI, die 28 eiusdem mensis et anni, in solita audientia SS. D. N. Leonis Div. Prov. Pp. XIII a R. P. D. Adessore S. Officii habita, SSmus. D. N. resolutionem EE. ac RR. Patrum approbavit.

I. Can. MANCINI, S. R. et U. Iquisit. Notarius.

THE SECRETS OF THE HOLY OFFICE

CONCEDITUR ARCHIEP. N. UT COMMUNICARE POSSIT SUO VICARIO
GENERALI NEGOTIA S. OFFICII

BEATISSIMO PADRE,

L'Arcivescovo N. N., prostrato ai piedi della S. V., divotamente espone che, avendo bisogno talvolta di comunicare al suo Vicario Generale le cose del S. Officio, affinché possa anch'egli vigilare per la loro esatta esecuzione, supplica umilmente per la necessaria facoltà di far ciò sotto lo stesso segreto del S. Officio.

Feria IV, die 11 Iulii.

In Congregatione Generali ab EE. ac RR. DD. Cardinalibus Generalibus Inquisitoribus habita, propositis supradictis precibus praehabitoque RR. DD. Consultorum voto, iidem EE. ac RR. Patres respondendum mandarunt :

In voto Archiepiscopi, facto verbo cum SSmo.

Sequent vero feria VI, die 13 eiusdem mensis et anni, in audientia SS. D. N. Leonis Div. Prov. Pp. XIII a R. P. D. Adsessore S. Officii habita, idem D. N. benigne annuit pro gratia.

I. Can. MANCINI S. R. et U. Inquisit. Notarius.

**SUBDELEGATION IN THE CASE OF THE MARRIAGE OF
'VAGI'**

**CIRCA SUBDELEGATIONEM PRO JURAMENTO SUPPLETORIO IN ORDINE
AD MATRIMONIUM VAGORUM**

BEATISSIMO PADRE,

Il Vescovo N. N., prostrato ai piedi della S. V., umilmente espone che gravi ragioni, non esclusa quella della lontananza dei luoghi, spesso non permettono che a ricevere il giuramento suppletorio pei matrimoni dei vaghi siano suddelegati i Vicarii Foranei, tornando assai più opportuno che tale suddelegazione sia data al Parroco o al Vice-parroco del luogo. Supplica perciò che gli sia concessa tale facoltà, non ostante che i Parroci o i Vice parroci non possano forse riputarsi *personae insignes et idoneae*, a tenore della Istruzione del S. Ufficio del 21 Agosto, 1676, e come furono ritenuti i Vicarii foranei con risposta del S. Ufficio del 24 febbraio 1847, al dubbio VII. — E poiché il Vescovo supplicante si accinge a celebrare il Sinodo Diocesano, ossequiosamente chiede se il detto Sinodo possa delegare abitualmente i Parroci e i Reggenti le parrocchie vacanti a ricevere siffatti giuramente suppletori.

Che ecc.

Feria IV, die 8 Augusti, 1900.

In Congregatione Generali S. R. et U. Inquisitionis coram EE. et RR. DD. Cardinalibus Generalibus Inquisitoribus habita, propositis praedictis precibus praehabitoque RR. DD. Consultorum voto EE. ac RR. DD. Cardinales respondendum mandarunt:

'Ad mentem. Mens est quod non expedit in Synodo Dioecessana insertio, de qua in precibus. Ceterum Episcopus utatur facultate biennali, quam habet ab hac Suprema Congregatione, vi cuius quemcumque parochum subdelegare potest ad iuramentum suppletorium recipiendum.'

Sequenti vero Feria VI, die 10 eiusdem mensis et anni, in audientia SS. D. N. Leonis Div. Prov. Pp. XIII a R. P. D. Adsessore S. Officii habita, SS. D. N. resolutionem EE. ac RR. Patrum adprobavit.

I. Can. MANCINI S. R. et U. Inquisit. Notarius.

DIFFICULTIES REGARDING ORDINATION

CIRCA ORDINATIONEM PRESBYT. IN QUA DENEGATUS EST CONSENSUS
AB ORDINANDO SCRUPULOSO

BEATISSIMO PADRE,

L'Arcivescovo N. N. prostrato ai piedi della S. V., umilmente espone quanto appresso.

Un prete buonissimo della sua diocesi, ma tormentato da scrupoli, dubitando della propria fede nell'atto della ordinazione presbiterale, ricusò il suo consenso a ciascuna parte dell'ordinazione, proponendo così:—' Affinchè io più tardi non abbia dubbio alcuno sulla invalidità di questa mia ordinazione, dichiaro di non voler essere ordinato: la mia ordinazione avrà luogo un'altra volta: non osando uscir di chiesa, ora farò solo che sembri ai miei compagni di essere ordinato.'

Coerentemente a questa intenzione, non proferì le parole della consacrazione, credendole essenziali alla validità dell'ordinazione: non intese ricevere la potestà di rimettere i peccati: avendo solo subita la materiale imposizione delle mani del Vescovo ordinante; neppure intese di promettere obbedienza al Vescovo, volendolo poi fare un'altra volta, quando sarebbe di nuovo ordinato.

Da fededegne informazioni intanto si ha che questi serbò condotta lodevolissima in tutto il tempo trascorso in seminario ed ardentemente desiderava il sacerdozio; che il dì dell'ordinazione vi andò di sua piena volontà, e che il dì seguente alla ordinazione, confortato dal confessore a disprezzare lo scrupolo, celebro la sua prima messa.

Stante tutto ciò l'umile oratore chiede se può considerarsi valida la detta ordinazione.

Che ecc.

Feria IV, die 28 Novembris 1900.

In Congregatione Generali S. R. et U. Inquisitionis, ab EEEmis. et RRmis. DD. Cardinalibus Generalibus Inquisitoribus habita, proposito praedicto casu, praehabitoque RR. DD. Consultorum voto, iidem EE. ac RR. Patres rescribendum mandarunt:

'Ordinationem esse iterandam ex integro sub conditione et secreto quocumque die, facto verbo cum SSmo. ut suppleat de thesauro Ecclesiae, quatenus opus sit, pro Missis celebratis ut in casu.'¹

¹ Quando positive deficit consensus in ordinando, nulla est ordinatio. Sed in casu, quum agatur de scrupuloso, dubitari potest utrum plene ac libere denegaverit consensum; et ideo S. Congr. praecipit ut sub conditione reiteretur ordinatio.

Sequenti vero feria VI, die 30 eiusdem mensis et anni, in solita audientia SSmi. D. N. Leonis Div. Prov. Pp. XIII a R. P. D. Adessore S. Officii habiti, SSmus. resolutionem EE. ac RR. Patrum adprobavit, ac gratiam benigne concessit.

I. Can. MANCINI, S. R. et U. Inquisit. Notarius.

DIFFICULTIES REGARDING ORDINATION

IN ORDINATIONE PRESB. EPISCOPUS OMISIT, ET DEIN PROTULIT PARTEM VERBORUM QUAE PROFERUNTUR IN UNCTIONE MANUUM: 'ACQUIESCAT'

BEATISSIME PATER,

Episcopus N. N., in ordinatione presbyterorum, cum pervenit ad unctionem manuum, unxit quidem manus singulorum proferens verba *Consecrare et sanctificare digneris*. . . usque ad verbum *Amen*; et clausit singulorum manus eas benedicens, sed non subiunxit alia verba: *ut quaecumque benedixerint benedicantur* etc., usque ad secundum *Amen*.

Haec autem omissio fuit omnino involuntaria, immo provenit etiam ob magnam attentionem, qua Episcopus proferebat prima verba simul cum unctione manuum; et provenit etiam eo quod inter prima verba et ea quae omissa fuere intercedit rubrica.

Cum autem ultimus ordinatus, modo supra dicto acceperit manuum unctionem, Episcopus animadvertit omissionem verborum: *quaecumque* etc., nimia anxietate correptus, Dei auxilio in corde suo invocato, protulit verba omissa, videlicet: *ut quaecumque benedixerint benedicantur et quaecumque consecraverint* etc. cum intentione ea proferendi super omnes neopresbyteros qui coram eo adstabant, putans ita reparare omissionem.

Episcopus autem anxius de hac re, petit utrum possit acquiescere.

Feria IV, die 28 Novembris 1900.

In Congregatione Generali S. R. et U. Inquisitionis, ab EEEmis. et RRmis. DD. Cardinalibus Generalibus Inquisitoribus habita, proposito praedicto dubio, praehabitoque RR. DD. Consultorum voto, iidem EE. ac RR. Patres respondendum mandarunt:

Acquiescat.

Sequenti vero Feria VI, die 30 eiusdem mensis et anni, in Audientia SS. D. N. Leonis Div. Prov. Pp. XIII a R. P. D. Adessore S. Officii habita, SSmus. resolutionem EE. ac RR. Patrum adprobavit.

I. Can. MANCINI S. R. et U. Inquisit. Notarius.

**PROLONGATION OF THE TIME FOR RECONSTITUTING
CONFRATERNITIES OF THE HOLY ROSARY**

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE INDULGENTIARUM

**PROROGATUR AD ALIUM ANNUM TEMPUS UTILE PRO CONFRATERNI-
TATIBUS SS. ROSARII REORDINANDIS**

BEATISSIMO PADRE,

Il Procuratore Generale dell'Ordine dei Predicatori, P. Fr. Giacinto M. Cormier, umilmente prostrato al bacio del S. Piede, espone alla Santità Vostra che con Rescritto della S. Congregazione delle Indulgenze in data 8 settembre 1899, veniva concessa la dilazione di un anno a tutte le Confraternite del Santissimo Rosario, che a norma della Costituzione Apostolica *Ubi primum*, n. 3, non essendo in regola, dovevano ciò fare; e prevedendo che, ancora oltre il termine di detta concessione, sarà necessaria tale facoltà pel bene delle anime e pel luero delle Indulgenze, umilmente supplica si degni la Santità Vostra accordare una benigna proroga del citato Rescritto per un altro anno.

Che ecc.

Ex Audientia Sanctissimi die septembris 1900.

Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Leo Papa XIII benigne annuit pro petita prorogatione ad alium annum a data praesentium computandum, servata forma ac tenore praecedentis concessionis. Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus. Datum Romae ex Secretaria S. Congregationis Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praeposita die 28 septembris, 1900.

D. Card. FERRATA, *Praefectus*.

Loco ✠ Sigil.

FRANCISCUS ARCHIEPISCOPUS AMID., *Secretarius*.

**METHOD OF DOING THE STATIONS OF THE CROSS IN THE
CHAPELS OF RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES**

INSTITUTI FRATRUM MARISTARUM A SCHOLIS

**CIRCA METHODUM PERAGENDI VIAM CRUCIS IN SACELLIS COMMUNI-
TATUM RELIGIOSARUM**

Procurator Generalis Instituti Fratrum Maristarum a Scholis huic S. Indulgentiarum Congni sequentia dubia dirimenda proponit:

Quum ex Decreto S. C. Indulg. dñei 6 Aug. 1757 in tuto

positum sit pium exercitium Viae Crucis peragi aliquando posse absque motu locali de una statione ad aliam ; sed juxta methodum a S. Leonardo a Portu Mauritio praescriptam in publico exercitio, unoquoque de populo locum suum tenente Sacerdos possit cum duobus clericis sive cantoribus circumire ac sistere in qualibet statione, ibique recitare consuetas preces, modo quaeritur :

I. An ista methodus item servari queat, ob loci angustiam, in Sacellis domorum Communitatum religiosarum.

Et quatenus affirmative :

II. An loco sacerdotis cum duobus clericis, unus tantum e fratribus non sacerdos circumire ac sistere in qualibet statione suetasque preces recitare valeat.

Porro S. Congregatio, audito unius ex Consultoribus voto, praefatis dubiis respondendum mandavit :

Affirmative ad utrumque.

Datum Romae ex Seceria ejusdem S. Congregationis die 27 Februarii 1901.

LUCIDUS M. Card. PAROCCHI,

FRANCISCUS ARCHIEP. AMIDEN., *Secarius*.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

SERMONS ON THE BLESSED SACRAMENT: and especially for the Forty Hours' Adoration. From the German of Dr. Scheurer. Edited by the Rev. F. X. Lasance. New York: Benziger Brothers, 1900. Price, 6s.

THIS volume contains twenty-one sermons on the Blessed Sacrament with a preface giving an historical sketch of the origin of the Forty Hours' Adoration. It contains solid dogmatic teaching put in a pleasing, and, sometimes, even attractive form. If language be the reflex of thought, the author of the present volume of sermons is a man who is certainly imbued with a deep practical, and personal love for his 'hidden God,' and whose sole aim is to enkindle the same sacred flame in the hearts of those who will have the happiness to read them. We think, however, the title 'sermons' is a misnomer—they are altogether too diffuse, and partake to much of the nature of conferences, to come under that head. But, whatever about the title, we have no hesitation in saying that neither priest nor layman can read them carefully without being deeply impressed by them, and that the former will find therein many beautiful thoughts and suggestions by putting which before the people, he will, doubtless, make his Sacramental Lord better known and better loved.

P. V. H.

ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI. By the Rev. Leopold de Chérancé, O.S.F.C. Authorized translation from the French by R. F. O'Connor. Dublin: Sealy, Bryers, & Walker. Price, 3s. 6d.

THIS work has already gone through seven editions in the original French, while it now appears for the third time in an English garb. Such success is ample evidence of merit. Moreover several eminent ecclesiastics, including Cardinals Logue and Vaughan, have bestowed upon it the highest praise. Cardinal Vaughan says:—'It is one of the most popular biographies of the saint that I know—graphic, attractive, tinged with spiritual ardour, and a most striking portrait of the man and of the day in which his life was set.'—(Introduction, p. xxvii.) Altogether it is an

eminently readable, while at the same time a solidly useful volume, the fruit of very careful and sympathetic study of the subject. The publishers have done their part well, too, and given us a very handsome book.

P. F.

ARDAGH, LONGFORD. *Its Ancient and Present Glory.* By John Monahan, Doctor of Divinity, Dean of Ardagh and Clonmacnoise. Dublin: Sealy, Bryers & Walker. 1901. Price, 6d.

THE distinguished Dean of Ardagh and Clonmacnoise, who had already collected and published most valuable memoirs of his native diocese, has now furnished us with this interesting account of the historic parish of Ardagh. With great learning and eloquence he traces the history of the parish from the days of St. Patrick, St. Brigid and St. Mel to those of Dean Farrelly, Archdeacon Reynolds and Canon O'Farrell. The subject calls forth all the Dean's literary powers with the result that the parish remains covered with a regular halo of glory. It would be quite impossible for us in a short notice of this kind to give any idea of the wealth of knowledge, the richness of illustration, the fine poetic flights of fancy with which the pamphlet abounds. Character sketches are now the order of the day, and we should like to refer our readers to the life-like touches with which St. Patrick and St. Mel are held up before the mind's eye. What again could be more realistic than the description of Archdeacon Reynolds?—'a priest of gigantic intellect, robust constitution, high collegiate distinctions, noble ideals and great energies.' Best of all the Dean's pamphlet has a practical eye to business. The present distinguished parish priest of Ardagh, Canon O'Farrell, is building a tower and spire to his handsome church. The work is approaching completion 'but the funds for its payment are not as near their last shilling or pound as it is to its last stone.' A bazaar is the only way out of the difficulty, and it is mainly to help the bazaar this pamphlet has been written. Need we say that under the circumstances we hope the pamphlet may have a very wide sale. There are a few inaccuracies to which we may be permitted to draw the Dean's attention.

Monsignor Molloy, although we freely admit with the author that he is the 'decus and tutamen' of the establishment over which he presides, is not Rector of the Royal University, but of the *Catholic University*. The Catholic University library, to

which the author alludes, is no longer in Clonliffe College. St. Donatus of Fiesole did not go to Italy in the sixth century but in the ninth. The extract from Dr. Johnson's epitaph on Goldsmith's memorial in Westminster Abbey is not quite accurate, and the French adage 'On n'est jamais *pas* trahi que par les siens' must have escaped the author's vigilant eye.

All these, however, are the merest surface blemishes and only serve to bring into stronger relief the other excellent qualities of the pamphlet.

J. F. H.

THE BEAUTY OF CHRISTIAN DOGMA. By Jules Souben.
London: R. & T. Washbourne.

THE book before us is a translation from the French, and we regret that it has appeared. Père Souben, the author of the original, belongs to an order—the Benedictine—which has done much to bring home to educated minds in France and elsewhere the singular loveliness of every department of Catholic ritual. In this work his purpose was to present the glorious dogmas of our faith in a becoming literary apparel, and so, perchance, win for them that hearing which their unadorned truth might not meet with from prejudiced minds, or, at least, render their intrinsic beauty still more evident to eyes of faith. Style, therefore, was all important for his success, as those to whom the work was primarily addressed were precisely such as would be immediately repelled by any failure in this particular respect. French, doubtless, is a far more perfect medium than Saxon for an essay of this kind; still, even in this latter tongue, a practised literary hand might do justice, in a translation, to at least a portion of the original. Unfortunately, the translator in the present instance, despite his good intentions, was not such, and the result has been that most, if not all, of the work is spoiled.

Three Greek words occur in the book. They are all together on page 2. The first of them is misspelled, and in each of the others there is an obvious error in the breathing mark. On page 4 we come across the word 'foundedst,' which is rather ugly-looking and difficult to pronounce. The following sentence is not precisely such as would fall pleasantly on cultured ears:—'God engenders it is true; but He engenders as a God alone can engender' (page 21). We learn on page 121 that the sinner must bring to confession 'a sorrow of his sins resulting in a motive of

supernatural contrition ;' on page 132 that ' a miracle is a sensitive phenomena ;' and on the next that ' the accomplishment of a prophecy, the object of which could not be foretold,' is a sign of divine intervention. The Apostle of the Lepers appears as Fr. Damain, and we find a bearded warrior described as the Infant of Portugal. We note also that ' the sun reflects' the golden crosses on the Cathedral of Ceuta, as well as the fact that portion of a beautiful passage from Calderon, on page 166, is so translated as to have no meaning.

All these blemishes, as well as others we have not mentioned, taken in conjunction with the fact that there is no real finish in any portion of the style, would be quite sufficient to mar our author's production completely, addressed, as it has been, to persons particularly susceptible on these points.

We had hoped that the tasteful exterior of the book betokened due care on the part of the publisher ; but in this we were disappointed. By way of *coda* he gives us over again, bound in black paper, from page 241 to the end. Such carelessness, in a book of this kind, is inexcusable.

P. S.

LIFE AND TIMES OF ST. BENEDICT, PATRIARCH OF THE MONKS OF THE WEST. Abridged and arranged by O. S. B. from the German of Very Rev. Dom Peter Lechner, late Prior of the Benedictine Abbey of Scheyern, in Bavaria. London: Burns and Oates, Ltd. 1900. Price, 5s.

THE life of a saint like St. Benedict, a king among saints, hero among heroes, gives the soul and essence of Church history. This book puts the saint before us as he really was when he walked among men. It gives us a true picture, for it has been painted under the potent inspiration of filial love. Such books give us a far more real and vital grasp of the truths of which the lives of the saints is the realization than any sermon. They bind us in living connection with the grand old traditions, the traditional Catholic spirit of the ages of faith. And yet this little book continually reminds us that St. Benedict was a real, living man—a man such as we are. We feel this when we read the chapters that tell of his holy sister, St. Scholastica, and his favourite disciples, Marius and Placid. There are three deeply interesting chapters on the Rule of St. Benedict, wherein we catch many

glimpses of the human character of the saint. No doubt this effort to show us the saint as a man is the secret of the life and reality of the picture. The life of the father of Western monasticism is appropriately introduced by a brief account of the nature of religious life. Several chapters of contemporary history enable us to know in what surroundings Benedict initiated and gave concrete shape to those influences that have so profoundly affected the history of the Church. Still it is not a book for historical study so much as for spiritual reading. It must be read in the spirit in which it was written—a spirit that is unworldly and supernatural. The author has done a good work in giving us a true picture of a noble saint; the translator has done his part well; and the eminent Catholic firm have come up fully to their own high standard.

P. F.

INDEX TO THE 'AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW.'

THE general index announced some months ago by the *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, 211, South Sixth-street, Philadelphia, Pa., has just reached us, and its value from the reader's standpoint can hardly be over-estimated.

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Thirty-fourth Year]
No. 401.

MAY, 1901.

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THE ORIGIN OF THE SCAPULAR

A NEW ESSAY ON AN OLD SUBJECT—FROM ORIGINAL SOURCES

RICHARD, Earl of Cornwall, nephew of Richard Cœur-de-Lion, younger son of King John and brother of King Henry III. of England, took the Cross at Winchester in 1236, thereby binding himself to proceed at the earliest convenience to the east for the rescue of the Holy Land which was threatened by the Saracens. Many noblemen were present on the occasion and solemnly pledged themselves to accompany the gallant and popular earl. Such an expedition required long preparations, not the least important part of which were negotiations with the King, the Emperor and the Pope, all of whom, though for different reasons, endeavoured to prevent the departure of the Crusaders. Thus it came to pass that only in June, 1240, the earl presented himself in the chapter-house of the abbey of St. Alban, some thirty miles from London, to recommend himself and his companions to the pious prayers of the fathers and brothers during his absence. A short ride brought him to the capital where he took leave of the king, and on June 10th of the aforesaid year he took sail at Dover.¹ Unfortunately we do not possess a complete list of the knights who thus went to war with the infidels; only a few names have been

¹ Matthew of Paris, *Rolls' Series*, 2,391 and 437.

preserved by the writer of a valuable manuscript now at the British Museum in London,¹ but not one of those with whom we shall have to deal in the following pages. The feast of St. John Baptist, 24th of June, was spent in Paris, and at the beginning of the following month Richard met the powerful Simon de Montfort at Marseilles, where the whole army went on board ship. On the 8th of October they arrived at St. Jean d'Acre, whence they proceeded to Jaffa, and later on to Ascalon, which they fortified. Although we hear nothing of pitched battles or great sieges, there must have been many a skirmish, and several of the English knights lost their lives.

However, more was done by way of treaty than by the sword. Ascalon having been handed over to the representatives of the emperor, the Crusaders bethought themselves of their return to Europe. Following the shore line they passed through Jaffa and reached Acre in due time. Their way led them to Mount Carmel, and some of the knights, if not the whole army, went to visit the grotto where the great prophet Elias had been praying two thousand years ago. It happened that among the numerous Carmelite friars there were several Englishmen, who, at the invitation of the Crusaders, and with the permission of the prior, were willing to accompany the army to their native country.² How many of the religious availed themselves of this opportunity we do not know, but there cannot have been less than twelve, and perhaps there were twice or three times as many. Their leaders were Friar Ralph Freshburn, a Northumbrian, who most probably had come to the Holy Land in the suite of Richard Cœur-de-Lion (1190), and who was now a venerable old man and priest, and Friar Yvo of Brittany, a relative of the prior. It is possible, though by no means certain, that St. Simon Stock himself was one of their number.³ On

¹ Cotton. Nero D.V.

² William of Sandwich (Guil. Sanvico) says distinctly that the Crusaders arrived in 1240, and after many a warlike action, on their return to England, took some of the friars *ex devotione*. Riboti, 9, 3. The evidence of this eyewitness is especially valuable.

³ The history of the early life of St. Simon Stock is so hopelessly confused that we shall not attempt to reconcile the contradictory dates. None of the published lives are of any historical value.

the 3rd of May, 1241, the Crusaders, together with the Carmelites, left Palestine. The Earl of Cornwall tarried for several months in Sicily, but the remainder proceeded direct to England, where they arrived towards the end of the year. The king was spending Christmas at Westminster, and was surrounded by the entire nobility, who had come to bid farewell to the Papal nuncio, who was on his way to the Continent.¹ On Christmas Eve the Carmelites were presented to the king by Lord William de Vescy, Baron of Alnwick, in Northumberland, and Lord Richard Grey, Baron of Codnor, who had been instrumental in bringing them over from the Holy Land. It is not known whether Sir Thomas FitzAucher, Sir Ralph de Hempnale (or Hemenhale), and Sir William Calthorpe, knights, had taken part in the Crusade, or whether they made the acquaintance of the Carmelites at court; but no sooner had the king granted permission than these five noblemen assigned places on their several estates for the foundation of Carmelite convents. The friars professed to be hermits, and their dwellings were as far removed from the bustle of towns as was possible in a populous country such as England. The two last-named noblemen gave them a small property near a hamlet called Bradmer, in Norfolk; but after a short time this house was transferred to Burnham-Norton, where it acquired some importance. Sir Thomas FitzAucher assigned some acres of land at Newenden, Parish Losenham, not far from Hastings. But neither of these foundations could vie with those of the high and mighty barons. Lord William de Vescy, whose ancestors, ever since the Conquest, had been Barons of Alnwick, and whose son did not think the Scottish crown too precious an ornament for himself, invited Friar Ralph Freshburn to Northumberland, and left it to himself to choose a suitable place for the future convent. A whole day the friar walked through the extensive grounds belonging to the castle. Nothing, however, seemed to please him. Utterly exhausted, he at length threw himself on the

¹ Matthew Paris, *loc. cit.*

ground to take a moment's rest. He drove his stick into the ground, repeating the words of the Psalmist: 'If I shall give sleep to my eyes or slumber to my eyelids until I find out a place for the Lord, a tabernacle for the God of Jacob.' Nevertheless, he soon fell asleep; and when he woke up, lo! where he had planted his stick a crystal stream was murmuring, and the site, which at first seemed to have no charms, now reminded him forcibly of Mount Carmel itself. 'This,' he exclaimed, 'is my rest for ever and ever. Here will I dwell, for I have chosen it.'¹

Indeed, he could have chosen no more beautiful site. It has been the happy lot of the writer of this article to visit the spot time and again. Leaving Alnwick, with its gigantic castle, a walk (or drive, as the case may be) of three miles leads to 'Huln Abbey,' the ancient Carmelite convent. A steep decline brings the wanderer from the small town, with its strong walls, its gates, its fastness, to an immense plain, at the entrance of which once stood Alnwick Abbey, a monastery of White Canons (Praemonstratensians), of which nothing is preserved except the huge gate-tower and the foundations of the monastic buildings; but anyone who has a knowledge of mediæval architecture will be able to re-construct in his mind the whole fabric. Along the meandering river Aln, across meadows, under the shade of trees, some of which have certainly seen the Carmelites in their white mantles, the road leads to a little eminence, divided from the wooded slopes of the Brizlee hills by a deep ravine.

This eminence is in reality a plateau of many acres in circumference, and here the strong walls of the convent encompass a perfectly unique ruin. Alas, that it should be a ruin! The old entrance gate stood where the ravine is most steep and the road most narrow. A gate-house with a tower, stables, hospice, guests' chapel, formed the out-quarters. The monastery itself occupied the centre of the enclosure. Of the church two walls are preserved, the cloister is partly pulled down, the chapter-house, the sacristy, the kitchen, are without roof; but a most minute survey, made a few

¹ Ps. cxxxi. 4, 5, and 14. All the details are taken from the sources.

years since with the assistance of an older survey taken immediately after the secularisation, has enabled the architect to retrace every single part of the building, and to draw a plan which shows the use of every corner of the friary. Being so far removed from human commerce, this house played a very secondary part in the history of the Order. Nevertheless, a certain number of documents have been preserved. Thus, we own a small volume of vellum, written about the middle of the fourteenth century and containing the charters, twenty in number, granted by the Barons of Alnwick (afterwards the Earls of Northumberland) and various Popes to this house.¹ We even possess the complete catalogue of the library, and an inventory of the sacristy, showing what books at a given moment were in the hands of Friar So-and-so, and what vestments were used at the high altar, what hangings adorned the rood screen. We are told how many cows the friars possessed, how many faggots of brush-wood they might take home from the woods, and how much money was spent on the repair of the roofs. It would be a serious mistake to believe that Huln Abbey ever was rich. As early as 1253, the then Archdeacon of Northumberland, Thomas of Hertford, brother to the Lord Abbot of St. Alban's, chose it for his burial 'because it was so poor.' For he was a devotee of holy poverty.² Yet he was not the only 'uncanonised saint' as the chronicler of England, Matthew of Paris, monk of St. Alban's, expresses himself, who found his last resting place at Huln. That Ralph Freshburn who resigned his dignity as provincial after fourteen years faithful administration, should have withdrawn to Huln, and should have died there (1274), is perhaps not surprising. He seemed to be continually wrapped in meditation, and was believed to have received the gift of tears. But one of the Generals, Radulphus Alemannus, probably one of those who had come over from the Holy Land,³ tendered his resignation to the general chapter in 1273 and retired to

¹ Harley MSS. 3,897.

² Matthew Paris, 2,328.

³ Palaeonodyor, iii. 9. His predecessor, Nicholas Gallus, resigned in 1267, with a view of going to a 'desert,' but we do not know whether to Huln or elsewhere.

Huln. No wonder that over the graves of these great contemplatives celestial lights were noticed to hover.

Lord Grey de Codnor, whose possessions were principally situated in the South of England, offered to his fellow-countryman, Friar Simon Stock, a property in the latter's native county, Kent, about a mile from the village of Aylesford, on the river Medway, six or seven miles from Rochester. Curiously enough, even this convent is still preserved, only, instead of a ruin, it is as inhabitable to-day as it was five or six centuries ago. One part of it certainly dates back to the days of St. Simon Stock himself, presenting the remarkable feature of separate 'cells' as prescribed by the rule, each cell forming a separate building with its own entrance door in the best Gothic style, whereas the chapel and cloister, together with the common rooms and a long line of cells, belong to the fourteenth century, when the Pope granted an indulgence to those who would contribute towards the expenses of the building.¹ Very few notices have come down to us concerning the history of this religious house.

The 3rd of May, on which the feast of the Invention of the Holy Cross is kept, has always been considered the anniversary of the foundation (or of the laying of the foundation-stones) of these two convents. From the dates we have given it will appear that this can only refer to the year 1242. The building must have occupied several years; and it is probable that in the meantime fresh colonies arrived from the Holy Land, the position of religious there becoming more and more precarious. But in England also vocations were found. The saintly and austere life of the fathers, the element of romance attaching itself to their origin on Mount Carmel, and, generally speaking, the charm of novelty, drew numbers of men to the Order. It soon appeared, however, that not only was the rule of life extremely severe, but quite unsuitable for northern climates. Moreover, the combination of the strictly eremitical life with holy poverty, such as became a Mendicant Order, was an

¹ Bull of Innocent VI., dated 15th March, 1355, *Bullarium*, iii. p. 82.

impossibility. If the convents were far removed from the concourse of people, and yet were to depend upon charitable gifts, which in those times almost exclusively took the shape of alms in kind, the fast might easily have become even more rigorous and protracted than the rule intended. The silence, too, which should be kept from the hour of Vespers in the afternoon, until Terce and Conventual Mass the following morning, left hardly any time for the transaction of business, the fulfilment of the various duties assigned to the friars, and the cultivation of their mental abilities.

But the most important point to be decided concerned the existence of the Order itself. The fourth Council of the Lateran (1215) had forbidden the foundation of new religious orders, a measure which was soon overruled by the Pope himself, who approved of the institutions of St. Dominic and St. Francis. The Carmelites, too, represented how ancient their Order was, and Honorius III. examined and confirmed the rule, and took the Order under his protection.¹ Innocent IV. renewed the concessions of Honorius, but, it would seem, only on behalf of those who actually lived on Mount Carmel.² It stands to reason that a Papal bull which was kept in the archives of the Order and might be shown to enquirers, but did not reach the Church at large, was an insufficient weapon against the prohibition of a general council; nothing short of an approbation by a subsequent council could efficaciously protect the Order against detractors.

A general chapter was summoned for the election of a new General after the resignation of Father Alanus of Brittany, and for the consideration of the position of the Order since its migration to Europe. The date of this chapter (which was held at Aylesford because the majority of Carmelites, says Friar John de Horneby, resided in England), is generally believed to be 1245. This date,

¹ Bull of 30th January, 1226, *Bullarium*, i. p. 1.

² Bull of 8th June, 1244. The *Bullarium*, i. p. 5, says erroneously 1245. The words : *in eodem loco perpetuis temporibus praecepimus observari* show that the Pope only thought of the friars living on Mount Carmel itself.

however, is incorrect.¹ In 1245 a general council was held at Lyons, and had the general chapter of the Carmelites taken place at that time, it would certainly have applied for a formal approbation by the council. Such a golden opportunity would never have been allowed to pass by, since the very existence of the Order depended upon it. The council met in June, and session after session was held, and yet no messengers arrived from the Carmelites : proof enough that these were not assembled in chapter at that time. The real date must have been 1247, two years after the council ; at this chapter St. Simon was elected General. Since it was now too late to apply to the council, St. Simon did the next best thing : he despatched two friars to the Pope who was still residing at Lyons. Their names were Friar Reginald and Peter de Folsham.²

Their mission was twofold : in the first place they had to pray for the protection of the Pope ; and, in the second place, to ask for certain changes in the rule. They must have arrived at Lyons in July, 1247, for on the 26th of that month the Pope granted a bull³ whereby he enjoined all archbishops and bishops to kindly receive the brethren who were compelled by the inroads of the infidels to come from Mount Carmel to Europe, and to allow them to celebrate divine service and to bury their dead in the places they had already obtained or might acquire in the future. This bull, which depended only upon the goodwill of the Pope himself, was unquestionably granted without hesitation or delay. But the second request, which concerned changes in the rule, was referred by the Holy Father to a committee consisting of two Dominicans, the famous Cardinal Hugh of St. Cher, and Bishop William of Antherade. On the 1st of September, 1247,⁴ they submitted their work to the

¹ John de Horneby was in 1337 conventual of Cambridge, where, in 1374, he successfully disputed with the Dominicans before the whole University on the antiquity of the Carmelite Order. His disputation is preserved in MS. Bodl. (Oxford) 86. He wrote the *Annals of the English Province*, now, alas ! lost with the exception of some fragments preserved by Bale, MS. Harley, 3833.

² The surname of the latter is attested by Bale, l. c., p. 16 (p. 14).

³ *Bullarium*, i. p. 8, where it is erroneously dated 1248.

⁴ *Ibidem*, erroneously dated 1249.

Pope who, on the first of the following month, approved of it and signed the bull. This is what is technically called the 'primitive rule,' which in 1562 was re-introduced by St. Teresa, and is being observed by the Discalced Carmelite friars and nuns. The feature which at present concerns us most is a paragraph newly inserted and reading as follows:—

On the reception of places.

You may have places in deserts, or wherever they may be given you, suitable and convenient for the observance of your Order, as may seem expedient to the Prior and the brethren.

This concession was of far-reaching consequence: from hermits the Carmelites became cenobites, they were no longer compelled to seek desert places, but took up their residence in towns and cities. 'And now,' (continues John de Horneby),¹ 'monasteries were founded in London, York, Oxford, Bristol, Norwich, and in many other towns in England.'

The first foundation took place in London itself. Lord Richard Grey and his wife gave a property half-way between the city and Westminster, adjoining the immense territory of the Knights Templars. The exact date of this foundation cannot be ascertained, but it falls between 1248 and 1253, that is, between the above-mentioned bull and the Papal confirmation of both Aylesford and London, dated 24th of August, 1253.² Cambridge, too, was selected as a desirable place for a convent, partly because it was hoped that many undergraduates would join the Order, partly also with a view of giving the Carmelites an opportunity for frequenting the lectures in arts and divinity and receiving academical degrees. Accordingly, a house was offered them, it does not appear by whom, at a place called Chesterton, a short distance from the town, and when this proved inconvenient,

¹ *Loc. cit.* :—'Atque libere deinceps urbes, civitates, villas, et oppidula sicut et ante in horum recessibus ac extra populi frequentiam agere. Tunc Londini, tunc Cantabrigiae, tunc Eboraci, Oxoniae, Bristollis, Nordvici, et in plerisque aliis Angliae civitatibus ceperere loca.'

² *Bullarium*, i. p. 13, erroneously dated 1254.

Michael Malesherbes exchanged it for one at Newenham. At a later period this also had to be given up owing to the frequent inundations to which it was exposed and a more suitable site was provided in the town itself through the munificence of King Edward I. and Sir Guy de Mortimer. Dugdale¹ mentions among the benefactors Thomas de Hertford. Could this have been the archdeacon of Northumberland, who, as we have seen, was buried at Huln in 1253? If so, he must have contributed either to the first house at Chesterton or to the second at Newenham.

Oxford received the first Carmelites in 1254, or the previous year when Nicholas Meules, constable of the castle of Oxford, gave them a habitation in Stockwell-street, which remained in the possession of the Order till 1318 when Edward II. granted to them 'in frank almoin the dwelling-house of the king's manor near the North-gate without the walls as a habitation for twelve friars.'² This king was not only a great benefactor of the Order, but even wished the Chapel Royal to be served by Carmelites; thus, he took them to Windsor in 1313 and to Sheene (now Richmond, co. Surrey) in 1315 where he granted them 'in frank almoin the dwelling-place of the king's manor with three islands and enclosures to hold for them and their successors, and to celebrate divine service for the king's progenitors, his soul and the souls of all Christians.' This foundation, however, was cancelled, and the grant of the manor of Oxford was unquestionably a substitute for Sheene, as Sheene had been for Windsor.

The next foundations were York (1255) by Lord John de Vescy, the son of the founder of Huln, and Lord de Percy; Norwich (1256) by Philip Cowgate, who took the habit there himself, while Bristol appears only in 1267. We shall presently learn the reason of this long interval.

St. Simon Stock, the General, and Friar Ralph Freshburn, the English Provincial, had every reason to be satisfied with the progress. In addition to the four convents

¹ Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vol. vi. p. 1570.

² Close Rolls and Patent Rolls, in the Rolls' Series, *passim*.

founded in 1242 there had been five houses in less than ten years, two of them in university towns, and the remaining three in the largest cities of the kingdom. Some of these seem to have harboured twelve, others twenty-four priests (the lay-brothers were never reckoned among the members of the community), so that the entire number of English Carmelites must have been about one hundred and fifty. The minority of these had come from the Holy Land, while the majority had joined the Order in England, and, no doubt, a large proportion from among the undergraduates of Oxford and Cambridge.

So rapid an increase cannot be considered a healthy one. There was not enough time to allow the broader views of the university-men to amalgamate with the simpler minds of the old hermits: Moreover, the universities were an inexhaustible source of canonical irregularities and excommunications, and something of the spirit of independence, fostered by a free and easy life, must have cleaved for a long time to the religious habit of the younger generation of Carmelites. It only required some temporary disappointment, or the stubborn opposition of interested outsiders, to thoroughly arouse the temper of malcontents. And this is exactly what happened. The historians of the Order have told us that a fierce persecution arose which threatened its very existence. What this persecution consisted of they have not told us, or at least not sufficiently. But here we have the *Bullarium* to serve as a guide. Whatever difficulty may have arisen, St. Simon Stock knew where to find help: he never failed to address himself to the Apostolic See. At that time the Papal chancery was excellently managed. The communications between England and the Papal court, wherever this may have happened to reside, were, of course, much slower than nowadays, but on the other hand, the Apostolic chancery was far more expeditious, the cumbrous machinery of consultors, auditors, and congregations being as yet unknown. We shall therefore only have to make allowance for about three or four months spent in travelling and in waiting at the Papal court, in order to obtain a clear knowledge of the course of events in England.

On the 26th of September, 1250,¹ Pope Innocent IV. granted to the Carmelites permission to celebrate divine service during an interdict, but without ringing of bells, chant, or publicity of any kind. A similar permission, be it noticed, had been granted by Gregory IX. (in 1229), and Innocent himself (in 1244), to the religious living on Mount Carmel, and was, in fact, common to all Orders.

On the same day, September 26th, 1250, he took the Order and its members, as well as its houses, goods, and chattels, under the protection of the Apostolic See.²

On 24th of August, 1253,³ he granted permission to the General to absolve postulants from ecclesiastical censures, and to give them the habit. We cannot but see in this measure one of the results of the connection of the Carmelites with the universities.

On the same day faculties are bestowed upon the General to absolve such among the brethren as should have violently laid hands upon each other.⁴ Was this also a result of university spirit?

On the same day he forbids anyone to require or extort tithes from the gardens and fields belonging to the Order.⁵

A further bull, also of the date mentioned, enables the General to appoint some of the brethren for preaching the Word of God and hearing the confessions of the faithful, provided always that the respective bishops had given their consent.⁶

The confirmation, already referred to, of the friaries at Aylesford and in London bears the same date, and contains an injunction to the Bishop of Ely not to allow the brethren to be unduly molested by anyone against the tenor of this confirmation, and to punish contraveners by ecclesiastical censures. It is difficult to understand what the Bishop of Ely had to do with this matter, neither London nor

¹ *Bullarium* i. p. 11, erroneously dated 1251. The former bulls of Gregory and Innocent, *ibidem*, pp. 5, 6.

² *Ibidem*, wrongly dated as above.

³ *Ibidem*, p. 12, dated 1254 by mistake.

⁴ *Ibidem*, same mistake.

⁵ *Ibidem*, same mistake.

⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 13, misdated 1254.

Aylesford belonging to his diocese. But, perhaps, the chapter which asked for this long list of favours was held at Cambridge, which, of course, belongs to Ely.¹

On the 9th of September, 1254, the Pope recommends the English Carmelites to the Bishop of London, whom he requests to protect them against the attacks of evil-doers. This passage is so vague as to leave it undecided whether an 'attack' had taken place, or was merely apprehended.

Alexander IV., who was elected Pope on Christmas, 1254, confirmed, on January 15th, 1256, the power of the General and Provincial to freely exercise their dignities, to change the brethren from one place to another, to visit and correct them, and to receive novices.

On the same day² he forbade³ all prelates to exact obedience from the Carmelites.

On the 3rd of February of the same year he confirmed the rule as revised by his predecessor,⁴ and six days later he confirmed the permission concerning divine service during an interdict.⁵

On the same day Alexander IV. renewed a recommendation made twelve years earlier by his predecessor, whereby the faithful were exhorted to kindly receive the Carmelites who were compelled to leave Mount Carmel, and to offer them suitable places for the exercise of their religious duties.⁷ This refers unquestionably to France since Louis IX. had brought some French Carmelites to Paris on his return from the Holy Land.

On the 24th of the same month the Pope confirmed the right of election of a General vested in the general chapter, without further approbation from ecclesiastical superiors, empowering the elect to exercise his dignity freely and to

¹ *Bullarium*, i. The chapter in question is not mentioned by Bale. The only chapter he refers to about this time is one held at London, in 1254, for the purpose of selecting founders for convents in Spain

² *Ibidem*, p. 14.

³ Same page.

⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 15.

⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 16.

⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 16.

⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 16. Innocent's bull of 13th June, 1244, *Ibid.*, p. 7.

undertake the care of the souls of his subjects.¹ From the wording of the bull it would seem that some friars had a 'scruple' whether the General did not need a special approbation from the Holy See.

Just one week later a further bull gave power to the General, provincials and brethren, for administering the Sacraments to their domestics, and burying the same in the common grave of the friars.²

It will be noticed that so far there is not a trace of persecution. With the help of these bulls we follow, almost from day to day, the development of the Order in England. There were, indeed, some slight difficulties, but these were of so little importance that the chapter believed a simple recommendation of the Pope to the Bishops of London and Ely would suffice to dispel them. It should also be borne in mind that the year 1256 belonged still to the period of foundations, the friary of Norwich having been established in this year.

There follows now an interruption of eleven years in the development of the Order, during which the English Carmelites had to pass through an acute crisis. When we hear of a persecution we must not think of one by fire and sword, such as they had undergone previous to their migration to Europe. It was an opposition carried on by ecclesiastics with the aid of legal means. So long as the Carmelites possessed only a few friaries in remote country places, there could be no conflict of interests, but when they settled in or near large towns and undertook the sacred ministry, the parish priests considered themselves wronged and sought help from the bishops. An analysis of the Papal bulls of this period will reveal the extent and nature of this 'persecution.'

On the 13th of February, 1259, Alexander IV. writes to the patriarchs, archbishops and bishops, in whose dioceses the Carmelites are situated, forbidding the molestation of these religious by preventing them from celebrating divine

¹ *Bullarium*, i. p. 17.

² *Ibidem*, p. 18.

service in their chapels.¹ The opening words of the bull show that something must have happened which caused the fathers to apply to the Holy See for protection :—

It has come to our knowledge [the Pope says] that some of you have afflicted the friars by prohibiting them to celebrate divine service, except with closed doors and without the ringing of bells, and that you have been hard upon them in other matters as well, wherefore they have sought a remedy from the Apostolic See.

On the same day the Pope forbids the Carmelites to go over to other Orders of equal or less austerity.² This looks as if some of the friars, discouraged by opposition or by the austerity of the rule, had betaken themselves to other religious houses.

On the 18th of March of the same year the Holy Father empowers the General and all the priors to excommunicate such of the brethren as had left the Order or shown great insolence.³

There is a lull in the persecution until the 8th of March, 1261, when the same Pope renewed the grant of oratories, churches, and cemeteries in places where the Carmelites are living by consent of the bishops.⁴

By a second bull of the same date the Pope again takes the Order under the protection of the Holy See, strictly forbidding tithes to be extorted from their gardens or any other property.⁵

Two further bulls of the same day granted certain indulgences to those who visited the churches in Syria and Cyprus, and forbade the Patriarch of Jerusalem to molest the Carmelites.⁶

Three days later the General receives faculties for absolving those brethren who had 'struck him,' unless 'the case were enormous.'⁷ Since such powers are not generally asked for except in a case of emergency, it would appear that the religious had become more or less disorganised.

¹ *Bullarium*, i. p. 18.

² *Ibidem*, p. 19.

³ *Ibidem*, p. 19.

⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 20. Another bull of the previous day does not concern us here.

⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 21.

⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 21, 22.

⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 23.

The next document again refers to the friars living in the Holy Land, and the opposition they experienced at the hands of the Bishop of St. Jean d'Acre; while the following bull, the last of Pope Alexander, renews the faculty of the superiors for absolving postulants from ecclesiastical censures.¹ The Pope died on the 25th of May, 1261, and the Apostolic throne was filled on the 29th of August, by Urban IV. Within a month of his election, on the 16th of September, he favoured the Carmelites by a constitution in virtue whereof they might receive, to the value of 100 marks, uncertain or ill-gotten goods by way of restitution, provided always that the real owners could not be discovered.² Two bulls of the 1st of December do not concern us; but on the 22nd of February, 1262, the Pope commands the archbishops and bishops of England to allow the Carmelites to build chapels, to celebrate divine service, and to have their own burial-grounds.³

On the 15th of March he enjoins the Archbishop of Canterbury to favour the Carmelites by preventing their being unduly molested, and by punishing their adversaries.⁴

On the 17th of May (two bulls of the 8th and 22nd of May respectively are but confirmations of former grants) Urban gives permission for the Carmelites to receive, with the consent of their respective bishops, whatever places are offered them, to build chapels with bell-towers, to celebrate the services, and to have their own cemeteries.⁵

On the 28th of August he renewed the faculty for absolving brothers and postulants from the censure 'of the canon' for bodily violence against their superiors.⁶ A further Constitution of this Pontiff lies outside our investigation.

Clement IV. succeeded him on the 5th of February, 1265, after a conclave lasting more than three months. On the 9th of May of his first year he forbids that Carmelites should be called up for judgment at any court sitting at a

¹ *Bullarium*, i. p. 23, dated 30th March, 1261.

² *Ibidem* p. 24.

³ *Ibidem*, p. 26.

⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 26.

⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 26.

⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 28.

distance of more than two days' journey from their friaries;¹ and, finally, on the 23rd of May of the aforesaid year, he once more forbids the prelates to impede them from celebrating divine office in their churches.²

The remaining constitutions of this Pope do not concern us here.

A glance at these bulls shows the nature and extent of the persecution. It began some time after 1256, and reached an acute stage in 1259, when, on the one hand, obstacles were put in the way of the Carmelites with a view of preventing them from celebrating divine service otherwise than quite privately, thus completely disregarding their approbation as a regular Order; while, on the other hand, some of the friars, discouraged by the austerity of the rule or by the opposition of the parochial clergy and the bishops became insubordinate, left the Order, or proceeded to violent measures against their lawful superiors. And what was worse, the Papal commands to the prelates failed for a time to produce the expected change in the attitude of the latter.

The language of the Pope became particularly firm in 1262, but not until 1265 did the Holy Father speak his last word in the matter.

As a practical man, St. Simon Stock had recourse in his difficulties to the Apostolic See; as a saint, he addressed himself to an even higher authority—our Blessed Lady. We learn from Sibert de Beka,³ one of the earliest chroniclers of the Order, that he summoned a chapter—in fact, he must have summoned one each time the necessity for it arose—and, before venturing upon a decision, enjoined a fast of three days. The result is best told by the following letter of Peter Swanington, the saint's secretary:—

Blessed Simon, weighed down by old age, enfeebled by rigorous

¹ *Bullarium*, i. p. 29.

² *Ibidem*.

³ Quoted by Bale, *loc. cit.* He does not mention the place where this vision took place. That it was at Cambridge appears from Swanington's letter. As to the date we shall give our reasons presently. Sibert de Beka was provincial of the German province for many years at the beginning of the fourteenth century. In 1319 he signed a deed in Paris, being then Regent in Theology as well as Provincial (Denifle, *Chart.* 3,661). He was the author of a valuable chronicle, now lost, with the exception of some fragments preserved by Bale.

penance, and bearing in his heart the pains of all the brethren, was accustomed to spend the night in prayer until daybreak. While thus praying he received a heavenly consolation, which he made known to us at our meeting: Dearest Brethren, he said, blessed be God Who does not abandon those who trust in Him, nor spurns the prayers of His servants: blessed also be the most holy Mother of Our Lord Jesus Christ, who, remembering the ancient days and tribulations which have afflicted many of you beyond measure, because they had forgotten that those who desire to live piously in Christ Jesus must suffer persecution, sends you a message which you will receive with joy in the Holy Ghost. May He direct me that I may worthily make it known to you.

I was pouring out my soul before the face of the Lord, though I be but dust and ashes, and was praying, with all confidence, to Our Lady, the Blessed Virgin, that, since She had vouchsafed to call us Her brethren, She would show Herself a Mother unto us, snatch us from temptation and, by some sign of benevolence, commend us to those who are persecuting us; while addressing Her with many sighs in these terms:—

| | |
|------------------|------------------------|
| Flos Carmeli, | Flower of Carmel |
| Vitis florigera, | Blossoming Vine, |
| Splendor Coeli, | Splendour of Heaven, |
| Virgo puerpera, | Mother Divine, |
| Singularis : | None like to Thee ! |
| Mater mitis, | Mother of Meekness, |
| Sed Viri nescia, | Peerless and fair, |
| Carmelitis | Thy Children of Carmel |
| Da privilegia, | Save from despair,¹ |
| Stella Maris ! | Star of the sea ! |

She appeared to me with a large company [of angels²] holding the habit of the Order, and saying: This shall be a privilege for thee and all Carmelites: he who shall die in it shall not suffer everlasting fire.

Her glorious presence rejoiced me more than I can say, and because I, a poor wretch, could not bear Her majesty, She disappeared telling me to send to the Lord Innocent, the Vicar of Her Blessed Son, who would grant a remedy for our troubles. Brethren, storing up these words in your hearts, strive to make sure your election by good works and never to fall away; watch with thanksgiving for such mercy, praying unceasingly, that the words addressed to me may gloriously redound to the honour of the most Blessed Trinity, the Father, Jesus Christ, the Holy Ghost, and the ever bless'd Virgin Mary.³ The same relation he

¹ *Carmelitis esto propitia* is now generally substituted for *Da privilegia*.

² Swanington only says, *cum grandi comitatu*, but other chroniclers mention the angels.

³ *Ut sermo mihi factus clarificetur ad laudem*, etc. Somewhat obscure.

sent to the absent Brethren who were quite disconsolate, the man of God dictating me, however unworthy, a letter of consolation, that they also might give thanks by prayer and perseverance.

Cambridge, the day after the Division of the Apostles, 1251.

This letter, by Peter Swanyngton, the saint's secretary and companion, probably also his confessor, was found in the reliquary of St. Simon Stock at Bordeaux in the seventeenth century.

Sibert de Beka, who does not seem to have known it, gives a similar account, but the words of our Lady are evidently improved upon :—

There is no ground for fear. Behold the Scapular of thy Order, a pledge of fraternal love, a privilege for thyself and all thine. Whosoever dies in it, if only he is worthy, shall not feel eternal fire. This is a sign of consolation, a shield in adversity, a solemn covenant of peace (*pactis immolata foedus*).

William of Coventry, who wrote, circa 1360, the Annals of the Order as well as a book called *Scutum Carmelitarum* (which are unfortunately lost though other works are extant), repeats the words used by Swanyngton. There is no need to quote later writers, but we must answer a pertinent question: Is the date given by Swanyngton correct?

We do not possess the original of his letter. The parchment found in the reliquary relates matters which took place after the saint's death, and shows manifest signs of having been 'touched up.' Could Swanyngton, in the lifetime and under the supervision of the saint, have called him 'Beatus Simon,' could he have made profession of his own unworthiness of writing a letter at the dictation of the 'man of God'? Several times during the Middle Ages the reliquary of St. Simon Stock was opened, for instance in 1423 and 1506, and on one of these, or some similar occasion, the famous letter must have been deposited. Nothing happens more frequently than mistakes in the transcription of Roman ciphers, but in this case there seems to have been no mere mistake, but an intentional 'correction.' For not only is the date 1251 evidently wrong, but the name of the Pope is most decidedly an interpolation. The reader who

has followed our enumeration of Papal bulls, must have noticed that during the pontificate of Innocent IV. there is no vestige of a 'persecution' such as the annalists of the Order describe as the indirect cause of our Lady's apparition and promise. No trace of a prohibition of public service, the use of the church bells, or the monastic burial of deceased Carmelites. Still some 'molestations' had taken place, and the London house seems to have been broken into by 'evil doers.' But if our Lady had advised St. Simon Stock to seek a remedy for these afflictions from Innocent, it must be acknowledged that her promise was a sad failure, for no sooner did the Pope close his eyes than the 'persecution' broke out worse than ever, the development of the Order being interrupted for eleven years, a violent opposition arising on the part of the parochial clergy and the bishops themselves, and disorder ensuing among the very religious. Surely, with such facts before our eyes, we are entitled to treat the date of Swanyngton's letter and the name of the reigning Pope with suspicion.

Fortunately we know something of the life of the secretary that will not only confirm our scruples, but even enable us to fix at least approximately the date of the vision.

Peter Swanyngton, a native of Norfolk, joined the Carmelite friary of Burnham-Norton. Bale tells us that Friar Humphrey Necton had been the first to take academic degrees at Cambridge, in 1259, and that Swanyngton, shortly afterwards, took his degrees at Oxford, being also the first Carmelite to earn such a distinction. Now, he cannot have done so without having been in residence for five or six years; that is, ever since the foundation of the Oxford house in 1253 or 1254. Strictly speaking, it would be possible, though most unlikely, that he had been St. Simon's confidant in 1251, and that he was sent afterwards to the university for the sake of his studies. Having obtained the doctor's cap he might have resumed his secretaryship and accompanied the saint on the journey which ended by his death at Bordeaux on the 16th of May, 1265. Swanyngton was present on that occasion and, having been on intimate terms with St. Simon, wrote his

life. He appears to have remained at Bordeaux for some time, for we know that he taught theology there as well as in many other towns. But later on he returned to England, for he appears many years afterwards concerned in a question which deeply affected the English province.

In January, 1303, the then General sent some fathers to England for the purpose of a canonical visitation. At the general chapter, held at Pentecost of the same year at Narbonne, it was decided to divide the English province which hitherto had included the Scotch and Irish houses. For some reason unknown to us, the proposal was loudly opposed by the English provincial, who was supported by some of the most prominent members of his province, all of them university men, among whom we find Peter Swanyngton. The matter was deemed of sufficient importance to be submitted to the Pope who, on the recommendation of Cardinal Gentilis de Montefiore, pronounced in favour of a separation. At a chapter held in London, in August, 1305, the 'Opposition' was dispersed, the provincial, who resigned his office, being sent to Paris, two fathers to Bruges, one to Treves, and two to Bordeaux; one of these being Peter Swanyngton. Four others, however, were allowed to remain in England 'because they were too old to be sent abroad.' Now, if Swanyngton had been the secretary of St. Simon Stock as early as 1251, he must have been eighty in 1305, and yet he was not 'too old to be sent abroad'!

Only one inference can be drawn from these facts, namely, that the letter in question is misdated, and that the vision took place in 1260, shortly after Swanyngton had returned from Oxford, or one of the following years. The most probable would be 1261, since the principal letters addressed by the Pope to the English archbishops and bishops are dated February, 1262. But there is this difficulty that on the 16th of July, 1261, the 'day after the feast of the Division of the Apostles,' the Holy See was vacant; though, perhaps, the Blessed Virgin might have encouraged St. Simon Stock to write to the Pope even if at the moment he did not know who was about to be elected.

But how did it come to pass that the writer of our copy of Swanyngton's letter put the date 1251, that he inserted the name of Innocent IV., and that Sibert de Beka, as well as the later chroniclers, connected the vision of St. Simon with that Pope? The solution may be found if we turn to an author whom we have already mentioned in these pages, William of Sandwich. He was one of the religious who preferred Mount Carmel with the possibility of a violent death at the hands of the Saracens to the security of an European cloister; in fact, he remained there to the very last.

Although Sandwich came into contact with the English Carmelites on the occasion of general chapters, for instance that of Montpellier of 1287, at which he was present, no one would expect him to be fully informed of the various phases of the 'persecution' in England. He lived too far away to avoid inaccuracies. Thus, in the fifth chapter of his work on the migration of the Order, he considers the letter of introduction, granted by Innocent IV. to the Carmelites on their settlement in England (26th of July, 1247), as an answer to the objections raised by the parochial clergy and the bishops. We have already seen that at this date there could have been no attempt at a 'persecution.' There were but four friaries, two near very small hamlets, and two at a considerable distance from the nearest towns or villages. Moreover, all four were situated on the estates of powerful noblemen who certainly were quite able to protect the friars against the interference of the secular clergy. Having given an account of St. Louis' visit to Mount Carmel, of which he was an eye-witness, and the departure of six Carmelites in company of the king (1254) he thus continues:—

Seeing that the more he strove to prevent the Order from spreading, the more it flourished in divers countries of Europe, the devil stirred up the rectors and curates of the parish-churches against it. Some of these would not allow the brethren to build churches in their parishes, or to have a bell or a cemetery. Others, unable to prevent these things, imposed heavy and intolerable burdens upon them and their convents, such as had never been borne by the brethren on Mount Carmel itself or in any other convent in the Holy Land. Complaining to the bishops they received for their reply certain sophistical reasons to the

effect that the curates were acting justly. Seeing that they could expect no favour from the bishops, the friars humbly besought their heavenly Patroness to free them from these diabolical temptations; whereupon the Virgin Mary revealed to the Prior to send with all confidence some brothers to Pope Innocent who would grant a remedy for the said grievances. Accordingly they called upon him at Perugia, where he then resided, and exposed how much they had to suffer from the curates and how little support they received from the bishops. Sympathising with the brethren the Pope wrote to the Prelates on the 13th of January, 1252, commanding them to favour the friars and to threaten their adversaries with ecclesiastical censures, allowing no stay of execution during an appeal (*apellatione postposita*).

He then recites at full length the bull of 'the 13th of January, 1252,' which we find word for word in the *Bullarium*,¹ only instead of being dated as Sandwich states, and having for its author Innocent IV., it in reality bears the date of the 31st of October, 1265, and is from the hand of Clement IV., who was at that time residing at Perugia.² This, then, is the ground upon which the writer of our copy of Swaunington's letter as well as Sibert de Beka and the later annalists and historians of the Order have assigned the year 1251 as the date of St. Simon's vision during the pontificate of Innocent IV., whereas a close examination of all the circumstances clearly shows that it can only have taken place between 1260 and 1264. How William of Sandwich came to make such a mistake we do not know; he may have been misled by an error in his collection of Papal bulls or he may have been guided by the idea that Innocent, by reason of his confirmation of the Primitive Rule, had become *the* great protector of the Order. Sandwich quotes two more bulls, one of which he antedates by one year, whereas the second, ascribed by him to Innocent and dated 1245, is in reality by Alexander IV. and bears the date 1256.³

From all this it appears that, while fully reliable with regard to the things he himself witnessed, he must not be blindly trusted in matters known to him only by hearsay,

¹ *Bullarium*, i. p. 32.

² Innocent IV. lived at Perugia from the end of 1251 till the beginning of 1253. Could this fact have given rise to a confusion between the two Popes?

³ *Guil. a Sanvico apud Riboti*, i. 9, n. 427 and 432.

even when he seems to support his evidence by Papal bulls. The further history of the devotion to the Scapular and the so-called Sabbatine Indulgence must be left for a future occasion. It only remains for us to disprove an argument brought forward against the accuracy of the promise of our Lady by a sceptic of the seventeenth century, Doctor Launoy. Remarking that Friar Thomas Walden, author of an apologia of the Catholic Church against the Wicliffites, in the course of which he speaks at length of the religious habit, does not even mention the promises attached to the Carmelite Scapular, he draws the conclusion that Walden, himself an English Carmelite, knew nothing of such a promise. Walden, indeed, does not speak of it. But is it true that the Wicliffites did not make capital out of what they branded as a gross superstition? Here are two passages from poets of their sect:—

Piers the Ploughman (*Creed*, 153) thus apostrophises the Carmelites:—

And at the lullyng of oure lady
The wymmen to lyken,
And miracles of mydwyves,
And maken wymmen to wenen
That the lace of oure Lady smok
Lighteth hem of children.

It might not appear at first sight that 'the lace of our Lady's smock' stands for the Scapular; but if we turn to contemporary poets we find some verses by Jack Upland (*circa* 1401) which leave no doubt:—

Why make ye men beleewe
That he that is buried
In your habit
Shal never come in hel?
And ye weet not of your selfe
Whether ye shall to hel or no.
And if this were sooth
Ye should sell your high houses
To make many habites
For to save many mens soules.

FR. BENEDICT ZIMMERMAN, O.C.D.

¹ Political Songs, Rolls' Series, ii. 21.

DR. SALMON'S 'INFALLIBILITY'

II

DR. SALMON'S second lecture is on 'The Cardinal Importance of the Question of Infallibility.' 'The truth is,' he says, 'that the issues of the controversy mainly turn on one great question, which is the only one that I expect to be able to discuss with you : I mean the question of the Infallibility of the Church. If that be decided against us, our whole case is gone' (page 17). And the book itself is named *The Infallibility of the Church* : and yet, in the opening sentence of the twenty-second lecture (page 424) he says, 'the question of the Infallibility of the Pope is that with which I am directly concerned in this course of lectures.' This is an ordinary instance of the confusion that is manifested, all through Dr. Salmon's book ; and, even without studying the volume, one may safely infer, that the Infallibility of either Church or Pope, is not likely to suffer much from the attack of one, who really does not know which of the two he is assailing. Random shooting of this sort is not likely to be effective. Perhaps, however, it was his keen attention to our movements that made him so oblivious of his own ; and notwithstanding the indefiniteness of his aim, he is sanguine of success. We are, according to him, impervious to argument ; continually changing our ground ; retreating from one post to another ; and our present condition, he says, is this : 'The Romish champions, beaten out of the open field, have shut themselves up in this fortress of Infallibility, where, as long as their citadel remains untaken, they can defy all assaults' (page 46). Our fate is, however, sealed ; for he says :—

But, though it is on the first view, disappointing, that our adversaries should withdraw themselves into a position, seemingly inaccessible to argument, it is really, as I shall presently show, a mark of our success, that they have been driven from the open field and forced to betake themselves into this fortress. And we

have every encouragement to follow them and assault their citadel, which is now their last refuge (page 24).

And the Doctor contemplates with delight, the prospect of our immediate annihilation, saying:—‘ This simplification then of the controversy realises for us the wish of the Roman tyrant, that all his enemies had but one neck. If we can but strike one blow the whole battle is won ’ (page 18). Dr. Salmon is in a very heroic state of mind ; and, as he is a veteran in the service, his students must have expected wonderful results, when he is let loose on the Catholic Church. Well, the siege has gone on for a long time, and the fortress holds out defiantly still. No flag of truce has been raised, no signal of distress has been seen. And Dr. Salmon may rest assured, that when he shall have been gathered to his fathers, and his book quite forgotten, that fortress will still stand secure. She has a higher warrant than Dr. Salmon’s to ensure her triumph over the ‘ gates of hell.’

Dr. Salmon has a theory of the Church, which, if he could only establish it on a solid basis, would save him a great deal of labour, and would completely remove the necessity of disproving Infallibility. He sees no reason why the Church should not be a plastic institution which would change with the times, and adapt itself to the habits of good society. He says :—

May it not be supposed for example that He (God) wisely ordained that the constitution of His Church should receive modifications, to adapt it to the changing exigencies of society ; that in times when no form of government but monarchy was to be seen anywhere, it was necessary, if His Church was to make head successfully against the prevalent reign of brute force, that all its powers should be concentrated in a single hand : but that when, with the general spread of knowledge, men refused to give unreasoning submission to authority, and claimed the right to exercise some judgment of their own, in the conduct of their affairs, the constitution of the Church needed to be altered in order to bring it into harmony with the political structure of modern society (pages 40, 41).

Again :—

Let us liberally grant, that an ecclesiastical monarchy was the

form of government best adapted to the needs of the Church at the time, when, in temporal matters, the whole civilized world was governed by a single ruler; and yet it might be utterly unfit for her requirements, in subsequent times, when Europe had been broken up into independent kingdoms; and we might be as right now, in disowning Papal authority as our ancestors were in submitting to it (page 369).

This is none of your cast-iron Romanism, but an up-to-date progressive Church, marching hand in hand with civilization, and never offending against good manners by insisting on any definite articles of faith as necessary conditions of membership. Such a weather-cock Church would be sufficiently fallible to satisfy even Dr. Salmon and his pupils, and would have the unique advantage of showing that they are as right in rejecting Catholic doctrines as their ancestors were in professing them. On reading such passages one is forcibly reminded of St. Hilary's indignant exclamation (*Ad Const.*)—*O, tu scelestè quod ludibrium de Ecclesia facis?*

Dr. Salmon is quite right in insisting on the 'cardinal importance of the question of Infallibility.' If the Church be infallible, that doctrine is a sufficient warrant for the truth of every other doctrine she teaches; and discussion on details becomes needless, and Catholics, who believe that doctrine, accept the Church's teaching without the slightest difficulty or hesitation. But Dr. Salmon is not content with *a priori* considerations of the importance of the doctrine. He says :—

I should have been convinced of it from the history of the Roman Catholic controversy, as it has been conducted in my own lifetime. When I first came to an age to take a lively interest in the subject, Dr. Newman and his coadjutors, were publishing, in the *Tracts for the Times*, excellent refutations of the Roman doctrine on Purgatory, and on some other important points. A very few years afterwards without making the slightest attempt to answer their own arguments, these men went over to Rome, and bound themselves to believe, and teach as true, things which they had themselves proved to be false. . . . While the writers of the *Tracts* were assailing with success different points of Roman teaching, they allowed themselves to be persuaded, that Christ must have provided His people with some infallible guide to truth; and they accepted the Church of Rome as that guide, with scarcely an

attempt to make a careful scrutiny of the grounds of her pretensions (pages 18, 19).

This unconditional surrender, Dr. Salmon attributes to the craving for an infallible guide, and 'the craving for an infallible guide arises from men's consciousness of the weakness of their understanding' (page 47). It would be amusing if the matter had not been so serious to find Dr. Salmon charging Newman, Ward, Oakley, and Dalgairns, with 'weakness of understanding,' with going over to Rome 'without making the smallest attempt to answer their own arguments' against her, and with 'scarcely an attempt to make a careful scrutiny of the grounds of her pretensions.' Dr. Salmon frequently refers to Newman's *Essay on Development*, and he may, therefore, be presumed to have read it; and on the very first page of it he could have seen a statement of the writer's objections to Rome, and immediately following it are these words:—'He little thought, when he so wrote, that the time would ever come, when he should feel the obstacle, which he spoke of as lying in the way of communion with the Church of Rome, to be destitute of solid foundation.' Therefore, before Dr. Newman joined the Catholic Church he satisfied himself that his arguments against her were 'destitute of solid foundation,' though according to Dr. Salmon he did not make 'the smallest attempt to answer' them. Again, on the last page of the *Essay*, after his magnificent analysis of Patristic teaching, Newman says: 'Such were the thoughts concerning the "Blessed Vision of Peace," of one whose long-continued petition had been, that the Most Merciful would not despise the work of His own hands, nor leave him to himself:—while yet his eyes were dim, and his breast laden, and he could but employ reason in the things of Faith.' And after a like analysis, in the twelfth of his *Lectures on Anglican Difficulties*, Newman says:—

What was the use of continuing the controversy, or defending my position, if, after all, I was but forging arguments for Arius and Eutyches, and turning devil's advocate against the much-enduring Athanasius, and the majestic Leo? Be my soul with the saints! and shall I lift up my hand against them? Sooner

may my right hand forget her cunning, and wither outright as his who once stretched it out against a prophet of God :—perish sooner a whole tribe of Cranmers, Ridleys, Latimers, and Jewels—perish the names of Bramhall, Usher, Taylor, Stillingfleet and Barrow, from the face of the earth—ere I should do aught but fall at their feet, in love, and in worship, whose image was continually before my eyes, and whose musical words were ever in my ears, and on my tongue (page 306).

To charge the writer of these magnificent passages—the writer of the *Apologia*—who had for years devoted all the energy of a giant mind to the earnest pursuit of truth—to charge such a man with going over blindly to Rome without an attempt to answer his own arguments against her, or to examine her claims—is a specimen of recklessness, all the more extraordinary in such a theologian as the writer of these lectures. But he has a much graver charge against Dr. Newman. In a note at page 22, he says :—

I never meant to impute to Newman insincerity in his profession of belief.

But how are we to understand the following ?

When Dr. Newman became a Roman Catholic it was necessary for him, in some way, to reconcile this step with the proofs that he had previously given that certain distinctive Romish doctrines were unknown to the early Church. . . . This is the object of the celebrated *Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine*, which he published simultaneously with his submission to the Roman Church (page 31). . . . The book having been written before he had yet joined them (page 33).

Now, whatever Dr. Salmon *meant* by the words quoted, any ordinary reader will take them to mean, that, Dr. Newman had accepted all the teaching of the Catholic Church—had become a convinced Catholic—but that he felt that some justification of his conduct was rendered necessary, by his previous career, and that in order to provide this justification he wrote the *Essay on Development*, and published it simultaneously with his public reception into the Church, though he had been during the time of its composition a Catholic on conviction—not publicly, for he had not yet made his public submission, but secretly. This is the meaning of Dr. Salmon's words. ' When Dr. Newman

became a Roman Catholic it was necessary,' etc., therefore he was a 'Roman Catholic,' at least secretly, before the necessity arose for justifying his action. 'This is the object of the essay' etc., therefore while he was engaged in providing this justification he was a Catholic, at least secretly; and when he had his justification ready, he published it, and made his public submission to the Roman Church simultaneously. This is the ordinary logical meaning of Dr. Salmon's words, and if there be not a charge of 'insincerity in the profession of belief' conveyed by them, words have no meaning. But the charge was answered, once for all, and it is amazing that the spectre of Kingsley, on the pillory, should not have made Dr. Salmon more cautious. Dr. Newman, then, did not leave his own arguments against the Church unanswered—he pronounced them to be 'destitute of solid foundation,' like those of the 'devil's advocate'; he did not go over to Rome without inquiry; he devoted to the inquiry many years of hard study, and of constant prayer.

One would expect that, as Dr. Salmon undertook to convince his students of the cardinal importance of the doctrine of Infallibility, he would have explained the doctrine to them. They could not know its importance unless they knew what it really was. And, moreover, as he professed to be training them to refute the doctrine, he should have told them what it was. But, instead of doing so, he devotes a very long lecture to a series of mis-statements, well calculated to intensify their ignorance of Catholic teaching, and to strengthen their prejudices against the Catholic Church. Had he put the doctrine clearly and correctly before them, any student of average ability could have seen for himself that the professor's declamation left it untouched. He said to them: 'An infallible Church does not mean a Church which makes no mistakes, but only one which will neither acknowledge its mistakes nor correct them' (page 111). There was no necessity for devoting twenty-three lectures to proving the fallibility of such a Church. It is openly proclaimed. But the teaching of the Catholic Church is not so easily disposed

of; and in order to put that teaching clearly before him, it is necessary to call Dr. Salmon's attention to a few facts that ought to be regarded as first principles by anyone who accepts the New Testament as a truthful record. When our Blessed Redeemer came amongst us, He proved His divinity, the reality of His divine mission, and the consequent truth of His doctrines, by a series of extraordinary miracles, and by prophecies fulfilled in Him, and spoken by Him, and subsequently verified. For those who witnessed His miracles, and yet rejected His doctrines, there was no reasonable excuse; and He Himself frequently said so. He gathered to Himself a number of disciples,—the nucleus of His Church—and out of the number, He selected some whom He trained specially to be the future teachers of that Church. He did not write a book which they were to study in order to learn His doctrines. He Himself, in person, taught them orally. In proof of the truth of His teaching, He frequently appealed to the works which He had done; and He exacted from His followers, full unconditional faith in His doctrine, and obedience to His moral precepts; and this faith and obedience, He exacted as a necessary condition of salvation. This system of oral, personal teaching, our Lord continued during His earthly career; and when that career was about to close He commissioned His Apostles to continue His work and His method as well. He gave them His own authority, and sent them forth to teach as His ambassadors. They were to continue His mission,—that which He had got from His Eternal Father,—and the Holy Ghost was to be with them to ensure their success; and He promised that signs and wonders, even greater than His own, would confirm their mission. And after our Lord's ascension, we find the Apostles carrying out their commission, both in its matter and in its manner, exactly as they were commanded. They went forth teaching the truths that had been revealed to them; they represented themselves as His legates, teaching His doctrine, manifesting His power. The miracles they performed were, they said openly, not performed by any power of their own, but by His power and in His name.

They did not write books and hand them to their disciples to be studied by them in order to learn the truths of faith. Few of them wrote anything, and the Church was well established, and widely diffused, before any of them wrote a line at all. Like their Divine Master they taught orally, personally, the truths of faith; and like Him, too, and in His name, they exacted from their followers faith in their teaching and obedience to their moral precepts. And this obedience of faith, too, they exacted as an absolutely necessary condition of salvation. Not for any words of their own, but for God's Word revealed to them, did the Apostles demand acceptance and faith; and they gave abundant proof of their divine commission to teach in His name; nor did they tolerate amongst their followers a rejection of any portion of their teaching, or any divergence from it. Thus, then, the first Christians believed the Word of God on the authority of God Himself; and that authority was brought home to them by ambassadors divinely commissioned to do so, and divinely assisted in doing so. The teaching authority of the Apostles imposed on their followers the obligation of believing; the obedience of faith. There was thus an authoritative teaching body established, and the members of the Church accepted, and were bound to accept, from that teaching body the truths of faith, and moral principles, and the explanations of both. Thus was God's Kingdom on earth established; supernatural in its origin, for it is founded by God Himself; supernatural in its life, the Spirit of God working in it through faith and grace; and supernatural in its end, which is God's glory and man's salvation. The kingdoms of this world change with time and die away; the kingdom of to-day may become the republic of to-morrow, and the pandemonium of some day in the near future. Not so the Kingdom of God. Like the mustard-seed in the Gospel, it becomes the widespreading tree, giving shelter to all that seek it; but its identity remains. It is ever the same—a living, active teaching body, and such it shall continue till its mission shall have been accomplished. When the Christian faith was for some

time established, and already widely spread, the Gospels were written, giving our Lord's personal history and some of His teachings. The Epistles, too, were written, called forth by special circumstances, and fragmentary in doctrine. They were so far instruments of Revelation in the custody of the Church, which lived and taught as before. This was the system, the method of teaching and propagating the faith, adopted by our Lord, and continued by His Apostles. It is, therefore, the Christian method and system, and there is not in Christian antiquity the slightest grounds for any departure from that system. Such as it was, it was our Lord's institution, and men could not change it; and such a departure from it as would strip the teaching Church of her authority, and condemn her to silence, and would substitute, as sole source and sole teacher of faith, a written book that is dumb and speaks not—such a change would be a subversion of our Lord's institution, would be anti-Christian, a triumph for the 'gates of hell.'

We, therefore, believe that the entire body of Revelation, the entire, complete deposit of faith, was entrusted by our Lord to His Church; that he made her its guardian, interpreter, and teacher; and that, in her office as such, He promised efficaciously to protect her against error or failure till the end of time. In virtue of this promise the Church is infallible; that is, she is exempt not merely from actual error, but from the possibility of error, in believing and in teaching the divine deposit of faith. The Christian Revelation terminated with the Apostles, and the deposit of faith comprises all that was revealed to them, and nothing that was not revealed to them. It can receive no addition; it can suffer no diminution; it is in the Church's keeping; and she is its infallible custodian and teacher. The Church may be considered as a body of believers, embracing both the teachers and the taught, but regarding them as believers; and, so regarded, the Church is infallible in believing the whole deposit of faith. Whatever it believes to be of faith is so certainly, and whatever it rejects as opposed to faith is so with equal certainty. It is thus a witness to the fact of Revelation in this sense, that the

universal belief of any doctrine by the Church, as revealed, is a proof that the doctrine was revealed. This is called *passive infallibility*, because the Church, so regarded, does not raise its voice in controversy; its teaching must be gathered from it by the teaching body—the *Ecclesia Docens*. The Infallibility of the Church, in this sense, Dr. Salmon does not discuss, and it shall be alluded to only briefly here. The doctrine is clearly contained in the celebrated text of St. Matthew xvi. 18: 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.' This text, and many others bearing on the subject, have been beautifully developed by Dr. Murray in his admirable work *De Ecclesia*. In that work Dr. Salmon will find the arguments for our doctrine fully and ably stated, and had he read it, before delivering his lectures, he would have been able, if willing, to give his students a more accurate conception of the work before them in 'the controversy with Rome.' Nothing can be more certain than that our Lord wished that His doctrines should be preserved pure, and perpetuated in their purity. Often did He warn his disciples against false teachers—the leaven of the Pharisees, the Father of Lies, and his agents; and He promised them the Spirit of Truth to preserve them from error. The spirit of their Divine Master animated the Apostles also; and we find them always jealously guarding against any deflection from revealed truth. Even St. John, the Apostle of Charity, forbade his followers to speak to a believer in false doctrine. Therefore, belief in true doctrine, in its integrity and purity, must have been a vital principle of the Church; and any betrayal of truth, rejecting a true doctrine as false or accepting a false doctrine as true, would have made the Church the prey of her great enemy. But, according to St. Matthew the prey of her enemy the Church shall never be. The text speaks of the Church which our Lord was to establish, and contemplates it as a spiritual edifice of the highest degree of stability. Its foundation is the immovable rock. Its Architect is infinite in wisdom and in power; and the purpose of its construction, one dearest to Him—to serve as a home for His chosen

followers, and as a treasury for the blessings He was to leave them. Therefore must it be permanently secured against sudden destruction or gradual decay. Enemies of the most formidable kind were to assail it—in vain. Amongst the worst, the most deadly of these enemies is heresy, that would poison the source of the Church's life. Were heresy to prevail against the Church, were she to disbelieve a true doctrine, or profess a false one, her Founder's solemn promise would have been falsified, and Satan would have gained the victory which, according to the promise, never can be won.

This *passive infallibility* of the body of believers presupposes the *active infallibility* of the teaching body—the *Ecclesia Docens*. The *Ecclesia Audiens* is bound to accept the doctrine of the teaching body; and in its divinely guaranteed fidelity in doing so, its own infallibility consists. This *active infallibility*—infallibility in teaching—has a twofold seat in the Church. It exists in the body of bishops united with their head—the Pope—whether assembled in a general council or dispersed throughout the world's wide extent; and it exists also in the Pope himself, when teaching officially, *ex cathedrâ*. Each is an article of faith, and if Dr. Salmon could disprove either, or disprove any article of faith so held, he would have simplified the controversy for his students very considerably. But he has not done so, nor even made a clever attempt to do so. He has but reproduced the old stock-in-trade of Protestant controversialists; and that, too, without rising above the usual level of such disputants. And, as already stated, he has so confused the Infallibility of Church and Pope that he does not seem to know which he is assailing. For clearness' sake the doctrine shall then be kept distinct; thus the interests of truth will be better served, though more labour will be incurred in making order out of Dr. Salmon's chaotic book.

The bishops of the Catholic Church, in union with the Pope, their head, whether assembled in a collected body or dispersed throughout the world, constitute the teaching body—the *Ecclesia Docens*—and that teaching body is infallible. This body is the infallible guardian, interpreter,

and teacher of the entire deposit of faith, and of all that appertains to faith and morals; and the infallible judge of every controversy in which faith or morals are involved. Whatever it declares to be revealed, and of faith, is so certainly; and whatever it declares to be opposed to faith, or inconsistent with it, is so, with equal certainty; and in virtue of its Founder's promise it shall continue to fulfil its divine mission as guardian, judge, and teacher of revelation till the end of time. And though the teaching Church is concerned directly with the deposit of faith, its authority extends indirectly to many things not contained in that deposit. As custodian of the faith the Church preserves her precious charge from all admixture of error, and so she detects and condemns those systems and doctrines that aim at impairing the purity of the deposit of faith. It is the shepherd's duty not merely to feed his flock, but also to ward off the wolf from the fold. This gift of Infallibility differs very much from Inspiration; though Dr. Salmon either intentionally or inadvertently confounds them, and, as a consequence, makes some very silly charges against us. Inspiration is the direct action of the Holy Spirit on the mind of the writer or speaker, moving him to write or speak; suggesting to him what to write or speak, and often even how to do so. The inspired teacher then is under the direct influence of the Holy Ghost moving him to write or teach what God wills him to write or teach. Infallibility is a much lower gift. The infallible teacher as such receives no interior revelation or suggestion from God. He is under no direct divine influence to teach. The Holy Ghost does not dictate to him what to say or how to say it. It is only his external utterances that are controlled, so that when he does teach officially, he can teach nothing that is not true. He is preserved from error in his teaching by a supernatural providence, an exterior over-ruling guidance of the Holy Ghost. What the inspired teacher says is the Word of God Himself, and is either a new revelation or a divine statement of a truth already known. What the infallible teacher says is a true declaration or explanation of a revelation already made. This is what we mean by

the Infallibility of the Church. But Dr. Salmon of course knows our doctrine much better than we ourselves do, and in a note at page 43, he says :—

A Roman Catholic critic accuses me of forgetting that the Catholic claim is not inspiration, but only inerrancy. I consider the latter far the stronger word. In popular language the word 'inspired,' is sometimes used in speaking of the works of a great genius, who is not supposed to be exempt from error, but no one can imagine the utterances of a naturally fallible man to be guaranteed against possibility of error, unless he believes that man to be speaking not of his own mind, but as the inspired organ of the Holy Spirit.

This is very clever. Now Dr. Salmon in his *Introduction to the New Testament*, speaks of its inspiration. Does he use the word there as it is used in 'popular language'? Ah, no. If he had so used it, there would be an end of the inspiration of the New Testament Scripture. He uses it then as a technical theological term, in its proper sense, to enable him to defend the truth of Scripture (though he does not, and on his principles cannot prove the inspiration), but he uses it here in its 'popular' sense—a false sense—to enable him to attribute false doctrines to us. 'I consider it,' he says, 'the stronger word'—yes; if it be taken in a false sense. And in any case, that he should 'consider it the stronger word,' is not a conclusive proof that it is so.

The Infallibility of the teaching Church in the sense here explained Catholics believe as an article of faith. According to Dr. Salmon our great argument for this doctrine is its necessity. 'The great argument by which men are persuaded to believe, that there is at least somewhere or another an infallible guide, is that it is incredible that God should leave us without sure guidance when our eternal salvation is at stake' (page 97). Now, so far from this being our 'great argument' it is not, in the sense indicated by Dr. Salmon, an argument at all. God could have remedied our short-comings in many ways besides by the appointment of an infallible guide—even supposing He was bound to remedy them at all. And, again, the creed for which Dr. Salmon says we profess to require an infallible guide, is only a very small fraction of our creed, and for arriving at

sufficient knowledge of the few articles contained in it, God might have provided in various ways. But on the supposition that Christ established a Church, to which he entrusted a Revelation; that this Church was to spread all the world over, and to last till the end of time; that the Revelation was to be preserved pure and unchanged, and preached to all mankind; that it contained many doctrines opposed to human prejudices, and many mysteries impervious to human reason; that faith in this Revelation is necessary for men in order to please God and save their souls; that men are very prone to error, and especially so in matters of faith; taking all this into account the argument for the necessity of an infallible guide becomes too strong for Dr. Salmon's carping criticism.

But our argument for the Infallibility of the Church is the express and unmistakable Revelation of that doctrine by God Himself, both in His written and unwritten Word. It is clearly contained in St. Matthew xxviii. 18, 19, 20, and in many other Scripture texts besides. And as the argument for this doctrine is given, and fully developed by most of our dogmatic theologians, and developed at great length and with special force by Dr. Murray, it will be sufficient to refer to the matter briefly here.

On the eve of our Lord's ascension He appeared to His Apostles, and delivered to them His final charge saying:— 'All power is given to Me in Heaven and on earth: going therefore, teach ye all nations; baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you; and behold I am with you all days even to the consummation of the world.'¹ The object of the Apostles' mission was to bring men to a knowledge of revealed truth and to teach them the observance of moral laws. To do this at any time, was a tremendous task for a few poor illiterate men, or for any men to undertake. And hence our Lord began His commission to them, by setting forth His own power, as the principle on which they were to rely—the source of their strength, the warrant of their success. It is

¹ Matt. xxviii. 18-20.

as if He had said to them :—Fear not the magnitude of the task I impose upon you ; but armed with My own power go out into the world ; make disciples of the nations ; teach them to know and require of them to believe My doctrines, and teach them to observe all My commands, and in the execution of this commission—a difficult one—I shall be with you, aiding you, directing you, protecting you, and ensuring your success for all time. Now, whatever be the extent of this commission, it was given to the teachers of the Church, it was a teaching commission. ‘Make them disciples,’ and do so by ‘teaching them to observe,’ or rather to ‘guard with care’ (as the Greek text has it) ‘all that I have entrusted to you.’ Now, this commission and the accompanying promise were not limited to the Apostles, but were intended for their successors for all time, because (1) they were to teach all nations which the Apostles could not, or at least did not do, and (2) the work of teaching was to continue till the end of time, which necessarily supposes that others were to continue what the Apostles had begun. And the teaching commission embraced all the truths revealed to the Apostles, and extended to all men without exception :—‘Teach all nations . . . to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you.’ And for the successful discharge of this commission, our Lord promised His own special efficacious aid to His Apostles and their successors to ensure this success. ‘I am with you all days.’ Now, according to Scriptural usage, conclusively established by Dr. Murray, this expression, ‘I am with you,’ means a special divine efficacious aid and protection to the Apostles, ensuring the faithful discharge of their mission. And this divine assurance and pledge of success is not limited to the Apostles themselves ; it is equally promised to those who are to continue the Apostles’ work till the end of time. Now, were it possible for the Church to teach false doctrines, how could the God of Truth be said to be with her, aiding her in doing so ? How could He lend His efficacious positive assistance to the propagation of falsehood ? Since, therefore, He has pledged Himself to be with His Church in her work of teaching, *the Church’s teaching must be always true.*

This is our doctrine. It is intelligible; it is consistent; it ensures to us the possession of that true faith without which salvation is impossible; it secures us against those wretched systems that make shipwreck of the faith. Isaiah saw in the distant future the beauty of the Bride of the Lamb, and St. Paul described her admirable symmetry, when the reality was before him; but instead of the beauty foretold by Isaiah; instead of the order and symmetry insisted on by St. Paul, heresy shows us a deformed thing, corrupt and corrupting, and asks us to recognise it as the spotless Spouse of Christ. Instead of the harmony which Scripture everywhere attributes to the Kingdom of God on earth heresy presents to us a picture of that other kingdom in which no order but everlasting horror dwells; and we are told that our Lord preached up and propped up this other Babel, and called it the Ark of His Covenant with men; that He left His Church a mistress of manifold error, and called her, at the same time, 'the pillar, and the ground of truth.' Surely it can be no difficult task to vindicate the God of Truth against such an imputation as this—and this imputation is the sum and substance of Dr. Salmon's lectures. Our dogmatic theologians give several arguments, from the written and unwritten Word of God, to prove the Infallibility of the Church; they develop those arguments at considerable length, and answer the objections both to the doctrine and to the proofs; but Dr. Salmon conveniently ignores the arguments, and repeats the objections, with as much apparent confidence as if they had never been answered. When the powers of his young controversialists come to be tested they will discover that the Doctor's training of them was not the best. And not only does Dr. Salmon not consider our argument for Infallibility, but he actually maintains that we can have no argument at all; and that he has 'a perfect right to put out of court all Roman Catholic attempts to prove the Infallibility of their Church, as being attempts to build a fabric without a foundation' (page 79). This may be a very convenient, but certainly not a very effectual way of disposing of us. But he goes further, and informs his students, that

we ourselves must admit the hopelessness of our case, for 'there is one piece of vitally important knowledge,' he says, 'which Roman Catholics must own, God has not given men never-failing means of attaining; I mean the knowledge what is the true Church' (page 99). Now Dr. Salmon has given in his book, as an appendix, the 'Decrees of the Vatican Council,' and it may therefore be presumed that he has read them. And if he has read them how could he make the extraordinary statement given above that we ourselves must admit that we have no 'never-failing means' of finding out what the true Church is? In the chapter on Faith he could have read—he must have read—the following :—

But in order that we may be able to satisfy our obligation of embracing the true faith, and of persevering constantly in it, God, by His only begotten Son, instituted His Church, and gave to it marks of its divine origin so manifest that it can be recognized by all as the Guardian and Teacher of His revealed Word. For to the Catholic Church alone belongs all those things, so many and so wonderful, which are divinely arranged to show the evident credibility of the Christian faith. Nay more, even the Church, considered in herself, because of her wonderful propagation, her extraordinary sanctity, and her inexhaustible richness, in all good things; because of her Catholic unity, her unconquerable stability; she is herself a great and never-failing motive of credibility, and an indisputable proof of her own divine mission.

With this text before him (page 480), which he must have read, it is amazing that Dr. Salmon should have made the extraordinary statement given above, and at the same time have supplied so readily the means of refuting his calumny. But the proof of the statement is more extraordinary still. He says:—'They must own that the institution of an infallible Church has not prevented the world from being overrun with heresy' (page 100). And he develops this argument (?) at great length. Of course we own it; but what follows? Does the admission disprove Infallibility? The vast majority of those who heard our Divine Lord teaching, and who witnessed His miracles, rejected Him, called Him a demon, and cried out, 'Crucify

Him.' Does this prove that He was not the Son of God ?

If I had not come, and spoken to them, they would not have sin ; but now they have no excuse for their sin. . . . If I had not done among them the works that no other man hath done, they would not have sin ; but now they have both seen and hated both Me and My Father.'

They disbelieved Him, therefore, in the face of most conclusive proof of His Divinity. 'And shall their unbelief make the faith of God without effect.'¹ As well might Dr. Salmon have quoted the pagan millions of China, India, Africa, and Japan, against Christianity, as quote the prevalence of heresy against the teaching of the true Church. As the Vatican Council well and truly says the Catholic Church bears on her brow the mark of her divine institution. She is her own argument by reason of her extraordinary history. Pagan persecutors, heretics in each succeeding age, the jealous enmity of worldly powers, enemies from without and from within, she has confronted with a wisdom, a fortitude, a success that must have been divinely given. Each age has had its Dr. Salmon to asperse her, and its Dr. Cumming to predict her fall ; but she, calm in the consciousness of divine protection, has gone on discharging her heavenly mission, whilst they have been wafted on the stream of time to oblivion. Such has her history been in the past, and such too shall it be in the future—always a fulfilment of her Founder's promise to be with her 'all days even to the end of the world.'

As already stated, Dr. Salmon does not meet the arguments of Catholic theologians in favour of the doctrine of Infallibility. He aims rather at bringing the doctrine into doubt by a series of assertions and charges, none of which really touches the doctrine at all, and most of which are false. The readers of *Oliver Twist* will recollect the cleverness, and the tone of lofty indignation, with which the Artful Dodger always managed to charge some one else with the crimes of which he was himself guilty. Dr. Salmon

¹ John xv. 22-24.

² Rom. iii. 3.

must have taken lessons from this able tactician. He says the Church of Rome is perpetually changing her doctrines, and that which changes is not true; she has been always boasting that she never changes, and she has before our eyes quite recently promulgated doctrines never heard of before. This, Dr. Salmon told his students, was a conclusive proof of her fallibility. He says :—

The idea that the doctrine of the Church of Rome is always the same is one which no one of the present day can hold without putting an enormous strain on his understanding. It used to be the boast of Romish advocates that the teaching of their Church was unchangeable. Heretics, they used to say, show by their perpetual alterations that they never have had hold of the truth. . . . Our Church, on the contrary, they said, ever teaches the same doctrine which has been handed down from the Apostles, and has since been taught 'everywhere, always, and by all.' Divines of our Church used to expose the falsity of this boast by comparing the doctrine now taught in the Church of Rome with that taught in the Church of early time; and thus established by historical proof that a change had occurred. But now the matter has been much simplified, for no laborious proof is necessary to show that that is not unchangeable which changes under our very eyes. This rate of change is not like that of the hour hand of a watch, which you must note at some considerable intervals of time in order to see that there has been a movement, but, rather, like that of the second hand, which you can actually see moving (pages 19, 20).

Again :—

The old theory was that the teaching of the Church had never varied. . . . No phrase had been more often on the lips of Roman controversialists than that which described the faith of the Church as what was held always, everywhere, and by all (page 33).

This was always our boast; but now the logic of facts, brought home to us by theologians like Dr. Salmon, has compelled us to abandon this boast, and to admit that we, too, are changing with time. He says :—

You will find them now making shameless confession of the novelty of articles of their creed, and even taunting us Anglicans with the unprogressive character of our faith, because we are content to believe as the early Church believed, and as our fathers believed before us (pages 31, 32).

It is to be regretted that Dr. Salmon did not give the

names of the 'Romish advocates' who charge Protestants with 'the unprogressive character' of their various creeds. The charge could certainly not be sustained, for the authors of the 'Higher Criticism' are all Protestants; and they have so far progressed as to have left the Bible far behind them. And it would be equally unfair to charge the Protestant Church with 'the unprogressive character' of her teaching, for she teaches nothing. Individual Protestants may take their creed from the Bible, or from any other source they please; but their Church cannot tell them whether they are right or wrong. She has received 'the divine commission not to teach,' and she is discharging it with admirable fidelity.

But now as to the Catholic Church. Dr. Salmon's great charge is that she is boasting to be always the same, and yet is perpetually changing. If he had given the language in which the boast is conveyed by the 'Romish advocates,' we should be able to judge of its meaning; but he has not done so. He has given a paraphrase of the teaching of Dr. Milner and of Bossuet, perverted in both cases; and he has given an extract from a popular lecture of Cardinal Wiseman which proves nothing for him. If he were anxious, as he should have been, to give his students a correct version of our doctrine, he should have consulted our standard theologians, such as St. Thomas, Suarez, De Lugo, Dr. Murray, Franzelin, or Mazzella; and if he had consulted them, he would find them all flatly contradicting him as to the sense of the 'boast' which he attributes to us. He would find them, and every dogmatic theologian who has written on faith, asking the question whether there is any growth or increase in faith with lapse of time—*utrum fides decursu temporis augeatur?* Now, the very fact of our theologians putting this question shows that the sense put upon our boast by Dr. Salmon is a false sense, and their answer makes this more clear, and gives the true sense. The invariable answer is that since the Apostolic age there has been no growth, no increase in faith, considered in itself (*simpliciter*); that the divine deposit of faith remains unchanged and unchangeable; but that there has been a growth, an

increase in a qualified sense (*secundum quid*), limited to the interpretation—the explanation of the divine, unchangeable deposit by the infallible authority of the Church. St. Thomas says: 'Articles of faith grew with the lapse of time, not, indeed, as to their substance, but as to their explanation and explicit profession; for what has been explicitly and more fully believed in later times was implicitly and in fewer articles believed by the early fathers.'¹ Suarez has this same doctrine stated more at length in his Disp. 2^o, s. vi., on Faith, and De Lugo has it in his Disp. 3, s. v.; Dr. Murray has it Disp. 1, s. iv., n. 55. It is, and always has been, the universal teaching of our theologians. And Dr. Salmon could have read this same doctrine in his own book, for it is distinctly stated in the fourth chapter of the Constitution *De Ecclesia* of the Vatican Council, which he gives in his Appendix (page 482). The Council says:—

Neither is the doctrine of faith, which God has revealed, put forward like a philosophical system to be improved by human ingenuity; but as a divine deposit given to the Spouse of Christ to be faithfully guarded and infallibly declared . . . therefore, let the understanding, the knowledge, the wisdom of each and all, of every age and time, of each individual, as well as of the entire Church, increase and progress very much; but let the progress be within its own kind only; that is, in the same truth, the same sense, and the same sentiment.

He must have known, therefore, from his own book, what our teaching was when he misrepresented it. The body of doctrines which constitute the divine deposit of faith comprises the revelation made by our Lord to His Apostles during His life on earth, supplemented by the revelation made to them by the Holy Ghost after our Lord's ascension. With the death of the last of the Apostles, the deposit of faith was completed. Into that deposit, henceforward, no fresh revelation could enter. New revelations may, perhaps, have been made subsequently to individuals; but they form no part of the deposit of faith, and no article of Catholic faith can be grounded on them. The deposit of faith can receive no increase; it can admit of no diminution.

¹ 2, 2^o, q. 1, a. vii.

It remains in the custody of the teaching Church, as its infallible guardian, interpreter, and teacher. As its infallible guardian the Church maintains that deposit in all its purity and integrity. She will permit no new doctrine, however true, to enter into it; she will not permit even the smallest portion of it to be lost. Her commission is to guard it faithfully, and under the guidance of the Holy Ghost to interpret it and teach it to us, as times and circumstances demand. From this one source of divine truth all the Church's teaching comes; and the Holy Ghost is with her assisting her in drawing her teaching from this one source of truth. It is to this complete body of doctrines that our Lord referred when He commissioned His Apostles to teach all that He had commanded them; to it also He referred when He promised to send the Holy Ghost to teach them all things, and to bring to their minds all that He had told them. The Apostles themselves were the first promulgators and teachers of this body of truth. Their commission of teaching passed on to their successors, and shall continue with them till the end of time. Now, from the very nature of the case, it is clear that the Apostles did not, and could not, put forth all revealed truths, to all men at the same time; there must be some order, some succession in their teaching. And we find quite abundant evidence in the New Testament to convince us that all the truths contained in the deposit of faith were not put forward at first with equal prominence. St. Paul told the Corinthians:—‘I judged myself not to know anything among you, but Jesus Christ, and Him crucified.’ And he added: ‘Howbeit we speak wisdom amongst the perfect.’¹ Again: ‘And I, brethren, could not speak to you as unto spiritual, but as unto carnal. As unto little ones in Christ. I gave you milk to drink, not meat; for you were not able as yet.’² And again: ‘For everyone, that is a partaker of milk, is unskilful in the word of justice: for he is a little child. But strong meat is for the perfect; for them who by custom have their senses exercised to the discerning of good and evil.’³ It is then clear that in communicating religious knowledge the Apostles took

¹ 1 Cor. ii. 2, 6.² 1 Cor. iii. 1, 2.³ Heb. v. 13, 14.

into account the circumstances of their hearers, and their capacity for receiving instruction. And the above texts are understood in this sense by the best Protestant commentators—by Dr. Lightfoot, Dr. Ellicott, Dr. Westcott, Dr. Evans, in the *Speaker's Commentary*; Alford, Bloomfield, and MacKnight. It must be, then, that the deposit of faith contained doctrines of so sublime a character, that neophytes could not readily take them in; and, at the same time, it is clear that it also contained doctrines so absolutely necessary to know and to believe, that without knowledge and belief of them, no adult could be saved. 'For he that cometh to God, must believe that He is, and is a rewarder to them that seek Him.'¹ Such truths are said to be necessary as means of salvation (*necessitate medii*). Then there are other truths, the knowledge and belief of which are so necessary for our spiritual well-being that it is our duty to know and to believe them. The necessity of faith in such truths is called the necessity of precept. Now, it is clear that truths of this sort by reason of this necessity should occupy, and did occupy, a more prominent place in Apostolic teaching than the more recondite and speculative truths of faith. Such truths should enter into the public, obligatory profession of faith of the Church; they were explicitly proposed to the faithful, and explicitly believed by them; while other truths, equally contained in the deposit of faith, were not thus explicitly put forward, and were believed only implicitly. But the Church was to teach all that her Lord commanded her, and this implied the obligation of believing all on the part of the faithful; and they fulfil the obligation by believing explicitly all that is proposed to them by the Church, and in accepting her as a divinely authorized teacher they have implicit belief in all else that is contained in the divine deposit of faith. Now, in this deposit there are doctrines that are either obscure in themselves, or that have not been prominently set forth, for a time, in the Church's teaching; and there are doctrines also, apparently clear, and explicitly proposed which, in time, are found

¹ Heb. xi. 6.

to require further explanation. Regarding such doctrines controversies necessarily arise, and the Church, assisted by the Holy Ghost, decides the controversy, and by a new definition, or rather by a new and more explicit statement of an old truth, makes known to her children the divinely revealed truth on the disputed question. Then again, we know how busy Satan is in this world, and how often he succeeds in bringing the vagaries of men's minds, in various departments of knowledge so called, into conflict with God's revelation. And when such conflicts arise it is the duty of the Church to ward off error from the faith of which she is the custodian. Thus more explicit statements of revealed truths become necessary, in order, more clearly, to point out to the faithful where the error lies. And as difficulties of such kinds are arising in every age of the Church they are to be met in every age by like action on her part. And by such definitions no new truth is announced; a truth, always contained in the deposit of faith, and thus hitherto an object of implicit faith, is by the definition authoritatively proposed to the faithful, and thus enters into their explicit faith—a divinely revealed truth passes from the category of implicit into that of explicit faith. This is the meaning of each new definition of faith by the Church, and the decrees of Councils, and of Popes as well, prove this most conclusively. And the moment the definition is announced the faithful accept it unhesitatingly, and it passes into the public obligatory profession of their faith; controversy ceases, and doubts disappear. And hence it is, that all over the Church there is always one profession of faith, and in that profession all Catholics of every tongue, and tribe, and nation agree with the most absolute unanimity. Just as there is no fear that any doctrine shall be defined that is not already contained in the deposit of faith, so there is no fear that a doctrine once defined shall ever be withdrawn or contradicted—all is harmonious and consistent because infallibly true. And, were any professing Catholic to refuse to accept a doctrine defined by the Church, he is by the very fact cut off from his communion, and left to herd with the heathen and the publican abroad. We have a divinely

appointed teacher, securing to us absolute unity of faith, and we follow her guidance. This is our proud 'boast,' or rather our grateful acknowledgment of God's mercy towards us. But this is not the sense of our 'boast' according to Dr. Salmon. According to him our boast 'was that the teaching of the Church had never varied'; that is, that our explicit faith, the articles of faith defined and obligatory, were always the same, and that no addition could be made to their number, and consequently that no definition of faith could be admitted—a 'boast' which no Catholic ever made or could make, for it would be a denial of the mission of the Church. Now, when Dr. Salmon undertook to lecture on 'Infallibility,' as held by us, he owed it to his students, at least, to learn himself the doctrine he was training them to refute. If he did so, why has he so greatly misrepresented us? If he did not learn our teaching (and it is charity to him to suppose that he did not), then he was lecturing his students on a subject of which he was himself ignorant, an insult to any self-respecting body of young men. By all means, let him refute our doctrines, if he can, and let him teach others to do so; but to represent our doctrines as a series of childish absurdities is to act as if he had been lecturing in a lunatic asylum. He fancies that he has an explicit and final condemnation of all new definitions of faith in the celebrated saying of St. Vincent of Lerins—*Quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus*. We have been in the past always quoting this, saying, that our teaching has never varied (pages 20, 33, 183). New definitions have, however, completely falsified our boast, and we quote St. Vincent no longer. Now, though Dr. Salmon thinks St. Vincent's rule a serious difficulty for us he does not appear to expect much advantage from its use himself. He says, 'it is obvious that this rule can give us no help in a controversy' (page 270); and in a note he modifies 'no help' into 'little help.' But whether it 'gives no help,' or 'little help,' he thinks it useful against us. St. Vincent says that our faith must be what was held 'everywhere, always, and by all,' and as this must refer to explicit faith, it excludes all new definitions. This is Dr. Salmon's case

against us, from St. Vincent of Lerins, and it is one of the commonest Protestant objections. Again Dr. Salmon is misleading his students, and if they had read for themselves the chapter of St. Vincent from which the words are taken, they would have seen that their professor's inference was groundless. In the second chapter of the *Commonitorium* St. Vincent says that he had frequently inquired from holy and learned men how he could find some safe general rule to enable him to distinguish Catholic faith from heresy, and the rule he gives is this: 'In the Catholic Church itself, then, we must take special care to hold what was believed everywhere always, and by all; for this is truly and rightly Catholic.' The Protestant inference from this is that nothing can be believed except what was held everywhere, always, and by all, and therefore that there can be no new definition. But St. Vincent did not say this nor did he mean it. He said that what was held everywhere, always, and by all, was Catholic faith; but he did not say that nothing else was. The fact that a doctrine was thus always universally held showed that it was of Apostolic origin, and therefore of faith, but St. Vincent did not say that a doctrine could not be of Apostolic origin unless it was thus universally held. Had this been his meaning, several truths controverted, and decided before his time, could not have been defined at all. He did not intend by his maxim, therefore, to exclude future definitions of faith, and he has himself taken care to make this clear and indisputable. In forcible and eloquent language he has himself anticipated, and answered, the Protestant objection. In chapter xxxiii. he says:—

But, perhaps some one shall say, shall there then be no progress of religion in the Church of Christ? By all means, let there be, and very much progress. For who is he, so envious to men, so hateful to God, that would try to prohibit this? But let it be a real progress of faith, *not* a change. It is the character of progress that each thing should grow in itself; but it is the character of change that a thing should pass from one thing into another. It is right, therefore, that the understanding, the knowledge, the wisdom of each and all, of every age and time, of each individual as well as of the entire Church should increase,

and progress very much, but each in its own kind only, that is in the same truth, in the same sense and sentiment.

He then goes on to compare the growth of faith in the Church with the growth of the human body, and he shows that just as the grown man is the same as the child, though his limbs have grown and progressed, so, too, is the defined article of faith the same as the truth out of which it has grown. And he says :—

It is lawful that the original truths of the heavenly philosophy should in the course of time be systematized, explained, illustrated; but it is not lawful that they should be changed, robbed of their meaning, or mutilated. Let them receive evidence, new light, classification; but let them retain their fulness, their integrity, their distinctive character.

And after saying that if one doctrine could be corrupted, all would soon be corrupt, and a shipwreck of faith would follow, he says :—

But the Church of Christ, the careful, watchful guardian of truths entrusted to her, never changes anything in them; never takes anything from them, never adds to them; she cuts away nothing necessary, she adds nothing superfluous; she loses nothing of her own, she takes nothing that is not her own, but with all zeal and care she aims at this one thing, that by faithfully and wisely handling her ancient dogmas she might explain and illustrate whatever was originally obscure and vague, that she might strengthen and confirm what was express and clear, and that she might guard what was already confirmed and defined. Finally, what else has she ever aimed at by the decisions of her Councils, except that what was hitherto simply believed, may henceforth be believed more diligently; that what was hitherto rarely preached may henceforth be preached with greater emphasis; that what was hitherto remissly cultivated may henceforth be cultivated with greater solicitude. This, I say, and nothing else, has the Catholic Church, when assailed by heretical novelties, done by the decrees of her Councils. What she received at first by tradition alone, from those who went before, this she has handed down, even in written documents, giving a great deal of truth in a few words, and very often for clearness' sake giving a new name to an old truth of faith.

This is Catholic doctrine and practice to the letter, taken literally from a saint who is called up as a witness

against both. And St. Vincent gives an instance of a definition which fully and forcibly illustrates the transition of a revealed truth from implicit to explicit faith. In chapter vi. he speaks of the controversy between Pope Stephen and St. Cyprian on the validity of Baptism given by heretics, and after referring to the writings and disputations on the question he says :—

What then was the result of it all? What surely but the usual, the customary result, the ancient doctrine was retained. the novelty was rejected. And O, wonderful change! the authors of the opinion are accounted Catholics, its followers are heretics; the teachers are acquitted, the disciples are condemned, the writers of the books shall be the children of the kingdom, but hell shall receive the upholders of them.

Thus, then, we have a controversy in which up to the time of its definition Catholics were free to hold either side, but the moment the question was authoritatively settled by the Church, the adherents of the condemned doctrines were heretics. The authors of the writings, such as St. Cyprian and Firmilian, are accounted Catholics because they submitted to the voice of authority; but those who persisted in their opposition to that voice are declared heretics. One would imagine that St. Vincent is writing the history of the Vatican Council, that he has before him the history of the Catholic Church for all the centuries of her life—so accurately, so vividly, does he describe her working in the discharge of her divine commission as guardian and teacher of all revealed truth. And if Dr. Salmon had read St. Vincent's *Commonitorium*, he could not have indulged in his silly charges against the Catholic Church. With a confidence not begotten of knowledge, he quotes glibly four words from the entire book, as if they were to be the epitaph of the Catholic Church; and he poses before his students as a fountain of Patristic lore, though his book is a monument to his ignorance of the fathers, and nowhere is the ignorance less excusable than in his reference to St. Vincent of Lerins. What, then, becomes of his charges against us of 'new doctrines,' of changing faith? The charges are groundless :

the whole life and action of the Church brands them as false, the Church is only doing now what she was doing in the days of St. Vincent of Lerins, what she shall continue to do till the end of time ; fulfilling her office as guardian of revelation by condemning errors, and faithfully discharging her teaching office by the promulgation and explanation of all revealed truth. And the 'proud boast,' attributed to us by Dr. Salmon, we have never made at all, and therefore have never retracted. The 'boast' we did make, and do make, has been traced down from St. Vincent to the Vatican Council, and it is the same all along the line ; and there is nothing in Dr. Salmon's lectures by which it can be in the slightest degree imperilled. His arguments against us are in reality arguments against his own reputation for learning and prudence. He should have taken the advice of the 'judicious Hooker'

Being persuaded of nothing more than this, that whether it be in matters of speculation or of practising, no untruth can possibly avail the patron, and defender long, and that things most truly are likewise most behovefully said.

[To be continued.]

J. MURPHY, D.D.

HOW IS THE MASS IDENTICAL WITH THE SACRIFICE OF THE CROSS?

AN interesting article on this question appeared in the November number of the *American Ecclesiastical Review*, in which the reverend author took up a position admittedly very different from that of most theologians who discuss the formal 'ratio' of sacrifice in the Mass. Laying down as a principle that the catechism and Council of Trent declare an absolute identity to exist between the sacrifice of the Mass and that of the Cross—an identity, that is, which we should term in scholastic phrase, *simpliciter* and not merely *secundum quid*—the author concludes that the essential constituent alike of the Mass as a sacrifice and the sacrifice of Calvary are one and the same, namely, the real immolation and death of our Divine Lord.

The subject is of itself one of so great interest that it may be pardonable to discuss it further in these pages, without, however, any intention of raising a controversy upon what is very much an open question. It is proposed, therefore, to give a sketch of the theory upon the point in question, which has now for some years past been propounded in Rome by that justly esteemed theologian Father Billot, S.J., Professor of Dogma in the Gregorian University. Since Father Billot settles the question on the same principles, to a great extent, upon which depends his theory of the Causality of the Sacraments, of which so able an exposition recently appeared in this Review, it may be of interest to any readers of the I. E. RECORD, who are not acquainted with his books to see how those principles apply in treating of the Mass.

Undoubtedly every Catholic, when he hears Mass, rightly believes that he is assisting at what is, in some very real and true sense, the same sacrifice as that which was offered up on Calvary. This is, generally speaking, enough for him ; he does not enquire into the nature, extent, or causes of that identity. To many a theological student, however, and to the more thoughtful among Catholic lay-people,

the question must often have suggested itself: 'How is the Mass identical with the sacrifice offered on Calvary?' It is a question, indeed, of some practical importance; for this point of Catholic teaching is often made the mark of attacks by Protestants. In order to answer it, we must first be clear upon three other points. First, upon the essential idea of sacrifice in general; second, upon the essential constituent of sacrifice in the Holy Mass; and third, upon the precise relation which exists between the Mass and the great oblation once offered upon Calvary.

In this way we shall arrive at the solution of our main question, as to the nature of the identity which exists between the two and of the causes which bring it about. It will be useful, therefore, to throw our enquiry into the form of a discussion of the following four questions:—

- (1.) What is the essential idea of sacrifice in general?
- (2.) What is the essential constituent of sacrifice in the Mass?
- (3.) What is the relation of the sacrifice of the Mass to that of the Cross?
- (4.) (Our main question.) Why, and in what sense, is the sacrifice of the Mass identical with that of Calvary?

I.—WHAT IS THE ESSENTIAL IDEA OF SACRIFICE IN GENERAL?

It is in the very nature of things necessary that a distinct kind of worship should be offered to the Creator by His creatures, reserved to Him alone, and so exclusively His own prerogative that it may under no circumstances be offered to any other. This is demanded by the fact that God is removed from all other beings by the Infinity of His divine perfections, incommunicable as they are to any creature. This worship, due to God alone, we know by the name of *latria*. It is necessary also, from the composite nature of man, and from his natural position as a member of a society, that this worship should have some outward and visible, and, at the same time, some public expression.

Thus much is supposed from the teaching of the Church *De Religione*, and it gives us at once the answer to the question: 'What is the essential idea of sacrifice in

general?' For sacrifice is nothing else, essentially, than the outward and visible sign of the interior self-oblation and adoration which is due exclusively to the Infinite Majesty of God. Since this adoration must, above all, consist in a recognition on our part of His Absolute Sovereignty over us, and of our utter dependence upon Him, it is most naturally and effectively expressed by the destruction of an offering devoted for the purpose.

We have, then, three elements essentially necessary to the constitution of any sacrifice:—It must be a visible offering; it must be a public offering; the sacrificial act must consist in the destruction of the thing offered.

Now, the first of these essential elements demands that the thing offered be in some way attainable by the outward senses, and the second that it be offered up by a duly constituted priest, acting on behalf of the people. The third element, the destruction of the oblation, really forms the subject of the main part of this enquiry, so that, before proceeding further, it will be well to ask the question: 'How must this essential idea of destruction be verified?'

From what we know of the sacrifices of the Old Law, it is clear that not in all cases need this destruction be actual. It was sufficient in the case of things not living that it should be equivalent—that is, that the object sacrificed should be so altered as not to retain its original outward condition, and to be no longer fit for the use to which it was put by man. Thus, liquids were sacrificed by libation, incense by burning, and so on. But, in the case of living things, destruction could only take the form of death. So, in the one case, man's duty of self-oblation to God was expressed by devoting to Him the use, and, in the other case, by offering him the life, of the thing sacrificed. Hence, in the case of an ordinary living victim, that victim must die, or there is no sacrifice.

But it must be noted that there is one case of a living victim which is entirely unique, and of which there is no other instance. This is the case of a Victim who is offered, not under the natural 'species' belonging to Him, but under the species which naturally belong to another substance. In

other words, this is the case with our Divine Lord in the Holy Mass, where, by force of the words of consecration, He exists, really and truly present, under the species of bread and wine. In this case it is by no means necessary, to the entire verification of the essential idea of sacrifice, that the Divine Victim shall be really destroyed. It is entirely sufficient that He be placed, to quote the words of Father Billot,¹

Sub speciebus sacramenti in quodam externo habitu mortis et destructionis, ac per hoc nata est (*i.e.*, mactatio mystica), non secus ac realis destructio victimae in propria specie, vere et realiter subjectare symbolicam significationem quae sacrificio propria est.

Sacrifice, then, is *in genere signi*. It is an outward visible sign of the inward adoration known as *latrui*. It must be publicly offered by a duly appointed priest. The sacrificial action must consist in the real or equivalent destruction of the oblation. In one unique case, namely in the Mass, it must consist in the mystical, not the real destruction of Him who there offers Himself by the ministry of His priests upon earth.

It may be here objected that such a mystic death cannot be said to verify the description of sacrifice already given, as the Victim, who is also the principal priest, is not visible to mortal eyes. Further, it may not be granted that a mystic death is sufficient to supply the element of destruction which has been stated to be essential to all sacrifice. These difficulties will find their solution in what is about to be said in answer to the second question in this enquiry.

II.—WHAT IS THE ESSENTIAL CONSTITUENT OF SACRIFICE IN THE MASS?

From what has been said already, the answer to this question, on which theologians have greatly differed, will seem to have been to some extent anticipated. From the nature of the subject, and owing to the fact which it has been desired to bring out—that the essential idea in one and all sacrifices is the same—a certain amount of anticipation was unavoidable.

¹ *De Sacrificio Missae*, Proleg. sec. 2.

Taking it for granted as generally admitted that all sacrificial action consists essentially in some kind of destruction of the thing sacrificed, and that in the Mass the sacrificial act is carried out by the separate consecration of the bread and wine, the question at the head of this section resolves itself into this: Is it the *real* or the *mystical* death of the Victim which, in the Holy Mass, expresses the latreutic worship of which all sacrifice is the visible sign? With regard to the sacrifice of Calvary, there can be no doubt as to the answer. It was the real death of our Divine Lord that expressed this worship. But what of the Mass? If we say that our Lord's real death is precisely that which expresses *latritia* in the Mass, and so constitutes a true sacrifice, we are confronted with a series of difficulties. How, for instance, could the first of all Masses—at the Last Supper—have been a sacrifice, since the real death upon the cross had not yet taken place? Again, how can that real death be so repeated in every Mass as to constitute it there and then a true sacrifice?

To this it may be replied that it is repeated by representation. True; but in that case it is invisible in itself: only its representation is visible. But, according to the essential nature of sacrifice, that which constitutes its essence, namely the act by which latreutic worship is outwardly expressed, must be in some way attainable in itself by the outward sense. This cannot be the real death of Christ. Hence the only conceivable way in which that real death can be the precise element *hic et nunc* making each particular Mass a true sacrifice, is by supposing it to be repeated so as to be *in se* cognizable by the senses, or, in other words, by supposing our Divine Lord in some unexplained way to suffer visibly again.

To this all will cry *Absit!* We are driven then to the conclusion that it is not the real death of Christ which constitutes the sacrificial idea in the Mass. This death having taken place once upon the cross, cannot be repeated in its original reality. 'Christ rising from the dead, dieth now no more.'¹ Therefore it must be His mystic death

¹ Rom. vi. 9.

under the sacramental species. Not the real death, but its real representation by means of a mystic death, made visible in the separate consecration of bread and wine to the eye of faith, nay to the very bodily eye, if its witness be corrected by a judgment enlightened by faith in the divine words: 'This is My Body;' 'This is My Blood.'

But here arises another, and a difficult question of theology, controverted even among those who agree in assigning the mystic death as the essential constituent of the sacrifice of the New Law: 'How precisely does this mystic death constitute a true sacrifice?' Vasquez, indeed,¹ considered sufficient for the true sacrificial idea the simple fact that consecration under the separate species represents the death of the cross. But, as Fr. Billot² justly observes, the representation of the former sacrifice, precisely in so far as it is a representation, and apart from every other consideration, is quite insufficient to make the Mass fulfil the conditions necessary. Indeed, representation of the sacrifice of Calvary, is an element common alike to the Mass and to the sacrifice of the Old Law, differing only in the degree of its reality as a representation in the one and the other class of sacrifice. But, just as it was not the fact that the old sacrifices typified the death of the cross that made them true sacrifices, but that they were adequate outward signs of the inward adoration of *latria*; so, too, it is not the fact, considered by itself, that the Mass most vividly and truly puts before us the oblation of His life made by our Lord upon Calvary which makes it a sacrificial act.

It is true that St. Thomas³ speaks of the celebration of Mass as being an 'immolation' of Christ—

Celebratio autem hujus sacrificii, sicut supra dictum est, imago quaedam et representatio passionis Christi, quae est vera ejus immolatio—

because 'the images of things are wont to be called by the names of those things of which they are images;'⁴ but the Angelic Doctor is not concerned in this passage to bring

¹ *Sum S. Th. D.* 222, c. 7, *et seq.*

² *Loc. cit.* sec. 2.

³ 3 p., Q. 83, a 1, in corp.

⁴ *Ibid.*

forward the reason why Christ is truly sacrificed in the Mass, but to explain in what sense He can be said to be therein 'immolated.'

Now, 'immolation' and 'sacrifice' are not convertible terms—immolation signifies a sacrifice perfected by real death. Sacrifice may or may not include the real destruction of the victim. St. Thomas clearly points out, in the passage referred to, that in the Mass the immolation is not real, but only by representation and figure; the real immolation having taken place upon the cross. He does not, however, thereby deny the Mass to be a true sacrifice; therefore he does not require real death as an essential of true sacrifice. Hence his testimony in this place would not only tell against the opinion of Vasquez but also appears to be entirely in favour of the generally accepted view which places the sacrificial act of the Mass in a *mactatio mystica* not *physica*.

To come now to those theologians who agree in holding the mystical slaying of the Victim to be the essential constituent of the Holy Sacrifice, they may be divided, for our purpose, into two classes. Of these the first follow the opinion of Lessius. According to their view the *ratio formalis* of sacrifice in the Mass consists in the sacramental separation of the Body and Blood by consecration under the species. This sacramental (not real) separation constitutes a sacrificial act for this precise reason, that it is an action which, of its own nature, and apart from extrinsic hindrances, would result in the real death of our Blessed Lord. This result, they say, is impeded, not by the lack of any efficiency in the act of transubstantiation of bread and wine respectively into the Body and Blood of Christ, but by the fact of the impassible nature of His glorious Body.

Thus Lessius¹ says:—

Nec obstat veritati hujus sacrificii, quod non fiat reipsa separatio sanguinis a carne, quia id est *quasi per accidens*, propter concomitantiam partium: nam, *quantum est ex vi verborum, fit vera separatio*.

Gonet² writes:—

Per consecrationem panis, ex vi verborum ponitur solum

¹ *De Perfect. Divin.*, l. 12, No. 97.

² *Manuale*, Tom. 6, Tract 4, c. 12 sec. 2.

corpus, per consecrationem calicis solus sanguis, ita ut *veluti per accidens sit respectu consecrationis*, quod, illa peracta, sanguis reperiatur in corpore Christi.

As De Lugo points out,¹ this reduces the sacrifice of the Mass to a frustrated repetition of the real slaying of our Lord. It is as if, in one of the ancient sacrifices, the knife, on being driven into the throat of the victim, had been miraculously penetrated by the tender flesh, so that death should not follow. Such a frustrated killing of the victim would certainly be insufficient to constitute a sacrifice. The sacrificial action, consisting in the real or equivalent destruction of the victim in the signification of *latría*, would be absent.

Nor could this miraculously impeded action be called equivalent destruction, for this only takes place when the object sacrificed is in some way so changed as no longer to retain its original condition, and no longer to be useful to man. Some other way, then, must be found in which the sacrificial idea is verified in the consecration of the sacramental elements. To find it recourse must be had to the essential constituent of sacrifice in general, which is, as has been shown, that it consists in an action resulting in the destruction of the victim—a destruction which in the case of things not living, may be equivalent only; in the case of a living victim must be real, with the single exception of that unique instance in which the Divine Victim of the Mass is offered *sub alicuius speciebus*. The reason for the exception is that, in this case, mystic death is amply sufficient to bear the symbolic signification of latreutic worship. Hence, to the question: 'What is the essential constituent of sacrifice in the Mass?' we reply: It consists in the act of consecration, viewed, not only in its character as representative of the real death of our Lord upon the cross, or as tending to His real destruction, but looked at as effective of a mystic death by the separate transubstantiation of the substance of bread into the substance of the Body of Christ, and the

¹ *Disp.* 19. sec. 4, n. 61.

substance of wine into the substance of the Blood of Christ, His sacred Body being present under the species of wine, and His precious Blood under the species of bread, not *in verborum formae*, but by concomitance.

Restat igitur ultima sententia [writes Fr. Billot] reponens formalem rationem sacrificii absolute sumpti in mactatione mystica secundum se, id est, in sacramentali separatione sanguinis a corpore, non praeceise quia et in quantum representat oblationem crucis ad sensum Vasquezii, multoque minus quia et in quantum foret et sese occisiva Christi nisi impediretur per aliam causam, sed quia et in quantum sistit Christum sub speciebus sacramenti in quodam externo habitu mortis et destructionis, ac per hoc nata est, non secus ac realis destructio victimae in propria specie, vere et realiter subjectare symbolicam significationem quae sacrificio propria est.

By this explanation the objections above suggested are fully satisfied. If it be said that the victim and principal offerer is not visible to mortal eyes, the reply is that His mystic death is visible by means of the separate species: visible, that is to say, when faith corrects the judgments made upon what is perceived by sense; visible, therefore, in a manner amply sufficient to convey the symbolism of a sacrificial act.

Herein consists the mystic death of the Divine Victim, which represents to the faithful that complete subjection and self-oblation which they owe to God—represents it, too, in the most adequate way possible, exceeding infinitely in the completeness and vividness of its presentment of the sacrificial idea all the sacrifices of old time. Therein God Himself, the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity is offered up in His human nature—an offering which, from its infinite dignity and worth, is the sole oblation able to give a true notion of the homage due to an Infinite God. If, again, it be objected that a mystical destruction is not enough to constitute an act of sacrifice, the reply is that, according to the principles already laid down, any form of destruction which can carry—as this mystical destruction has been shown to carry—the symbolism of a sacrificial sign, is sufficient to constitute a true and real sacrifice.

III.—WHAT IS THE RELATION OF THE SACRIFICE OF THE MASS TO THAT OF THE CROSS ?

It will have been observed that one element, and that a very important one, which is contained in the sacrifice of the New Law, has been carefully excluded so far from all mention in this paper. That element is the element of propitiation. It has been excluded of set purpose, and for this reason, that it does not *in se* belong to the essential notion of sacrifice, but is an accessory made necessary only under the supposition of sin to be atoned for. Since, therefore, we have been considering sacrifice only in its essence, as it would necessarily exist in any of the possible states of the human race, the consideration of the propitiatory power of the Mass has been left till now.

It is true that *de facto*, in the actual condition of mankind since the fall, propitiatory sacrifice is necessary, but it must be carefully observed that while a propitiatory and impetratory sacrifice must, in order to be a sacrifice at all, possess the essential element of *latría*, the converse is not true: for a latreutic sacrifice, represented in the Old Law by the Holocaust, need not have the element of propitiation, which includes that also of impetration. These elements are, indeed, included in the sacrifice of the New Law, nor would man have a means of perfectly performing all the duties he owes to God by sacrifice in his fallen condition if they were not so found, but still the only essential element is the latreutic. The others belong, not to the essence but to the integrity of sacrifice as now *de facto* instituted. They cannot, it is true, be dispensed with, but this is not because there would be no sacrifice without them, but because they are required by the present condition of the human family, and the duties towards God imposed by that condition.

The failure to recognise this important distinction between the essential and integral notions of sacrifice, gives rise to much confusion and renders difficult a satisfactory answer to the question of how the Mass is a true sacrifice. It is upon a confusion between a *sacrificium simpliciter* and a *sacrificium satisfactorium pro peccato* that one of the favourite

Protestant arguments against the sacrifice of the Mass is based. Arguing from Holy Scripture that Christ satisfied for our sins by the one oblation upon the cross, they deny the necessity of the continual oblation foretold by the prophet Malachias, or rather, they reduce that oblation to a mere sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving offered by the heart and lips. They forget that, if sin had never entered into this world, sacrifice would still, in the nature of things, have been necessary, as a means of rendering to God that unique worship which is due to Him from the sole fact of our relations to Him as creatures to their Creator. This distinction must, therefore, be carefully kept in view, as well as another, no less important, which has already been made by implication.

From what has gone before, it will have been seen that the Mass can be considered under two aspects—absolutely, as a *sacrificium absolutum*, and relatively, in its relation, that is, to the sacrifice of the cross. Hitherto, and in order to arrive at its essential constituent, it has been considered in its absolute aspect alone, the enquiry being limited to discovering what is the essence of all sacrifice, and what, in the Mass, supplies that essential constituent. When we come to treat of its relation to the sacrifice of the cross, we touch at once the element of propitiation and impetration. The reason of this is, that while the mystical death which Christ there undergoes is a most true and vivid representation of the real immolation, and so, as St. Thomas says,¹ can be called an immolation in a figurative sense, yet it is not as considered in this precise aspect that the *mactatio mystica* makes the Mass a sacrifice. Not precisely as representing the real death, but as adequately signifying, in a certain visible way, the worship called *latria*, is the mystic death the true sacrificial act. Therefore, it is not essentially because of its connection with the oblation made on Calvary that the sacrifice of the New Law has the element of *latria* demanded at all times and in all possible states of mankind here below to constitute the sacrificial idea.

¹ *Loc. cit.*

On the other hand, the propitiatory element, and the element of impetration which it includes, necessarily depend upon and are essentially bound up with the relation of the Mass to the death of the cross. In a word, it is simply and solely because the Mass is related to the sacrifice of the cross that it propitiates God, and thereby impetrates the application of the Passion of Christ to the Church and to individual souls. In what does this connection or relation consist? The Council of Trent shall answer. In Session XXII. Capitulum II. we read:—

Et quoniam in divino hoc sacrificio, quod in Missa peragitur, idem ille Christus continetur et incruente immolatur, qui in ora crucis semel seipsum cruento obtulit, docet sancta synodus, sacrificium istud *vere propitiatorium esse*. . . . *Una enim eademque est hostia, idem nunc offerens sacerdotum ministerio, qui seipsum tunc in cruce obtulit, sola offerendi ratione diversa.*

To conclude the present section of this paper in a few words, while it is one and the same action, materially considered, that makes the Mass a sacrifice, *simpliciter*, or absolutely, and a sacrifice of propitiation, yet it is a different 'formality,' to use the scholastic term, in that one act, to which those two aspects of the sacrifice of the New Law must be referred. The purely sacrificial element must be referred to the adequacy of the mystic death which that act perfects to signify latreutic worship; the propitiatory element to the fact that it is Christ Himself who is at once Victim and principal priest, presenting His Death and Passion to the Eternal Father. Thus the answer to the question: What is the relation of the Mass to the sacrifice of the cross? will be that it is a relation of the representation to the thing represented, differing from a merely figurative representation in this, that the former has an identity with the latter, which is not found in mere types and figures.

This brings us directly to our fourth and last query, which also gives its title to this paper: Why, and in what sense, is the sacrifice of the Mass identical with that of the cross? The words of the catechism of the Council of Trent¹ on this point deserve very careful attention. We

¹ *De Eucharistias Sacramento*, Cap. iv. No. 82.

read there, under the title 'Sacrificium Missae et Sacrificium crucis unum et idem' the following passage:—

Unum itaque et idem sacrificium esse fatemur, et haberi debet, quod in Missa peragitur, et quod in cruce oblatum est, *quemadmodum una est et eadem hostia*, Christus videlicet Dominus Noster, qui seipsum in ora crucis *semel tantummodo cruentum immolavit*. Neque enim cruenta et incruenta hostia duae sunt, sed una tantum, cujus sacrificium, post quam Dominus ita praecepit, 'Hoc facite in meam commemorationem,' in eucharistia quotidie instauretur.

And again (No. 83):—

Sed unus etiam atque idem Sacerdos est Christus Dominus.

Hence it is, the catechism goes on to say, in No. 84, that the sacrifice of the Mass is not merely a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, or an empty commemoration, but a true propitiatory sacrifice.

Quae cum ita sint, sacrosanctum Missae sacrificium esse non solum laudis et gratiarum actionis, aut nudum commemorationem sacrificii, quod in cruce factum est, sed vere etiam propitiatorium sacrificium, quo Deus nobis placatus et propitius redditur.

These words of the catechism are illustrated by those of the Council quoted in the third part of this paper. Looking carefully at these passages, it seems to the writer that the identity of the sacrifice of the Mass with that of the cross, which is asserted by the catechism, is an identity *secundum quid*, not an identity *simpliciter*. It is an identity in certain respects—in respect, truly, of the most important characteristics of both; an identity, namely, of priest and victim. This identity *secundum quid* is quite enough to justify Catholics in saying that the celebration of the Holy Mass is in a very real way the same as the sacrifice offered on Calvary, but the words of the catechism would hardly appear to imply absolute and unqualified identity between the two. The word *quemadmodum* as well as the words introducing the statement that the Mass is a true propitiatory sacrifice, *Quae cum ita sint*, that is because there is one priest and one victim in both, are evidently words of qualification indicating the common element which gives identity in the sense just explained.

This view is borne out by the words of the Council,¹ where it is also argued that the Mass is a *propitiatory* sacrifice because of the identity of the offerer and offered with Him Who was immolated upon the cross—*Una enim et eadem est hostia*. And indeed, to have an identity *simpliciter*, it would be necessary that no differences should be found between the Mass and the sacrifice of Calvary. Far from this being so, there are many apparent differences between the two.

To begin with, they differ as to the time and the place of offering. Again, they differ in this, that whereas upon the cross, Christ Himself was the sole offerer, in the Mass the officiating priest, and with him the whole Church, are co-offerers with Christ the principal priest. Moreover, in the sacrifice of the New Law, the mystical Body of Christ—His Holy Church—is offered together with His real Body; not indeed physically, but morally and symbolically. The sacrifice of the cross, too, must be looked upon, not as forming one *simpliciter* with the continual sacrifice of the New Law but rather as its origin and fountain-head.

Lastly, there is the important difference in the mode of offering, noted by the Council of Trent.

These evident differences would appear to be enough to show that the sacrifice of the Mass, while *secundum quid* identical with the oblation made on Calvary, is *simpliciter diversum*. Nor need it be feared that this explanation will in any way injure the beautiful spirit of faith in which Catholics look upon the Mass as one with its great Original. Such differences as do exist between them, far from lessening the sanctity and dignity of our daily oblation, serve, on the contrary, to bring out the wonderful depth of Divine Wisdom and the richness of Divine Love shown towards us in the great gift Christ has left to His Church. In the Mass we have a most perfect means of carrying out the four great ends for which, in our present state of fallen and restored nature, sacrifice must be offered. In the Mass we have a most real representation of the Passion and Death of our Redeemer, and an ever-open channel by which the fruits

¹ *Loc. cit.*

of His Redemption flow to our souls. Since Christ cannot die again and again for us, the holy sacrifice has been instituted by Him, in which we can see Him mystically immolated, and in the ceremonies with which Holy Church has surrounded the great act of worship, can follow in spirit every scene of His sufferings for us.

In conclusion, there is a possible objection which must be met. It may be said that the catechism and Council of Trent are both silent about any *sacrificium simpliciter* as distinguished (in consideration, that is) from the *sacrificium propitiatorium*. The reason is plain. The Council, in showing the Mass to be a propitiatory sacrifice, proves thereby—*per modum unius*—that it is a latreutic sacrifice, having for its essential basis that outward symbolism of *latria* which constitutes the essence of all sacrifice as such.

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Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

NOTES ON THE EXTENSION OF THE JUBILEE

WE shall begin with a brief reference to a few questions that have arisen out of our former contributions under this heading.

In the March number of the I. E. RECORD (page 256) we wrote :—

The conditions for gaining the Jubilee may be fulfilled outside one's parish or diocese. The Confession and Communion may be made anywhere, even in a diocese in which the Jubilee has not yet opened, or in which it has been already closed. The visits to the church may be made anywhere that the Jubilee is open, but they must, of course, be made to churches designated by the Ordinary and under the conditions prescribed.

The Jubilee confession and communion give rise to no special difficulty in this connexion.¹ How far the special faculties for absolving, commuting or dispensing are available outside one's parish or diocese will be treated more fully later. As regards the visits, however, it may be useful, if we state explicitly the principal cases covered by the statement just quoted. Many of them have been submitted to us by correspondents.

(1.) The visits cannot be made where the Jubilee is not actually open or the churches designated.

(2.) In extensive parishes, where different churches are designated for the convenience of persons living in districts far apart, a person from one district can make his visits to the church of another district of the parish, provided, of course, he fulfils the conditions required in that district.

(3.) One can make all his visits validly in his own diocese outside his own parish. For, in a reply of the Cong. of Indulgences, 24th May, 1826,² it was decided that a

¹ *Ibid.*, v.g., *Acta S. Sedis*, viii. p. 486.

² *Ibid.* N. R. *Théologique*, vii. p. 211a.

person might accompany the Jubilee processions of a neighbouring parish of the same diocese, but that each such visit should count as only one private visit.

(4.) The visits may be made even in a strange diocese, in which one happens to reside temporarily, though he has neither domicile nor quasi-domicile there.¹ For the question was put 'Utrum lucratur Jubilaeum qui conditiones praescriptas adimplet in *aliena* Diocesi, ubi non habet domicilium, si observet ordinationes Ordinarii loci *ubi moratur*.' And the reply was, Affirmative. Nor, is there any reason to think that the reply would have been different, if the person even went each day for the sole purpose of making the visits. For the Cong. of the Penitentiary, 14th May, 1879, decided, 'peragere eas [visitationes] posse sive in suo domicilio *sive alibi*, dummodo ecclesias, non quaslibet visitent, sed designatas in loco ubi visitationes peragere statuerunt.'² In this last decision, there is no suggestion that one should be residing, even temporarily, in the place in which he makes his visits.

(5.) If one has validly made some of his Jubilee visits in one diocese and then changes his domicile to another diocese, he can complete the remainder of his visits in his new domicile, provided the Jubilee be open there.³ The same reply, would have been given, we may assume, even though he had acquired no domicile in either place of residence.

(6.) Lastly, as it appears from the decisions quoted that all the visits need *not* be made in one place, and as a person can make all his visits outside his own parish or diocese, it would seem to follow, that, even without a change of domicile, one could make some of his visits in one parish, and some in *any other parish*. In this sense, the Congregation of the Penitentiary, 15th January, 1886, gave the following decision: 'posse lucrari Jubilaeum eos qui conditiones praescriptas *partim in una diocesi, partim in alia, quacumque ex causa*, adimplent aut perficiunt, si observent ordinationes Ordinariorum locorum.'

¹ *Vid. Acta S. Sedis*, viii. p. 486v.

² *Vid. N. R. Théologique*, 1901, p. 195.

Vid. Acta S. Sedis, loc. cit. vi.

Another question has arisen regarding those who make some visits processional and others privately. We stated that each processional visit may count as equivalent to two or more private visits according to the relative values assigned in the arrangement adopted by the Ordinary.¹ A correspondent writes, that, in his diocese, four days' processional visits are equivalent to the ordinary fifteen days' private visits. Suppose, then, he says, that a person has made two days' processional visits and wishes to complete the required number of visits privately, how many visits remain to be made. The person has made half the processional visits—two days out of four are completed. At first sight, therefore, it would seem that thirty visits—i.e. seven days' private visits, with four visits each day, and two visits on the eighth day—would be sufficient. But, we do not think that this is admissible. The two visits made on the eighth day would, we fear, be invalid. For, apart from commutation, each Jubilee day requires four visits. The person in question should, therefore, make four visits on the last day also, thus completing his visits by thirty-two private visits.

Another correspondent suggests that we were unnecessarily cautious, when we laid down that persons desiring to make a visit immediately after the obligatory Sunday Mass, ought to leave the church and then re-enter to make the visit. We see no reason, however, to dispense with that precaution. If, indeed, on Sunday morning, one goes to the church before Mass time, for the purpose of making a Jubilee visit, we are prepared to admit that he can validly make his visit and then, without leaving the church, validly satisfy the Sunday obligation by hearing Mass immediately after. The reason is that the visit is complete in the case, once the requisite prayers have been recited. Exit from the church is not necessary to complete the visit; nor is entry, when one happens to be in the church already necessary to comply with the Sunday obligation. If, however, one has entered the church to hear Mass, and then

Conf. v.g. Arizzoli, Dubia et Responsa; p. 27. *N. R. Théologique*, 1875 p. 167.

without leaving, attempts to make a Jubilee visit, we think the visit is invalid, or, at best, doubtfully valid, because he is in the church and has come into it in fulfilment of an obligation. His actual presence in the church and his entry into it have, in the circumstances, necessarily gone to fulfil the ecclesiastical obligation. That this person was free, as our correspondent says, to go to any other church to hear Mass seems beside the question. Just as a man cannot, while satisfying his Sunday obligation, by assisting at a solemn Mass, make a Jubilee visit; though he was in no way bound to select a solemn Mass and if he had chosen a low Mass, half the time that he spends in fulfilling his obligation would be free.¹

More than one correspondent has referred to the difficulty raised in our last paper (page 359), regarding the Jubilee confession. On the one hand, it is contended by some that there is really no serious difficulty. We should be glad to believe that true. But almost all the authorities that we have been able to consult on the point raised agree in seeing a real difficulty and, what is worse, they do not agree as to the way out of it. On the other hand, it is confidently claimed by others that the decision of the Penitentiary, in 1875,² settles the whole matter and that one can, by an act of his will, defer the fulfilment of the annual confession. That the Church could allow such a postponement of the annual confession, we freely admit. A decision, in such a sense, if it ever does come, will not touch the position we took up. Our contention was that no such decision had so far been given and that the reply of the Penitentiary in 1875 did not decide the question. We gave our reasons. We need not waste words now in defending our interpretation of the decision of the S. Congrégation, in 1875. For the reply sent to his Grace the Archbishop of Dublin declares that the reply of 1875, in the form in which it was so confidently relied on, as conclusive against us, is not authentic.³ The authentic version of the reply, so far from implying that the Jubilee

¹ See Loiseaux in *N. R. Théol.* 1875, p. 443, who adopts the solution we have given. *Conf.*, Bouquillon *Le Jubilé de 1886*, p. 10.

² *Ibid.* Lehmkühl, ii, n. 549.

³ *Ibid. infra* p. 470 and p. 465.

confession can come first, in the case under discussion, might perhaps, if pushed to its ultimate consequences, convey that the annual confession must be made in the first place. But, however that may be, the question, whether the Jubilee faculties would be available at the annual confession,—if it does come first—remains, unfortunately, without an authoritative answer.

PRIVILEGES OF THE JUBILEE.—With the purpose of inducing all the faithful to avail themselves of the graces of the Jubilee, very extensive faculties are given to Jubilee confessors: and to those classes of penitents, who are, at other times, restricted in their choice of a confessor wide latitude is conceded. We shall first deal with this second privilege of choosing a confessor.

THE CHOICE OF A JUBILEE CONFESSOR.—The words of the Apostolic Letter dealing with this subject are:—

I. *Moniales earumque Novitiæ sibi ad hunc effectum eligere poterunt Confessarium quemcumque ad excipiendas Monialium Confessiones ab actuali Ordinario approbatum.*

II. *Ceteri omnes utriusque sexus Christifideles tam laici quam ecclesiastici, sæculares et cujusvis Ordinis et Instituti etiam specialiter nominandi Regulares poterunt ad eundem effectum sibi eligere quemcumque presbyterum Confessarium, tam sæcularem, quam Regularem, ab Ordinario actuali loci ad audiendas personarum sæcularium Confessiones approbatum: vel si agatur de Regularibus, Confessarium proprii Ordinis eligere volentibus, a Praelato Regulari ad suorum Religiosorum audiendas Confessiones approbatum.*

This privilege, regarding the choice of a confessor, affects religious, who, in ordinary times, are subject to restrictions not affecting seculars. It will be useful to distinguish between religious orders or congregations of men and of women; also, between those of each class who have solemn and those who have only simple vows.

(1.) Nuns with solemn vows and their novices can select for their Jubilee confession not only a confessor approved for their own convent, but any confessor approved for any convent of such nuns in the diocese. Moreover, they can select any confessor, who was at any previous time so approved by the present Ordinary—even though the approbation has already expired—provided that confessor was not

*ob demerita, quae ipsas confessiones concernant, ab eodem Ordinario positive reprobatur.*¹

Hence, an ordinary or extraordinary confessor whose term of approbation has expired might, subject to the exception mentioned above, be chosen as a Jubilee confessor by nuns with solemn vows. A doubt is raised, however, whether such a confessor may be chosen in case that his former approbation was given, not by the *present* Ordinary, but, by a predecessor of the present Ordinary.² For the words of the Apostolic Letter, *Temporis quidem*, are, 'ab *actuali* Ordinario loci approbatum.' It would seem, therefore, that existing or expired approbation of the *present* (*actualis*) Ordinary is necessary. Benedict XIV. also requires the Jubilee confessor of nuns to be 'ab *actuali* Ordinario approbatum.' It is somewhat remarkable, too, that the word *actualis* was omitted in this context in the *Aeterni Pastoris*³ and is now restored in the Letter *Temporis quidem*. Some, however, are disposed to hold that the words, *ab actuali Ordinario approbatum*, merely require approbation from the Ordinary of the place where the penitent actually confesses. According to this opinion, with which we are inclined to agree, a confessor, whose approbation from a predecessor of the present Ordinary has expired and was never renewed by the present Ordinary is eligible as a Jubilee confessor.⁴

If a nun with solemn vows, through ill-health, or for any other reason is forced to leave the enclosure, she can make her Jubilee confession, like her other confessions, to any confessor approved for both sexes by the Ordinary of the place where the confession is heard.

(2.) Nuns with simple vows, even though at ordinary times they may be restricted by the bishop in the choice of a confessor, can, for their Jubilee confession, select any confessor, secular or regular, approved for hearing the

¹ Cong. S. Poenit., 10 Mar., 1750, Benedict XIV., Constitution. *Celebrationem*, N.R. Théol. I. p. 431; Piat *De Jure Regularium*, ii. p. 211

² Conf. Loiseaux, *Traité du Jubilé*, p. 367.

³ Conf. Bastien, p. 341, n 1, a.

⁴ I. E. RECORD, Jan. 1900, p. 85.

⁵ *Vid. N.R. Théologique*, 1901, p. 205; Conf. Arizzoli, *Dubia et Responsa*, p. 33.

confessions of both sexes, in the place where the confession is made. Unlike nuns with solemn vows, therefore, their choice is not restricted to confessors approved for the confessions of nuns. A decision to this effect was given last year,¹ regarding the Jubilee of the Holy Year. A like decision has now been given in reply to a question from the Archbishop of Dublin, regarding the present extension of the Jubilee.² *Per se*, therefore, these religious can choose their Jubilee confessor, with the same freedom as the ordinary faithful. They may confess in their own parish, or in any parish in which they happen to be, to any priest approved in that place, for the confessions of women. We have said above that nuns with solemn vows may, in certain cases, choose a confessor, whose approbation has expired. It is to be noted that no similar privilege is granted to nuns with simple vows. Their Jubilee confessor must be selected from those who are actually approved. It is unnecessary to add that neither the local superior, nor any other superior, has the right to deny to a nun, who wishes to gain the Jubilee, the privilege of selecting her confessor, within the terms of the Papal Letter.

(3.) Regulars can select, as their Jubilee confessor (a) any priest of their own Order, who is approved by the religious superior for the confessions of members of the Order: such a confessor does not require the approbation of the *Ordinarius loci*; (b) or they may select any secular priest or a member of a different Order from their own, provided in both cases the confessor so elected have the approbation of the *Ordinarius loci*: in this case, the secular or regular does not require faculties from the religious superior of the penitent, for faculties are given in the Apostolic Letter, *Temporis quidem*.

Regulars, therefore, enjoy very exceptional liberty in choosing a confessor for their Jubilee confession. In one particular, however, the regular clergy are placed under a special restriction, as regards their Jubilee confession. It is commonly held that regulars, *in itinere*, who cannot

¹ 2nd January, 1900.

² *Ibid.* p. 470 *infra*.

confess to a member of their own Order, can validly, and, with permission, lawfully, confess to any other priest, even though he has not the approbation of the Ordinary of the place. Assuming the truth of this opinion, such a confessor may, *positis ponendis*, hear the Jubilee confession of a regular, but he cannot exercise any of the special Jubilee faculties. These faculties are, according to the terms of the Apostolic Letter, available only where the confessor of the regular is a member of his own Order or is approved *ab actuali Ordinario loci*.

(4.) What we have said of regulars is applicable also to the members of congregations, in so far as their constitutions agree with those of the religious orders strictly so-called.

(5.) The ordinary faithful may, of course, select as their Jubilee confessor any one to whom they might confess at any other time. They may, for example, confess to their parish priest anywhere¹ and he will have the special Jubilee faculties. They can anywhere choose any priest who is there approved generally or for that class to which they belong.

(6.) *Per se* the Jubilee confession need not be made in one's own parish or diocese; it may be made anywhere, as we have already said. And the confessor selected, according to the provisions above mentioned, will in all cases—in the penitent's diocese or outside it—have the extraordinary faculties of the Jubilee. It is not necessary that the Jubilee should be open in the place where the confession is heard. Once the confessor is rightly chosen, the extraordinary Jubilee faculties to absolve from sins and censures, to commute vows and dispense in irregularities are available from the Apostolic Letter, *Temporis quidem*. The faculty to commute the Jubilee visits or communion, however, is not granted directly to Jubilee confessors but to the Ordinary. Such a commutation, therefore, can be made only by an Ordinary or his delegate.

(7.) In order that any penitent should have privilege of

¹ Loiseaux, p. 346.

selecting for the Jubilee confession, a confessor, to whom he or she could not in ordinary circumstances confess, that penitent must have a *bona fide* intention of gaining the Jubilee.

(8.) *Per se*, it is not necessary that the confessor should be informed of the penitent's intention to make a Jubilee confession; it will, of course, be necessary, if the penitent requires the exercise of the extraordinary Jubilee faculties.

COMMUTATION OF THE VISITS AND OF THE COMMUNION.—The Apostolic Letter deals with the power of commuting the *opera injuncta* and reducing the number of visits in these terms :—

Locorum Ordinariis facultatem facimus dispensandi a prae-scriptis visitationibus Moniales, Oblatas, aliasque puellas ac mulieres in claustris monasteriorum aut in aliis piis domibus et communitatibus agentibus, item Anachoretas et Eremitas, aut alias quaslibet personas in carcere aut in captivitate existentes, aut valetudine vel alio impedimento detentas, quominus statas visitationes peragant: eisque omnibus et singulis in locum visitationem alia pia opera sive per se ipsos, sive per eorum earumve Regulares Praelatos aut Confessarios, etiam extra sacramentalem Confessionem, commutandi, similiter dispensandi pueros, nondum ad primam Communionem admissos, eisque alia pia opera etiam pro sacramentali Communionem praescribendi; Capitulis autem, Congregationibus tam saecularium quam regularium, Sodalitatibus, Confraternitatibus Universitatibus seu Collegiis quibuscumque neonon Christifidelibus cum proprio Parocho, aut alio sacerdote ab eo deputato statutas Ecclesias processionaliter visitantibus, easdem visitationes ad minorem numerum reducendi.

(1.) The power of commuting extends only to the visits and to the communion; not to the confession.

(2.) The power to commute is given directly to the Ordinary; not to regular prelates, parish priests, or confessors.

(3.) For regulars wishing to gain the Jubilee the Ordinary can delegate the power of commuting either (a) to their confessors, or (b) to regular prelates; for others, the Ordinary can delegate confessors.

(4.) The Ordinary can commute and authorise his delegate to commute *extra Sacramentalem Confessionem*. A delegate may reasonably assume that he can commute *extra confessionem*, unless his power is expressly restricted. It appears from what we have just said that a religious, *v.g.*, or a lay person, may obtain a commutation from his or

her confessor. But who is the confessor? Certainly, a confessor to whom one actually confesses, on the occasion of seeking the commutation, can commute: also, *extra confessionem* a confessor to whom one usually confesses, can, *positis ponendis*, commute. But, can an approved confessor, who has power to commute *extra confessionem*, exercise these faculties for a penitent who does not confess to him now and who is not habitually a penitent of his? In support of a negative answer to this question it is urged that the Ordinary can, for the convenience of Jubilee penitents, delegate—not confessors—but *their* confessors, *eorum earumve confessarios*, to grant the necessary commutations. Nor can one call a priest *his* confessor, unless he either goes to confession to that priest usually, or, at all events, when receiving the commutation. But, on the other hand, it might be contended, that the words, *eorum earumve* in that clause of the Apostolic Letter, above cited (p. 461) do not necessarily qualify *confessarios* and that all confessors, therefore, can be delegated, even for those who are not their penitents. We are inclined to take this view, on the principle, *favores sunt ampliandi*. Arizzoli,¹ however, holds confessors cannot be delegated to deal with any but *their own penitents*. In support of this contention, he says that in reply to a question, whether confessors could commute *extra confessionem* in the works of the Jubilee of the Holy Year, the S. Cong. of Penitentiary replied, 21st July, 1900, *Affirmative, sed erga proprios poenitentes*. It will, therefore, be safer, at all events, if one seeks a commutation *extra confessionem*, to apply to one's usual confessor.

(5.) For the various classes of persons expressly mentioned in the Apostolic Letter, *Moniales, Oblatas*, etc., as well as for those labouring under illness or any other impediment the visits may be commuted into *alia pia opera*. But, apart from the exception to be made in the next paragraph in regard to nuns, etc., a grave cause is required in order that the commutation of visits be valid. A cause that would excuse a person from coming to the church to hear Mass on Sunday is considered sufficient for commuting the Jubilee visits also. If the Ordinary, the confessor, or other person

¹ Page 16.

commuting, *bona fide* commutes with an insufficient cause, the indulgence of the Jubilee will not be, thereby, forfeited.

(6.) It would appear that for nuns and other women, living in religious communities, their state of life is sufficient to entitle them to a commutation of the visits.¹ The commutation may, therefore, be made, even though the nuns, etc., could easily visit the churches designated for their parish. Moreover, it would seem, that the commutation, if given, need not necessarily take the form of visits to their own private chapels. Such a commutation, however, will, as a rule, be the most suitable.

(7.) The work or works substituted by way of commutation must not be already obligatory, and should be, at least, equivalent to the work or works which they are intended to replace.

(8.) For *Navigantes et iter facientes*, who cannot make the visits within the appointed time, provision is expressly made in the Apostolic Letter. But, what of those who, through mere negligence, put off making the visits until the close of the Jubilee, in their diocese, is at hand? They can, of course, comply with the required conditions in any other diocese in which the Jubilee is open. But can they get a commutation, so that they can make the Jubilee, in the short time that remains in their own diocese? We think they can, because, however blameworthy their negligence, they are here and now *impedimento detenti*, and therefore come within the scope of the commutation clause of the Apostolic Letter.

(9.) Benedict XIV. draws attention to the fact, that the prayers for the intention of the Holy Father are separable from the visits to the church, and that these prayers for the prescribed intentions should not be dispensed with, even though the visits be commuted.²

It was decided, however, in the case of former Jubilees, that, where the number of visits has been reduced for those making the Jubilee processionally, it was not necessary to supply the prayers of the omitted visits, unless the Ordinary imposed that condition.

¹ This is manifestly true also regarding "Anachoretas et Eremitas aut alias quaslibet personas in carcere aut captivitate existentes."

² *Vid. Inter Praeteritos*, n. 55, *Conf. Loiseaux*, p. 583.

(10.) The Communion can be commuted for those only who have not yet made their first Communion.¹

(11.) The Ordinary also gets power in the last clause quoted above from the Apostolic Letter, the power to reduce the number of visits for chapters, congregations, secular and regular, universities or colleges or parishes making the visits processional. We have already referred, in the April number of the I. E. RECORD,² to the conditions, necessary for these processions, in order that the privilege of reduced visits should be available. We have since been asked, whether if a parish priest or his deputy accompanies a confraternity of his parish, parishioners who do not belong to the confraternity acquire the privilege of reduced visits by joining the procession thus formed? We think they may. There is nothing to prevent the confraternity and the parochial processions from uniting. If, however, there be members of the confraternity, who do not belong to the parish, it may be well that the members of the confraternity should form a distinct section of the joint procession.

Another correspondent inquires whether a parish priest may secure for his parishioners, making their visits with the parochial procession of another parish, the privilege of reduced visits, by deputing the priest who leads the processions in that parish? We think that, under the terms of the Apostolic Letter, a parish priest may validly depute the priest who leads a parochial procession in another parish, and so secure for his own parishioners, who join that procession, the privilege of reduced visits.

It has been contended that the Ordinary has no power to reduce the number of visits for processionists, unless they visit four churches each day. We can find no authority in the Apostolic Letter for this view. And the following reply of the Penitentiary, as quoted by Arizzoli,³ seems to be conclusive against it ' [Ordinarius habet] facultatem reducendi visitationes ad statutas ecclesias processionaliter factas ad minorem numerum, non tamen ad unam tantum ecclesiam.' It seems sufficient, therefore, that the processional visits should be made to two or more churches.

D. MANNIX.

¹ See, however, I. E. RECORD, April, 1901, p. 357.

² *Ibid.* p. 355.

³ See Arizzoli, page 17, n. 14, 3rd edit.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE SACRED PENITENTIARY AND THE JUBILEE CONFESSORS FOR NUNS: THE JUBILEE CONFESSION—LETTER FROM THE ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN

ARCHBISHOP'S HOUSE, DUBLIN,
17th April, 1901.

REV. DEAR SIR,—I send you for publication the replies I have received from the S. Penitentiary on two points recently submitted by me for decision.

The first regards the extent of the privilege of choosing a Jubilee Confessor, granted to the members of religious Sisterhoods whose Vows of Profession are Simple. This part of the document speaks for itself.

The answer to the second question is of a somewhat unsettling character. The matter to which the question refers—the special Confession required as a condition for the gaining of the Jubilee—is one in which I have taken a more than common interest ever since I first gave any special attention to questions of the kind, in connection with the Jubilee granted on the occasion of the Vatican Council in 1869.

This second question really comprises the following two:—

1. If a person wishes to gain the Jubilee, must he go to Confession twice—once in order to fulfil the precept of annual Confession, and once in order to gain the Jubilee?

2. If two Confessions are thus necessary, can he first make his Jubilee Confession (so that the special faculties of the Jubilee may be exercised in his favour), and reserve for a second Confession, later on, his fulfilment of the ecclesiastical precept?

These questions arise, of course, only in the case of a person who, from having a mortal sin to confess, is bound by the precept of the Church to go to Confession within the year. It may also be noted that, if, in such a case, the Jubilee Confession may be made before the ecclesiastical precept is fulfilled, the obligation of that precept ceases to affect the penitent when this Confession has been made, and will not again come into force in his case unless he afterwards commits a mortal sin within the year.

¹ See Loiseaux. *Traité du Jubilé*, chap. 5, art. ii. § 2, n. xii. (Ed. Paris, 1869, p. 192).

Naturally—for various reasons often recited—one would wish to hold that the first of the two Confessions might be made as the Jubilee Confession. But liking is one thing, law is another; and law cannot be changed except by the authority that made it. For my part, I have never been able to find any sufficient reason for doubting that the principle of ecclesiastical law upon which this particular case turns is accurately represented by the common teaching of theologians. As to what that teaching is, it would be superfluous to add to the *catena* of authorities set forth by Dr. Mannix in the current number of the RECORD.¹ But to put the point explicitly, I may quote the words of Suarez.

The particular obligation in connection with which he chiefly elucidates this principle of law is the obligation of reciting the Divine Office. Speaking of a person who is bound to recite the Office, but who, on a particular occasion, recites it as an act of devotion, not intending thereby to fulfil the obligation, expressly intending, in fact, to reserve the fulfilment of it to another recitation at a later hour, Suarez repudiates the notion that this can be done. He says:—

‘ Ille, statim ac recitavit, fecit quod praecipiebatur, et ita implevit re ipsa praeceptum, quamvis ex ignorantia forte putaret se non implere illud, sed posse se suspendere observationem praecepti, non obstante actione humana per illud praecepta.’²

To forestall a possible difficulty, it may be well to remark that Suarez does not specially contemplate the case of a person who is under an obligation to fulfil a precept *quamprimum*, in the sense that the fulfilment of it could not lawfully be deferred. Take the case of the Divine Office. I am at liberty to defer the reading, let us say, of Compline, to a late hour. But, as he puts the case, if I read Compline several hours before the time to which I might lawfully postpone it, the obligation is necessarily fulfilled. So, too, in the case of hearing Mass on a day of obligation. I am at liberty to put off the hearing of Mass to the latest hour at which Mass is said. But the hearing of the earliest Mass said in the morning necessarily fulfils my obligation, whether I intend this or not, or even if I expressly intend to exclude it. This is the teaching of Suarez as regards the general case. Holding this, we should, I

¹ See I. E. RECORD, p. 360.

² Suarez, *De Religione*, Tract 4, cap. xxvi. n. 11 (Ed. Vives, vol. xiv., p. 401).

presume, *a fortiori* hold that the obligation would be fulfilled if the case were one in which the fulfilment of the precept could not lawfully be deferred.

A case of this special class may arise in connection with the ecclesiastical precept of Confession. The fulfilment of this precept may without sin be postponed to the end of the year. But once the year—however it is to be computed—is over, the obligation becomes a pressing one. 'Qui, elapso anno, adhuc non confitetur,' says De Lugo, 'transgreditur adhuc præceptum: nam facit quod dilatio sit major.'

Now, even if it were to be shown that the general teaching of theologians is astray as regards cases of the ordinary type—illustrated by the obligation of reading Compline, for instance, or of hearing Mass on days of obligation,—it might still be maintained that in the special case which arises when the fulfilment of the ecclesiastical precept of Confession has been neglected throughout an entire year, the obligation would necessarily be fulfilled by the first good Confession made after the year had closed.

This, then, was the state of the case, as I regarded it, in the light thrown on it by the reply of the S. Penitentiary in 1875, as quoted by Fr. Lehmkuhl. For the gaining of the Jubilee and the fulfilment of the Paschal precept, two Communions are required. But, according to that reply, one Confession would suffice, 'firma tamen manente obligatione satisfaciendi, si nondum quis satisfecerit, præcepto annuæ Confessionis.'

Fr. Lehmkuhl's comment¹ on this is that, inasmuch as the obligation of Confession is not, like the obligation of Communion, specially attached to the Paschal time, a person who has sinned mortally, and has not yet fulfilled the ecclesiastical precept by going to Confession within the year, is in the following position:—He may, first of all, go to Confession and Communion for the gaining of the Jubilee; he must go a second time to Communion in order to fulfil the Paschal precept; but he need not, so far as the ecclesiastical precept is concerned, go to Confession again within the year unless he again sins mortally, in

¹ See De Lugo, *De Sac. Pœnitentias*, Disp. 15, sect. vii. nn. 164-163.

² De Lugo, *ibid.* nn. 177, 178.

³ See Lehmkuhl, *Theol. Moral.* vol. ii. n. 549.

⁴ *Ibid.*

which case he is bound by the ecclesiastical precept since he has not as yet fulfilled it.

This plainly cannot be reconciled with the principle of ecclesiastical law laid down by Suarez and by theologians generally since his time. It is right to state that the principle is one which, as a principle, is fully accepted by Fr. Lehmkuhl himself. In his section *De Lege*, speaking of the hearing of Mass on a day of obligation, he says:—

‘3. Qui . . . primo Sacro ex sola devotione intendit assistere, postea ob praeceptum aliud auditurus, tamen *implevit praeceptum*, . . . quid, re praescripta praestita, obligatio legis extincta est, neque subditus ipse sibi legis vinculum potest injicere.’

Dr. Mannix suggests that the reply of the S. Penitentiary may be understood in a sense not inconsistent with the common teaching of the theologians. This, no doubt, would be so if the reply were to be taken, as he suggests that it may perhaps be taken, namely, as referring to the case of a person who, when making his first Confession within the Paschal time as a Jubilee Confession, had not sinned mortally within the year, so that his Confession then made would not be at all an obligatory Confession.

The suggestion is an ingenious one. But somehow it seems to me to involve a straining of the sense of the reply as quoted. I had, therefore, come to regard this reply as setting aside *pro tanto* the commonly received principle of the theologians.

Still the further question undoubtedly remained open:—May all this be applied, not only in the case of a person who, from having fulfilled the precept of Confession in the preceding year, is free to postpone his Confession to the end of the current year, but also in the case of a person who, from not having fulfilled the precept of Confession in the preceding year—or in several preceding years,—is now bound, not only to go to Confession within the current year, but to do so *quamprimum*?

This question, submitted to the S. Penitentiary within the last few weeks, has elicited the unexpected answer that the reply of 1875, on which the question is based, is not authentic, and that the authentic reply—which, in the context, would seem to mean the only authentic reply—on the subject, is:—

‘Duas requiri Confessiones, unam pro lucrando Jubilaeo, alteram pro praecepto annuae Confessionis.’

¹ Lehmkuhl, vol. i. n. 152 (3.)

It is due to Fr. Lehmkuhl to say that, whoever else may be in fault in point of accuracy in this perplexing matter, he certainly is not. The reply of 1875, precisely as quoted by him, is to be found in the *Acta S. Sedis*, in the place to which he refers—vol. viii., pages 360, 361. It is there given in the following terms:—

‘VII. Ex S. Poenitentiariae responsis certum est haud satisfieri posse praecepto Paschali et Jubilaeum lucrari unica Confessione et unica Communionem; potestne unus et alter attingi finis duabus Communionibus et unica Confessione?’

‘RESP. Affirmative; firma tamen remanente obligatione satisfaciendi, si nondum quis satisfecerit, praecepto annuae Confessionis.’

A serious aspect of the case, as it now stands, is that doubt is thrown upon the decisions quoted in that useful publication, the *Acta S. Sedis*, or at least upon all those decisions quoted in it to which the name of a responsible official of the Congregation or Tribunal in question is not attached as a guarantee of genuineness.

In the meantime, we have no authoritative answer to the important practical question whether a person who has sinned mortally, and is therefore bound by the ecclesiastical precept of Confession, can make his Jubilee Confession the first time he goes to Confession within the year.

I should not omit to note the fact—which may or may not be significant—that in the authentic reply, now published by the S. Penitentiary, the Jubilee Confession is mentioned first:—‘*Duas requiri Confessiones, unam pro lucrando Jubilaeo, alteram pro praecepto annuae Confessionis.*’ In connection with this however, it has to be borne in mind that if the Jubilee Confession is made first, it removes the necessity for a second Confession, and that the necessity for a second Confession would afterwards arise, not as a matter of course, but hypothetically, that is to say, in the event of a mortal sin being subsequently committed within the year. It seems a little hard to think that the definite statement, ‘*duas requiri Confessiones,*’ does not mean something more than this.

I remain, Rev. Dear Sir,

Faithfully yours,

✠ WILLIAM J. WALSH,
Archbishop of Dublin.

DOCUMENTS

REPLIES OF THE SACRED PENITENTIARY IN REFERENCE
TO THE JUBILEE

THE following are the replies of the S. Penitentiary referred to in the letter¹ of His Grace the Archbishop of Dublin :—

BEATISSIME PATER,

Archiepiscopus Dublinensis ad pedes S.V. provolutus humillime petit solutionem sequentium dubiorum :

I. DE JUBILAEI CONFESSARIO MONIALIUM SIMPLICIA VOTA
PROFESSARUM.

Die XI mensis Januarii Anni Sancti praeteriti, S. Poenitentiaria respondit: 'Ad moniales simplicia vota professas spectare beneficia Bullae *Aeterni Pastoris*, eisque licere Confessarium sibi semel eligere ex simpliciter approbatis ad audiendas confessiones personarum saecularium.'

Quaeritur, an eodem modo intelligenda sit facultas Jubilaei Confessarium eligendi monialibus simplicia vota professis concessa in Bulla *Temporis quidem Sacri*, qua Jubilaeum Anni Sancti ad universum orbem Catholicum extenditur ?

II. DE JUBILAEI CONFESIONE EORUM QUI PRAECEPTO ANNUAE
CONFSSIONIS NONDUM SATISFECERINT.

Ex responso S. Poenitentiariae anno 1875 edito constare videtur tum praecepto Paschali satisfieri posse tum Jubilaeum lucrari duabus Communionibus atque unica Confessione, 'firma tamen manente obligatione satisfacendi, si nonnum quis satisfecerit, praecepto annuae Confessionis.'

Quaeritur, an haec responsio intelligenda sit non solum de iis fidelibus qui, anno praeterito confessi, praecepto hujus anni currentis nondum satisfecerint, sed de iis etiam qui cum praeterito anno annisve praeteritis praecepto confessionis annuae non satisfecerint, teneantur hoc anno, secundum sententiam

¹ See *ante*, page 465.

Theologorum satis commune, quamprimum confiteri ad praeceptum Ecclesiae adimplendum?

Et Deus, etc.

Sacra Poenitentiarum, perlectis expositis, ad *primum* respondit: Affirmative.

Ad *secundum*: Responsionem S. Poenitentiarum anni 1875, prout refertur, non esse authenticam; sed veram responsionem fuisse ut sequitur: *Duas requiri Confessiones, unam pro lucrando Jubilaeo, alteram pro praecepto annuae Confessionis.*

Datum Romae ex Sacra Poenitentiarum, die 30 Martii, 1901.

Gratis.

B. POMPIII, S. P. Datarum.

R. CELLI, S. Poenitentiarum Substitutus.

POWER OF SUBDELEGATING FACULTIES GRANTED TO IRISH BISHOPS

BEATISSIME PATER,

Michael Cardinalis Logue, Archiepiscopus Armacanum, totius Hiberniae Primas, a Sanctitate Tua humiliter impetrat, pro se aliisque Hiberniae Episcopis, potestatem subdelegandi omnes et singulas sibi concessas facultates, pro foro interno, cuilibet sacerdoti, etiam sibi non subdito, in sua tamen dioecesi sacro ministerio fungenti, praesertim occasione spiritualium exercitiorum vel sacrarum missionum.

Ex Audientia SSmi. habita die 9 Februarii, 1901.

SSmus. Dominus Noster, Leo, Divina Providentia PP. XIII., referente me infrascripto Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Secretario, benigne adnuere dignatus est pro gratia, juxta preces, ad decenium: contrariis quibus cumque non obstantibus.

Datum Romae ex Aedibus S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, die et anno uti supra.

ALOISIUS VECCIA, *Secretarius.*

**URGENT CASES OF ABSOLUTION IN MATTERS RESERVED
TO THE HOLY SEE**

· E S. R. UNIV. INQUISITIONE

IN CASIBUS URGENTIORIBUS ABSOLUTIONIS CONCESSAE CIRCA
RESERVATA S. SEDI, RECURSUS FIERI DEINDE POTEST AD
ORDINARIUM FACULTATE ABSOLVENDI PRAEDITUM, LOCO S.
POENITENTIARIAE

BEATISSIME PATER,

In casibus urgentioribus . . . (Decret. S. Officii 20 Iunii 1886),
dari potest absolutio a reservatis S. Sedi, sub poena tamen reinci-
dentiae nisi absolutus infra mensem ad Sanctam Sedem recurrat,
eius mandata suscepturus.

Ubi tamen Episcopi facultatem habent delegatam absolvendi a
praedictis reservatis, qualis solet concedi per quinquennale
folium S. Congr. de Propaganda Fide (F. X) sub. n. 10, dubitatur
de necessitate recursus immediati ad S. Sedem.

Quaerit igitur Episcopus N. N., ad pedes Sanctitatis Vestrae
humiliter provolutus :

I. Utrum sufficiat in casu absolutionis, ut supra, concessae
recursus ad Episcopum facultate absolvendi instructum ? et qua-
tenus affirmative :

II. Utrum sufficiat etiam in casu eodem recursus ad Vicarium
generalem Episcopi, tanquam ad Ordinarium facultatum episco-
palium absolvendi, de iure participem ?

III. Utrum generatim sufficiat recursus ad quemlibet Sacerdo-
tem habitualiter subdelegatum ab Ordinario ab absolvendum ab
his papalibus reservatis, a quibus poenitens fuerit accidentaliter,
ut supra, vi decreti S. Officii 1886, absolutus ?

Et Deus etc.

Feria IV, die 19 Decembris 1900.

In Congregatione Generali S. R. et U. Inquisitionis ab EEmis. ac
RRmis. DD. Cardinalibus Generalibus Inquisitoribus habita, pro-
positis suprascriptis dubiis, praehabitoque RR. Consultorum voto,
iidem EEmi. ac RRmi. Patres respondendum mandarunt.

Ad I et II. Affirmative, facto verbo cum Sanctissimo.

Ad III. Negative.

Feria VI vero, die 21 eiusdem mensis et anni, in solita audien-
tia SSmi. D. N. Leonis Div. Prov. Pp. XIII. a R. P. D. Adessore
S. Officii habita, SSmus. D. N. resolutionem EEmorum. ac
RRmorum. Patrum ratam habuit et confirmavit.

I. Can. MANCINI, S. R. et U. Inquisit. Notarius.

**A DOUBLE OR SEMIDouble FEAST REDUCED TO
A SIMPLE RITE.**

DUBIUM QUOAD FESTUM DUPLEX VEL SEMIDUPLEX PERPETUO
REDACTUM AD RITUM SIMPLICEM

Cum propositum fuerit dubium : Utrum festum duplex vel semiduplex, quod perpetuo redactum est ad ritum simplicem, considerari debeat uti simplicatum vel uti simplex.—Sacra Rituum Congregatio, referente subscripto Secretario atque audito voto Commissionis Liturgicae respondendum censuit :

Negative ad primam partem, *Affirmative* ad secundam ; servatis Rubricis.

Atque ita rescripsit die 7 Decembris 1900.

D. Card. FERRATA, *Praef.*

L. ✕ S.

DIOMEDES PANICI, *Archiep. Laodicen. Secret.*

EDITORIAL NOTE

ON CORRESPONDENCE WITH PROPAGANDA.

FREQUENT complaints have been made by the authorities of Propaganda as to the form in which petitions are addressed to them by Irish priests when seeking for dispensations in Matrimonial cases, and for other privileges that may be obtained from His Holiness the Pope through the Sacred Congregation. There are several details in connection with such correspondence that cause the officials of Propaganda no little trouble, and we are aware that the Cardinal Prefect has more than once expressed a hope that something might be done to ensure that such applications might in future be presented in proper form.

Complaint is made of the careless and ungrammatical form in which such petitions are drawn up, of the illegible hand in which they are frequently written, of the size and form of paper employed, which is often not only unsuited for preservation in file or pigeon-hole, but looks exceedingly mean and trivial in appearance.

We have recently had an opportunity of seeing some specimens of the kind complained of, and we are not surprised at the dissatisfaction they have caused. In one of these it would be utterly impossible for any foreigner to decipher the address at the top of the petition, or the signature at foot, so illegible was the handwriting. The little sheet of notepaper on which the petition was written would not be accepted in any civil Chancery, and looked anything but respectful to the people to whom it was addressed.

In order to help to remove from our country something of the evil reputation which comparison with other nations is gaining for us in matters of this kind, we take the liberty of sending with each number of the May RECORD a specimen 'form' of what is expected as to size of paper, legibility of handwriting, and style of application. We may add that the paper, which is manufactured in Ireland, is the nearest approach in quality to the paper employed by Propaganda itself that we could get in this country. Each page may be written on, but the last half of last page should be left for the two inscriptions to be found on the

model sheet we are sending round, viz., the name of the Cardinal Prefect at the top, and that of the Procurator in Rome of the Bishop from whose diocese the petition is sent at the bottom. We shall be happy to give any further information that may be needed, but we trust that what we have said will be enough to improve very considerably the form of application which in many cases hitherto reflected anything but credit on Ireland.

ED. I. E. RECORD.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE DIVINE PLAN OF THE CHURCH. By Rev. John MacLaughlin. London: Burns & Oates.

Books of controversy are not always the most pleasant to read. However learned the author may be and true the cause which he defends, it is not easy to exclude completely a tone of special pleading even in concessions, and it is most difficult so to manage the discussion that the reader may feel himself following intelligently the gentle but firm steps of a fatherly guide, and not rather driven forward victoriously, though unwillingly, by the trenchant merciless logic of some unemotional giant of the pen. Besides, such works are often so entirely, and patently, polemical in character, that one who believes with the writer, and merely wishes to find further light and instruction for his own private benefit, in other words to read a book upon the point in question, would never be tempted to draw upon them, crammed full as they are with pointed statements and reasonings rather than calm and forcible exposition. In the volume before us Father MacLaughlin has admirably succeeded in producing a work quite free from all these repulsive characteristics, one which Catholics may read with profit and pleasure, while it cannot but prove most welcome and convincing to those amongst our separated fellow-Christians who may be fortunate enough to come across it. Many years ago we read the Rev. Author's work on Indifferentism, and thought, as so many others did, that the writer had accomplished a most necessary task in a very creditable manner. We confess, however, to a marked preference for his present volume. There is more positive exposition of Catholic teaching in it, there is more winning, and not less impressive, force in the management of the controversy.

In a brief prologue he sets forth the two dispositions necessary for all those who propose to enter with hope of profit on the perusal of the book, the love of truth, and a firm belief in the Divinity of Christ. Without the latter it is plainly useless to discover which Church our Redeemer really founded; without the former no serious attempt at this discovery will ever be begun; no argument which would lead the way thereto can possibly be appreciated. Then comes immediately the question on which the

whole work is based : Had Christ before His mind when speaking to His disciples, telling them to teach all nations, to baptise, etc., a definite, clear idea of the kind of Church He was going to found, what doctrine it would teach, what sacrament, sacrifice, priesthood, and essential characteristics, it would possess ? The answer to such a question is obvious to all ; even an ordinary house-builder should have such exemplar in his mind when setting about the construction of a cottage. It only remains then to seek what was that idea in the Divine mind, what essential elements it contained and excluded : and all the text on indefectibility and infallibility, familiar even to young theologians, immediately give the unmistakable and necessary outlines thereof. Such is a brief *resumé* of the positive portion of the author's work. The negative part is written in reply to the question : Where is this exemplar in the Divine mind not realised ? and the answer is found with singular gentleness and sincerity in the examination of some characteristics of the Anglican Communion — its pride in the comprehensiveness, that is the vagueness, of its doctrine, and its subservience in all respects to the civil state. All these points are illustrated with considerable fulness, and are drawn out to an ample though not wearisome length. The whole book is an excellent specimen of how old and well-known truths may be treated with freshness of manner and an almost novel force.

P. S.

THE PASSION. By M. J. Ollivier, O.P. Translated from the French by E. Leahy. Boston : Marlier & Co., Ltd.

IN criticism of the work before us we think it almost sufficient to quote the author's words in reference to the circumstances of its preparation and the object with which it was first designed.

'It is the fruit of prolonged study, which was begun in France, and continued in the East, chiefly during the years 1885 and 1890. This study was utilised at first for preaching, in Paris, during the Lenten sermons of 1887, and finally for the present work, which has been revised several times from the first to the last chapter' (page 12).

Here then we have before us the materials gathered for his discourses by one of the renowned preachers of the day, drawn from all the most modern sources, and from personal observation and study of the scenes described, and the old books, *The Talmud*

and others, written by the Rabbis of the Jews, and finally woven in a narrative unusually realistic and life-like, full of solemnity and sorrow, but still graceful and attractive. The Rev. Author has been fortunate, moreover, in his translator. Reading the smooth-flowing prose one is never conscious of the fact that there is an original other than the text before him, but passes onward from the Supper-room to Gethsemani, and thence up the holy Mount of Sion, and the fortress of Antonia, and away to Calvary and the tomb, with that ease and vividness which can come only from a close reproduction of the great French orator's style and spirit. The publishers' part has been also excellently performed; and the entire result is that a beautiful volume has been produced, which we can recommend most highly to all priests as a valuable storehouse for the illustration and reproduction of the scenes and times of which they so often speak, and to lay-persons as a delightful work which, while expressly excluding all intention of making reflections or pointing morals, will move them to do both for themselves in the most agreeable and fruitful manner, as the result of much increased, clear, and reliable information.

P. S.

MISSA DUODECIMA IN HONOREM SANCTI MAXIMI, primi Episcopi Taurinensis ad 3 voces inaequales (Altum, Tenorem et Bassum). Organo comitante composita a Michaele Haller, Op. 69A. Marcello Capra, Torino, 1898. Score and separate Voice Parts.

THIS Mass is written for choirs that have a fair number of male voices, tenors and basses, but are wanting in soprano voices. The range of the alto part is from *a* to *b*. The organ accompaniment is moderately difficult. The Mass is blameless from a liturgical point of view, and, considering its limited resources, very effective.

H. B.

A NEW DIURNAL. Small 32mo 4½ x 2½ inches, India paper. Jubilee Edition, 1900. Tournai: Desclée, Lefebvre & Co. Price, paper, 3s. 3d.; morocco, 5s. 3d.

FORMER catalogues of the Society of St. John the Evangelist contained no less than four distinct editions of the *Hora Diurna*. And now yet a fifth is announced, quite distinct from the others, and having certain advantages all its own. Being of slender form

and elongated in shape, of slight weight and thickness, it easily takes its place as the champion pocket *Hora Diurna*.

Nor is the recitation of the Office made laborious by abbreviations and a multiplicity of reference. Of course a small book cannot lay claim to the same fulness as the larger editions; but references are avoided except when necessary, and then they are given with intelligence and an eye to convenience. The initial words are given of Antiphons, Versicles and Responses which cannot be given in full, thus saving the trouble of referring back, to those who are even slightly accustomed to the Office.

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MANY of the clergy whose sight is weak, or who, after the labours of the day, wish to say their Office comfortably, seek an office book with large type. Often they are driven to use a quarto size which is difficult to move about, and is quite impossible as a travelling companion, a *Vade mecum*.

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attention to the first Vespers of the Common of Saints, where are found the Antiphons which are generally referred to in Lauds. In the Proper of Saints the Psalms are often given entire when the Antiphons are proper; the Prayer is given at the first Vespers as well as at Lauds; days within the Octave have the *RR.* of the Lessons entire; in the third Nocturnes the Homily of the Common is given when the *RR.* are proper or do not belong to the Common where it is found. In order to make each volume as complete as possible, Offices which, though very rarely, might nevertheless be translated in another part, are repeated. For instance: the Presentation of B.V.M. and the Feast of St. James of Marchia in the winter quarter; St. John Chrysostome and St. Francis de Sales in the spring quarter; SS. Philip and James and St. Athanasius in the summer quarter; and St. Bernard, St. Augustine and of the Holy Pontiffs in the autumn quarter.

This edition is printed on the real India paper which is so admirably adapted to portable Breviaries. The illustration is copious; it has been completed by new engravings which the Society has thought it well to add to the already rich collection which adorn its liturgical works.

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The Irish Ecclesiastical Record

A Monthly Journal, under Episcopal Sanction.

Thirty-fourth Year]
 No. 402.

JUNE, 1901.

[Fourth Series
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Nihil Obstat.

GIRALDUS MOLLOY, S.T.D.
Censor Deo.

Imprimatur.

† GULIELMUS,
*Archiep. Dublin,
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THE CISTERCIANS IN IRELAND¹

THE remains of the Cistercian monasteries and monastic churches are the noblest ruins in Ireland, and must attract the attention of every cultivated mind. We find even still more imposing specimens of the architectural taste and skill of the Cistercians in various parts of England; but for the present we must confine ourselves to the history of the noble monuments which they have left us in our own country. Who were the builders of those beautiful structures? whence did they come? what work did they do for Ireland? what influence did they exert? how long did they flourish? when did they disappear? These are questions that are surely worthy of an answer; and about which educated Irishmen, and above all, Irish priests should know something definite.

There are many persons who have no sympathy with monks or monasteries now, but take the greatest interest in the examination and preservation of those grand monuments of the past from the historical and artistic point of view, and know far more about the buildings and their founders than we who inherit the ancient faith and ritual of which these monuments are the most eloquent and striking expression.

¹ A Lecture delivered to the Students in the Aula Maxima of Maynooth College.

Now if you keep your eyes open during your summer holidays you cannot fail to notice, no doubt at different times, three classes of ecclesiastical ruins characterised by striking differences. You will see on the remote shores and islands of the West churches of the primitive type which belong to the first three centuries of our Christian history—small, oblong edifices, built of massive blocks of stone, mostly without lime or other cement, having a narrow doorway with inclining jambs and massive horizontal lintel, through which you will see a very small east window perfectly plain also with a flat head, or if it is rounded, the arch is scooped out of one or two stones. In fact in the earliest type of church we find no traces of an arch; and if such a little church have a chancel and chancel arch we may be pretty sure that it was a later addition.

The second type of church is what is called the Irish Romanesque. The building is larger, from fifty to sixty feet long, and from twenty to thirty feet wide; it has nearly always a chancel and chancel arch, with a western or southern doorway elaborately constructed in several orders, as they are called, surmounted by a semi-circular arch richly ornamented, which is the most characteristic feature of our Irish Romanesque. The ornamentation is peculiarly Irish, consisting of pellets, zig-zags, chevrons, which can never be mistaken by those familiar with our ancient church ruins. This style of architecture was contemporaneous with our round towers, and flourished, we may say, for three centuries more—that is, from the middle of the ninth to the middle of the twelfth century. Many specimens of this style may be seen at Clonmacnoise, at Glendalough, and elsewhere. It reached its perfection in the peerless building known as Cormac's Chapel on the Rock of Cashel, which was consecrated in the year A.D. 1134. Noteworthy types of the same period, or rather remnants of them, may be seen at Tuam, Cong, Clonfert, Killeslin, Aghadoe, and elsewhere.

A little later the Cistercians came and introduced a transition style, for they worked during the transition period, from the middle of the twelfth to the middle of the thirteenth century; and hence we find in their churches both the round

arch and the pointed arch, as in Boyle; but the elaborate Celtic ornamentation of doors and arches disappears to a great extent, whilst the edifice becomes larger, grander, and much more imposing in its majestic simplicity. But from this period onward—that is, from the middle of the thirteenth century, when the Dominicans and Franciscans began to build—we find that the round arch and Celtic ornamentation completely disappear. You have beautiful buildings, it is true; but the arches are all more or less pointed, and the ornamentation is of the Gothic character. Hence a single glance at the principal doorway of the ruined church will nearly always show whether it is primitive, or Romanesque, or Gothic, and will also approximately fix its age, which of itself is a most important point.

Now, the appearance of the Cistercians in Ireland marks, perhaps, the most important epoch in the history of our national Church since the time of St. Patrick. It was the time of a reformation—a true reformation—that was greatly needed, and one in which the Cistercians took a very conspicuous part, to the lasting benefit of the Irish Church. Let me call your special attention to this aspect of the question.

The state of the Irish Church at the end of the eleventh century was very deplorable. This arose, first of all, from the grave abuses that had grown up during the Danish wars in Ireland, when all was bloodshed and confusion. Monasteries were destroyed; churches were burned; clergy and monks were slain; the schools were closed; the books themselves were burned or ‘drowned;’ and a systematic attempt was made to destroy Christianity throughout the island. The Danes became Christians towards the end of the tenth century; but their ravages did not on that account cease, and it was not until the strong hand of Brian the Great overthrew them that the land began to breathe again.

But after the death of the hero of Clontarf there was no really supreme king in Ireland, and hence the greatest disorders still continued during the eleventh century. It was South against North, and East against West; and each province, too, was subdivided against itself, so that it was a period of great anarchy and bloodshed, because there was no central and supreme authority in the land.

Not only was there no civil authority supreme; there was no ecclesiastical authority either. For two hundred years the chair of St. Patrick, the natural centre of authority, was held in a kind of hereditary succession by eight *comarbs*, or Heirs of Patrick, who were called High Bishops of Armagh, but were really laymen, in the sense that they were without holy orders. On this point we have the unexceptionable testimony of St. Bernard, who describes them fully in three words: *Uxorati, literati tamen, sed sine ordinibus*. Yet they were clerics; they had tonsure, or, perhaps, minor orders; they had studied for the Church, were qualified to hold benefices, or, at least, to acquire them, but instead of taking holy orders they took wives, thus exercising the episcopal jurisdiction—I am not prepared to say invalidly—*per se*, and exercising the power of orders *per alios*; that is, by regularly-ordained bishops, one of whom always dwelt at Armagh.

It is easy to see that this system was fatal to the maintenance of ecclesiastical discipline, and was another great cause of the deplorable state to which the Irish Church had fallen. The Pope was far away and the lay-primates had no desire to communicate with him. Besides the state of things on the continent itself up to the time of Gregory VII. was almost as bad as it was in Ireland. Simony and concubinage prevailed very widely even in Italy; in Milan for instance, and at times in Rome itself, these evils extensively prevailed. It seemed, as Baronius has said and Bede predicted, as if the divine Pilot of Peter's Bark were asleep during the tenth century, and there was none to awake him. He did awake later on; or rather He never slept; and He calmed the raging storm but not without the visible exercise of power divine.

There are traces of simony and concubinage in the Irish Church, too, at this time; there were incestuous marriages within the forbidden degrees; there were irregular ordinations; there were bishops living in monasteries without sees, who often did more harm than good; there were vagabond monks without discipline and fond of fighting; there were many different *ordos* and liturgies in existence; St. Bernard

says that the sacraments of baptism, confirmation and penance were greatly neglected; there were no metropolitans and hence every one of the one hundred or more bishops, who lived in the country, was pretty free to do exactly as he pleased. This is not an overdrawn picture of the state of affairs in Ireland at the end of the eleventh century; and a terrible pestilence which desolated the whole country in the year 1095 was justly regarded as the chastisement of the crimes of the whole nation. Many penitential works were at the same time prescribed and performed to save the nation from the 'fire of vengeance,' to use the expression of the Four Masters.

But these evil days were even then closing, and better days were near the dawning, which began about this very time. No doubt there was a kind of reformation taking place all over Europe at the same period, mainly owing to two causes—the action of the Popes and the agency of the religious orders—that is the new reforms of the ancient orders; and, of these the Cistercian reform at this time was just beginning in France.

It is singular that the Irish reform began almost simultaneously both in the North and in the South at the very beginning of twelfth century, and in quarters whence we should least expect it. Imar O'Hagan, of Armagh, and his pupil, Cellach or Celsus, were the first to begin the work of God in Armagh; and the bishops of two Danish towns, Malchus of Waterford and Gillebert of Limerick, both inspired by St. Anslem and supported by the Pope, were the chief agents in the South of Ireland. It is curious too that in this matter the North most cordially joined the South, and it was by their joint action that the first and, perhaps, the most important steps were taken in the new reformation.

Celsus, himself a member of the usurping family in Armagh, was irregularly consecrated at the early age of twenty-six; but he was a man of God and one of the great reformers of the Church in his time. He visited Munster officially and was well received there the year after his consecration, that is 1107, and ever afterwards he was as much at home in Munster as in the North; and he did die at Ardpatrick,

near Charleville,¹ when he went to Munster trying, it seems, to make peace amongst the turbulent Irish princes. He was entirely opposed to the hereditary succession in Armagh; and the greatest service he rendered to the Irish Church was to send his crozier, doubtless the famous staff of Jesus, by the hand of its hereditary custodian to St. Malachy, Bishop of Connor, intimating that he willed his succession to Armagh, which took place five years later after much confusion and bloodshed in A.D. 1134. Celsus is justly described by the Four Masters as a 'Son of purity'—not like his predecessors—'the only head whom the foreigners and Irish of Ireland both clergy and laity obeyed.' He willed to be buried in Lismore, which was not far from Ardpatrick.

Imar O'Hagan was a professor of Armagh, and afterwards became a recluse there. He was the chief teacher of St. Celsus; but his greatest service to the Irish Church was his building or restoration of the church called the Regles or Abbey church of St. Peter and St. Paul at Armagh, and his introduction there of the reform of the Canons Regular, which was afterwards adopted in several of the cathedral churches of Ireland, notably in Dublin, Tuam, and Cong, with the greatest advantage to the regular service of those churches. He afterwards went to Rome and died there on his pilgrimage in the year 1134—the very year in which Cormac's Chapel was consecrated at Cashel, and Malachy got possession of Armagh.

Of the bishops of the two Danish towns of Waterford and Limerick we know little. Both certainly had the advantage of being trained abroad; both were Irish; and the education of both was probably of a higher kind than any of their contemporaries received at home. Malchus of Waterford had been in his youth a monk of Winchester, but was by birth an Irishman,² hence we find King Mortogh O'Brien with several princes and prelates recommending him for episcopal consecration to Anselm, who did consecrate him in the year A.D. 1097. Anselm sent back by Malchus a

¹ There was a royal residence not far off—the Moat of Kilfinane.

² So Bernard tells us, but he calls him Bishop of Lismore.

letter to the king and the prelates calling their attention to certain grave abuses then existing in the Irish Church, to which Lanfranc had previously called the attention of the king and of the Irish bishops. The gravest charge is that of interchanging wives, which was also made by Lanfranc, and for which it is to be feared there must have been some foundation. These letters of Anselm stimulated the King Mortogh O'Brien, and O'Dunan, Bishop of Cashel, an excellent prelate, to whom the king had made over his own royal seat of Cashel to become the first See of Munster, and the other princes and prelates of the South to convene a Synod in 1111 at Fiadh Mac Ængusa in Meath for the reformation of abuses. Celsus of Armagh who had visited Munster in 1107 cordially co-operated; and it would appear that Gillebert, Bishop of Limerick, was named, doubtless through the influence of St. Anselm, as legate of the Pope, and in that capacity presided at the Synod. The *Chronicon Scotorum* tells us there were fifty-eight bishops present at that Synod, and likely all, especially those from the North, did not attend. Later on another Synod was held at Rathbreasail for the more exact delimitation of the Irish dioceses—a reformation greatly needed. Gillebert also wrote two very useful works, one, *De Usu Ecclesiastico* which was designed to expound the Roman liturgical usage, and try to make the Irish usage conformable to it. Another work of Gillebert's was *De Statu Ecclesiae*, a kind of short treatise on the Church with special reference to the various grades in the ecclesiastical hierarchy. We see then that King Mortogh O'Brien himself, St. Celsus, O'Dunan of Cashel, and the Bishops of Waterford and Limerick, were the most influential agents in bringing about this Irish reformation, at least in the beginning.

But it is to St. Malachy the success of the reform is mainly due; and the chief instrument which St. Malachy employed was the introduction of the Cistercians into Ireland. I cannot now refer to all that St. Malachy accomplished in Down, Connor, and Armagh. His greatest work was to destroy at the peril of his life the hereditary claims of one family to be the *comarbs*, or successors, of

St. Patrick in the primatial see. Of no less importance was his introduction of the Cistercians into Ireland.

In the year A.D. 1139, when journeying to Rome to procure the *pallium* for the Archbishops of Armagh and Cashel, he stayed for some days at St. Bernard's great monastery of Clairvaux. This famous house, founded a few years previously, was itself a daughter of the Abbey of Citeaux—in Latin *Cistercium*—where the new reform of the Benedictine Order originated. The main purpose of its founders, the monks Robert and Stephen Harding—the latter an Englishman—was to bring back their subjects to the strict observance of the ancient Benedictine Rule, and in that they had a most marvellous success. St. Bernard, however, may be regarded as the real founder, for it was his fame as a preacher, a theologian, a reformer, as well as his great influence with Popes and kings that caused the rapid spread of the Cistercian Order throughout all the countries of western Europe.

The chapters in the *Life of St. Malachy*, in which Bernard describes the visits of the Irish saint to Citeaux, are extremely interesting. Malachy was greatly edified by the holy community; and Bernard says they found in him a real spiritual treasure. But he stayed there only a short time, crossing the Alps by the pass which leads past Ivrea, or Iporia, as St. Bernard calls it, more anciently Eporedia, where it is said St. Patrick met the messengers announcing the death of Palladius, and where, more than three centuries after St. Bernard, the Blessed Thady M'Carthy found the bed of a poor pilgrim and the grave of a saint.

Malachy spent a month in Rome. Pope Innocent II. received him with the greatest kindness, and asked him much about Ireland, which was then quite a *terra incognita* to the Romans. Malachy asked to be allowed to live and die at Clairvaux; the Pope would not hear of it—his living there; but, as Bernard observes, God gave him the favour of dying there. Malachy asked for the confirmation of the new Metropolitan See of Cashel erected by Celsus; the Pope granted it. But when he asked for the *pallia* for Armagh and Cashel, 'Not yet,' said the Pope, 'you must convene a

general that is a plenary synod of bishops, clergy, and nobles; make your request then by worthy delegates and it will be granted.' At the same time taking off his own stole and mitre and maniple he clothed Malachy with them, and appointed him his legate in Ireland; all the more readily as the aged Gillebert of Limerick was no longer able, and had said so, to discharge the onerous duties of that office.

On his return Malachy left four of his companions at Clairvaux to be trained in the monastic discipline of the place; for Malachy himself told Bernard that, although they had monks of old in Ireland, they had now only the name not the reality—a significant description of the Irish monasteries of the time. When Malachy returned home he sent others to be trained in the religious life; and, at their return to their own country, Bernard added as many as were necessary to form a complete religious community, which would be about twenty at least, and so it was that Mellifont came to be peopled with its first monks, Irish and French. St. Bernard adds that the new institution soon conceived and brought forth five daughters. He does not give the names; but we know they were Newry, Bective, Boyle, Baltinglass, and Monasternenagh, in the county Limerick—all founded during the lifetime of St. Bernard, and, therefore, several years before the Norman set his foot on Irish soil—an important point to remember, which, of itself, refutes a great number of ignorant calumnies about Ireland.

Mellifont, the Irish mother-house of the Cistercians, was founded most probably in the year A.D. 1142. All the Cistercian houses were built on the same plan, but not, of course, with equal magnificence. Mellifont was, indeed, a typical Cistercian house, not only in its buildings, but also in its well-chosen site and surroundings. 'Benedict loved the hills, but Bernard preferred the valleys'—quiet woodland valleys watered by pleasant streams—in this as in many other things exhibiting the poetry of the monastic life. Wordsworth tells us somewhere that there are two voices which speak to man of liberty—the voice from the mountains and the voice from the sea. The primitive monks in Ireland, long before the Cistercians loved to hear these two great

voices which spoke to them of God ; and, therefore, they built their little oratories and cells in the very wildest and remotest islands of the western seas like Aran, Ardilaun, and the Skelligs, or hid them far away in the hearts of the mountains as at Glendalough, or even on their lone summits as on Slieve Donard and Mount Brandon, which have taken their names from two saints, Domanard and Brendan. Not so the sons of St. Bernard ; they rather loved the quiet voices of their own sweet valleys, the whispering woods and murmuring waters, the songs of the birds, and the hum of the noontide bees, with all the other sounds and sights that lend an undying charm to the innocent and laborious life of the country. You know how divinely Virgil describes the manifold charms of a country life even in what appears to be its most ordinary aspects. Well, you will find them all, and more than all, in the life and surroundings of a Cistercian monastery, for there are elements of poetry in the religious life of the monks, especially the Benedictine monks, that the great Roman poet never dreamt of. Cardinal Newman with a master's hand has pointed out some of them in his account of the 'Mission of St. Benedict' and 'The Benedictine Schools.' I cannot now refer to these points ; but some of them, as described by Virgil, lie on the very surface of monastic life. You have the *secura quies et nescia fallere vita*—the peaceable and innocent life far away from the cares and crimes of cities. The monks laboured with their own hands ; but they laboured for God, and took no thought for the morrow, for the grateful soil responsive to their holy labours, gave them all they needed for their simple fare—*quibus facilem victum fundit humo justissima tellus*. In a sense, diviner far than Virgil's, they watched the starry paths at night, and gazed with a deeper awe on the manifold wonders of heaven and earth and sea. The flowing river by which they walked reminded them of the fleeting life of man ; and the restfulness of their woodland valleys was an emblem of the divine peace of soul, which God gives to all those who love Him and trust Him.

Like Virgil, St. Bernard and his monks loved the

country and the valleys watered with perennial streams:—*At rura mihi placeant et rigui in vallibus amnes*; but they had higher motives in flying from the world and, especially, from its cities and towns. Their main purpose in seeking solitude was to be alone with God—and to maintain that union by unceasing prayer and meditation. Their purpose was to save their own souls, but not in idleness. They accepted the maxim of St. Paul that every man was to eat his own bread, and, therefore, labour for it that he might have wherewith to eat, and something also to give to those who were in need. The Cistercians in this differed essentially from the mendicant orders who came after them. These preached the Gospel and lived by the Gospel—they were missionaries; but the Cistercians lived by the labour of their hands. They undertook no missionary work, and shunned the world as much as possible, except when Popes or prelates called them as they called St. Bernard to leave the retirement of his beloved cloister, and once more, for the good of the Church, mix himself with men. But this was not their purpose; it was rather quite foreign to the object of their institute.

I said the Cistercian monasteries were all built after a common plan. I can only point to its leading features. Their buildings were not more elegant or ornate, but they were larger and more imposing than anything seen before in Ireland, and are still the most striking of the many ruined edifices throughout the country; yet they were not at all equal in magnitude to the great abbeys of their own order at Fountains, Bolton, Melrose and elsewhere. Mellifont has almost disappeared, the foundations of the church can barely be traced; but several of the Cistercian churches still remain eloquent witnesses to their founders' zeal for the grandeur and beauty of God's house. A fine specimen is still to be seen at Boyle and another at Holy Cross, and also I believe at Tintern and Dunbrody. The most characteristic feature of these churches is the great central tower at the junction of the nave, choir and transepts. It was supported on four arches opening on each of those parts of the church respectively; the arches are generally very lofty and majestic in

their strength and symmetry. The tower was not very high, but it was massive, resting at once lightly and securely on the arches. The transepts had each two small chapels generally used as mortuary chapels on their eastern side—another characteristic feature. The nave was open to the public, the choir and chancel beyond it was reserved for the monks. The eastern window over the chancel, which was rectangular, was also very large and lofty, from forty to fifty feet high, and when filled with stained glass was a very beautiful and conspicuous object. The cloister adjoined the church on the south, to which it gave access by two doors, one entering on the nave, the other on the southern transept. Around the cloister in the usual way were the chapter room, the refectory, with its kitchen, the community room and the store rooms. Over these buildings, looking out on the cloister, were the dormitories for the monks.

One might naturally inquire how were the poor monks able to build such edifices? Well in the first place those 'were the ages of faith,' when kings and nobles vied with each other in building and endowing abbeys, where holy men gave their lives to the service of God. So the Irish kings or chiefs first of all gave a beautiful site with its surrounding fields—wood, water, arable and pasture—for the benefit of the monks. Then all their wealthy neighbours gave their own gifts, and we have recorded in the *Annals of the Four Masters* the splendid gifts which the chiefs and ladies of Meath and Oriel gave at the consecration of the abbey church at Mellifont.

But more than all other things their own admirable organization enabled the monks to found new houses and erect their buildings. A great Cistercian monastery was in every respect a perfectly self-sufficing institution. First of all every large house had its own staff of tradesmen amongst the brotherhood—masons, carpenters, stonecutters, painters, and so forth; and each of the trades had its own foreman. The *Annals* for instance record the death of the foreman or master-mason of the abbey of Boyle. For these abbeys besides their own buildings, when they became wealthy, had large outlying farms called granges, where the buildings

were also kept in repair. It was easy enough therefore when a new house was to be founded for the Order to send a full staff of tradesmen to do the work—it was easy to feed them, and materials were abundant, so that comparatively little money was required. Then all these men laboured for God—*laborare est orare*—it was not for money but for God they did their work ; and hence they did it so thoroughly, so grandly, so beautifully, that their labour in those far off days still puts to shame even the greatest achievements of our boasted civilization.

Then, again, the community produced everything that was needed for itself. They had food—ample food—from their own fields, gardens, and orchards. They had fish from their own streams. They had wool for their own habits from their own sheep, they spun, wove, and wrought it themselves, for they were their own tailors and shoemakers. They had their own mills ; they ground their corn, and baked their own bread ; they brewed their own beer, and they got their own wine, so far as they needed it, from their own houses in France ; they had their own fuel, peat, and wood, and oils for the lamps.

Moreover, every abbey had its own school for the younger members of the community. It was the wish of St. Benedict to take boys when still young and innocent, and train them up from the beginning in monastic discipline. He himself took St. Maur at the age of eleven or twelve ; Bede was only seven when he first went to Wear ; and such was the universal custom in all the houses of the Order. The youth of the neighbourhood were also admitted to those monastic schools, and received such education as they needed. And, as we have seen, the monastery had a technical school as well as a literary school, and, above all, it was an agricultural school for all the country round. Irish agriculture, such as it is, owes much to the Cistercians. They reclaimed and manured the land ; they raised abundant crops ; they made their fields the greenest and most fertile in the whole country. They are still to be seen, those fertile fields, now in the hands of the stranger, oftentimes reclaimed from the brake and the morass by the unceasing labour of the monks.

The Celts were not great agriculturists; they were rather a pastoral people. The Cistercians were their best teachers in showing how to till the soil extensively and successfully.

But the Cistercian monastery was much more than a technical school and agricultural college. It did all the work of a poor-house, a dispensary, and a hotel for the surrounding country. The monks were not all physicians, but many of them were highly skilled in the medical science of the time, and gave the benefit of their advice not only to their own brethren, but to all the sick in the neighbourhood, to whom both medicine and medical advice were freely and gratuitously dispensed whenever it was needed. They had not all the drugs you will find in a modern dispensary, and, perhaps, that was so much the better; but they had the simple remedies such as you sometimes need yourselves; and they were generally found to be efficacious, for many of them were excellent botanists, and it is said the herbs of the field have a remedy for every disease, if we could only find them out.

Then the monastic hospice was a home for every traveller, where, in fact, he might stay as long as he pleased, and where he was in no trouble about the bill. If he gave a donation to the poor, well and good; if not, he might depart as freely as he came. At the doors of the hospice the poor of the neighbourhood were always welcome. All the surplus food was distributed to them daily, according to their needs; and the monks would sooner go hungry themselves than see the poor go hungry from their doors.

It is easy to see what an enormous influence for good such institutions must have exercised throughout all Ireland. There were about forty-five of them in all, and they were all founded from the middle of the twelfth to the middle of the thirteenth century; and we find them in almost every county of Ireland. Before the advent of the Anglo-Normans the native princes had founded some ten or twelve; the conquerors, who won the richest lands in the country, founded many more, and peopled them with monks, mostly from the English houses. John de Courcy and his wife founded three on the shores of Strangford Lough, and

Tintern, Dunbrody, and many others in the south of Ireland were founded by the Anglo-Norman chiefs. In later times many of these great abbeys, in the Pale especially, became fortresses in the English interest; and the Palesmen went so far as to pass a law that no mere Irishman should be professed in these houses. It was an odious law, hateful to all good men, and annulled in the general chapter of the Cistercians themselves. It was, however, often, but not always, enforced, to the great detriment of the religious life in those very institutions in which it was sought to enforce it.

In course of time these great abbeys grew to be very wealthy and powerful. The abbots of no less than eleven or twelve amongst them became peers of Parliament, and were summoned to the great councils of the king in Ireland, an honour which they did not always appreciate, for we find them petitioning in certain cases to be relieved of the duty. The abbots, too, became great landlords; they held estates in many parishes; and had a numerous and, on the whole, a very prosperous tenantry besides many villeins or serfs for working their farms and granges. Still it worked evil to the spirit of the religious life; the monk did not find it necessary to work as of old, other people worked for him. He became lazy, his rule was relaxed, and with laziness and non-observance of his rule in its strictness other evils grew apace.

Things were not so bad here as they were in England; but still the monasteries in the reign of Henry VIII. were very different from what they were in the reign of Henry II. But even in the worst times they were a great blessing to the country. The worship of God was carried out with regularity and even splendour; the Sacraments were regularly administered, for all these abbeys had the care not of one, but sometimes of several parishes. Sermons were regularly preached in the abbey churches, and thus they became the great centres of religious life in the country.

Many bishops, too, were taken from the monks and abbots of those houses, religious-minded men trained in regular discipline, good scholars and sound theologians, far

better than could be found at the time among the more secular clergy.

But Gerald Barry tells us that although excellent monks they were not always efficient bishops, for they preferred the peace and quite of their community to the dangers and hardships of the missionary life. Hence they failed in the regular visitation of their dioceses, and left their flocks very often without proper instruction and exhortation, a neglect which is always the fruitful source of many evils.

But, when at last the end came, and Henry VIII. first, and afterwards Elizabeth, decreed that the Cistercians should fall, they fell nobly. They were more helpless victims of those terrible laws than the Mendicants, for they were as it were *adscripti glebae*, they were bound to the soil on which they lived, and they had no other sustenance. Then they had the richest lands in the country, the best fishings, the finest woodlands—a tempting bait for the greedy minions of the tyrants. The Mendicant could live on his wits much better than the Cistercian: he knew the country better; he had his places of refuge; he knew how to disguise himself, whereas the poor Cistercian mingling with the world was like a man travelling in a foreign country almost helpless. So they fell, and almost completely disappeared from the land; but they fell, as I have said, nobly—more nobly, I think, than they did in England. Let me cite a few instances, taken from the work of the late learned and lamented Father Murphy, whose voice some of you heard from this very platform not long ago.

I do not now refer to the many illustrious men which the Cistercian Order produced in Ireland from St. Malachy and St. Christian and Felix O'Dullany down to the latest saint in Ireland. I wish only to refer to a few of their martyrs, especially under Queen Elizabeth.

At Carlow Graigue, on the banks of the Barrow, twelve monks went out in their vestments and habits to meet the spoilers, and refusing to yield obedience to the Queen's commands, were slain where they stood. There was a family of seven brothers in Raphoe. The eldest, Gelasius,

was Abbot of Boyle ; the third, James, was Abbot of Assaroe ; the youngest, John, was Bishop of Raphoe, and a confessor for the faith. But Gelasius, the eldest, was tried in Dublin, found guilty of being a monk, and hanged in his habit outside the city walls. His clothes were torn into pieces by the people to be preserved as the relics of a saint and martyr. About the same time Nicholas Fitzgerald, another Cistercian, was hanged and quartered near Dublin in the year 1581. Patrick and Malachi, two monks of Boyle, were hanged for their faith, and quartered whilst they were yet alive, having been cut down from the gibet. The venerable Abbot of Assaroe, Eugene O'Gallagher, and Brother O'Trevir, one of his monks, were slain near their own walls by the heretics of Donegal after the Flight of the Earls, and so, in like manner, scores of the white-robed Cistercians, whose names and history you will find in Father Murphy's book—the *Triumphalia S. Crucis*—gave their lives for the faith mostly in the South and West, where they lingered longest, for in the Pale they had been robbed and driven out long before during the blessed days of King Henry VIII., the Defender of the Faith ! Many of those holy men, too, belonged to the noblest families in the land ; and yet we are sometimes told that Elizabeth really did not persecute. She only punished political traitors. Whatever these men were they were not traitors or politicians, for all they asked was to be allowed to die in peace near their ancient homes.

And now, let me say once more what I said in the beginning, that I have spoken of these things not to give you full knowledge, but to stimulate you to study those subjects for yourselves. Believe me you will find them full of interest and full of edification. I can safely say that there is not a single fact you learn about the ecclesiastical history of Ireland, that as preachers of the Gospel you will not find useful at one time or another, and what is more you will find that your people will be as deeply interested in them as yourselves.

Then, again, I want you, the 'sons of learning,' as the Annalists call you, the rising hope and joy of our Irish Church, I want you to take, at least, as deep an interest in

these subjects as the non-Catholic antiquarians, whom you will now find in every part of Ireland—gentlemen, too, and scholars, I assure you, of wide culture, for the study of those subjects appears to have a softening and sweetening influence on the asperities even of the rudest and most bigoted natures. But I want you, the children of St. Patrick, the heirs of his inheritance, to be able to hold your own against all comers in these matters, and to show that you do, in fact as well as in law, inherit the spirit and traditions of the ancient Church of Ireland.

✠ JOHN HEALY, D.D.

TOTAL ABSTINENCE LEAGUE OF THE SACRED HEART

ENCOURAGED by the very interesting and thoughtful article on Temperance Reform from the pen of Father J. Murphy, Rathkeale, which appeared in the April issue of the I. E. RECORD, I venture to send a reminiscence of a slender work inaugurated in furtherance of Temperance organization which he so eloquently advocates.

The main purpose for which this paper is written is not so much to describe a comparatively insignificant effort in the cause of Temperance Reform, as to suggest to other minds, far more competent than mine, the need of devising some practical Total Abstinence organization which will combine unity of aim with uniformity of method, and thus enable us to combat more successfully the deplorable vice of intemperance. I sincerely trust, also, that it may help towards realising Father Murphy's desire of bringing together, annually, at Maynooth or elsewhere, the very large and yearly increasing number of total abstaining priests in Ireland; so that we may gather heart, strength, and unanimity to contribute our full share towards redeeming our nation from the bondage of drink.

About fifteen years ago I was invited by the late Right

Rev. Dr. McAllister, Bishop of Down and Connor, to give a week's parochial retreat in the church of St. Peter, Belfast. One of the principal objects to be secured by the Retreat was the advancement of the cause of Temperance. As the 'Spiritual Exercises' of the week drew to a close I felt more than ever impressed with a conviction of the comparative inutility of inviting a whole congregation to recite aloud the words of a lightly considered pledge of total abstinence. From sad missionary experience I knew only too well, that, in a large number of cases, it would be as quickly broken as it would be inconsiderately pronounced. The type of the relapsing tippler who, every month, or thereabouts, takes the pledge for life, somehow rose vividly before me, and I consequently felt for me, at least, the proceedings would partake more or less of the nature of a sham. I may have been mistaken, but this was my feeling at the moment. That some would keep such a pledge I believed—but I knew, too, that many of a vast, religiously-minded congregation, such as I was then addressing, would eagerly, in that retreat, in a moment of passing fervour, pronounce the words of the pledge, and with equal inconsistency fail to observe it.

I felt then, as I have felt ever since, that frequent pledge-taking and pledge-breaking was, like injudicious alms-giving, largely demoralizing our people. Hence, I resolved that I should be no longer a party to it, and inexorably refused to give the collective Pledge. An earnest priest—alas! now no more—then in charge of the Temperance work in the church, pressed me very urgently to administer it, as it seemed to him to be the only remedy for the existing and deplorable evil of excessive drinking. I saw, or believed I saw, its futility, and gave a point blank refusal. As he left my room that morning—I remember it well—the thought flashed on me, and I hope it was God who inspired it, that if I could meet in the church persons of the congregation who had never taken drink to excess, or were already genuine and confirmed disciples of Temperance, that I would give them a pledge which would be not so much a preservative for themselves as a symbol of

sacrifice and good example for others. I then sat down, and on the window-sill, in Father Moore's little room, wrote the words of the 'Heroic Offering of Total Abstinence for life, under the auspices of the Sacred Heart of Jesus.' Though I absolutely refused to admit any compromise whatsoever in the Pledge, regarding time, quality, or quantity, the bargain was struck, the campaign of the 'Heroic Offering' was started, and at the end of the Retreat the new movement was floated. Years have passed since that morning, and now there are few parishes in Ireland where the pink card of the 'Heroic Offering' is not known and cherished. Elsewhere, too, beyond the seas, it has been gladly and widely welcomed as a token of religious peace, plenty and happiness.

Still, I felt an important work was sketched only in outline. It neither suggested nor furnished any system to carry on a successful Temperance Reform, for, though cards were printed and corresponding medals struck and distributed largely, yet, without an organization such an undertaking was fore-doomed to early and inevitable failure.

True, genuine signs of encouragement were not wanting on many sides. Numbers of students in Maynooth College, All Hallows, Carlow, Thurles, Waterford, Clonliffe and elsewhere embraced Total Abstinence for good example sake. Priests, nuns, and many national school teachers heartily welcomed the initiation of the novel enterprise and advocated it in church, parish and schoolroom. But all the same, I felt instinctively that the last word had not been spoken, nor the last blow struck.

In December, 1898, I convened a small meeting of resolute Total Abstainers in the presbytery of St. Francis Xavier's, Up. Gardiner-street, Dublin, and disclosed a conviction which had ineradicably taken possession of my mind. They must, I ventured to say to them, arouse and focus public opinion on the appalling and growing evil of intemperance. To that small band of total abstainers I saw no great need to prove the existence of the drink-plague. Ghastly but incontestable statistics had already proved it to the hilt. They knew well, as every thoughtful man in Ireland knows, that directly

and indirectly the demon of drink was throwing its dark shadows over almost every family in the country. No creed, no class, no profession failed to furnish victims. Accordingly as the children of each generation grew up, slowly but surely, they were being swept into the awful whirlpool. No warnings, tears or prayers saved them. Poisoned in their infancy by drink administered as medicine or food, perverted by the teaching and example of parents and elders, the crop of juvenile excessive drinkers, who subsequently developed into habitual drunkards, was to be met everywhere in our towns and cities. As the outcome of our annual expenditure of thirteen millions sterling for drink in Ireland, we had and have our jails filled with criminals, nine-tenths of whose crimes, the judges declare, are directly attributable to drink ; we have to pay enormous taxes for the maintenance of a police force, one of whose principal duties is to look after people who, if sober, would mind themselves, or hustle drink-victims to justice and to jail ; we have to pay enormous rates for the support of those who, by their drink-extravagance, are compelled to drag on, and often end their days in the workhouse or asylum. We had and have many of the best fathers, sons, and husbands in the country, from the same cause, hopelessly degrading and ruining themselves and their families, by indulgence in drink. We see endless failures in studies, in professions, in business, owing to it, and an almost interminable list of accidents and illnesses fatally resulting from it. Moreover, we have almost every Commandment of God and of His Church violated by it. We have neglect of prayer, loss of Sunday Mass, absence from Sacraments, cursing, fighting, occasionally murder, immorality, and cruelty to women and children resulting from it. We have the work of our confraternities and sodalities in great part neutralized or defeated by it. We have squalor and filth in our homes, neglect of school and training for any trade or walk in life, and thus is created an appalling mental, physical, social and moral paralysis of the nation.

In the face of this huge national calamity some efficacious means, if possible, I urged on the meeting, should be devised, and at least experimentally tried, to disabuse the public mind

of the delusions, medical and otherwise, with regard to the widespread belief in the almost indispensable necessity or utility of alcoholic stimulants. Some practical step, I submitted, should be also taken to expose the fatal folly of social excessive drinking customs, the shameful and yet almost universal indulgence in alcohol at meetings and partings, at buying and selling, at christenings and weddings, wakes and funerals, and, most of all, in *the use of alcohol blindly regarded as food and medicine.*

But how this project was to be formulated or achieved was the difficulty. To those interested in Temperance Reform through religious agency, many ways would present themselves. I saw but one, that day, and I proposed it.

Band together [I said] in death-grip unity of purpose, through the length and breadth of Ireland, souls capable of *heroic self-sacrifice and good example for the sake of weaker brethren.* Then, bind them by a voluntary promise of Total Abstinence for life. Next, give them some external Emblem by which they may recognise each other when they meet, and thus gather strength from sympathy of purpose and numbers. Thus united, prepare them to face fearlessly for God's cause, the idiotic banter, sneers, ridicule, coaxing, importunities, threats, or apprehensions held out by those who believe in the omnipotence of alcohol for food, medicine or sociability, and the enterprise would be in great measure effected. Finally, let their motto be, *Deeds rather than words ; precept, but precept backed up by example.*

Two years more have passed since that meeting, and thank God, with the sanction and under the blessing of authority, this work has been successfully developed and worked under the title of 'Total Abstinence League of the Sacred Heart.' Upwards of six thousand Emblem-Brooches, bearing the tiny image of the Sacred Heart, are publicly worn through Ireland, Great Britain, South Africa, and America by women and girls of every class over sixteen years of age, and under the conditions specified in the Rules subjoined at the end of this paper.

For a very obvious reason, I may state here, I started with the female section of the community. On the wives, mothers, and daughters of a nation, all confess, a nation's weal or woe largely depends. As the mother moulds the

children, so as a rule will the children grow up. All men agree, that, it is worse than folly to attempt any great social reform, or furnish a remedy for any great social evil, without counting on female energetic co-operation as the most important element of success. Families form the community, communities form the nation, and hence everything that is pure and noble and worthy of man's highest destiny must, in great measure, depend on the wives, mothers and daughters of the household. Therefore, I felt convinced that, in the homes and by the fireside, where the wife, mother and daughter reign supreme in the sphere that God and nature have undisputably assigned them—where 'the hand that rocks the cradle rules the world'—I felt there I should begin and there I did begin.

But there I did not end. Spirited rivalry in promoting good works may always be anticipated in a country so deeply imbued with religious feeling as Ireland undoubtedly is, and hence there was no need to wait long to witness its manifestation. Before leaving for Cape Colony, at the termination of a large mission in St. Peter and Paul's church, Cork, in April, 1899, a number of young earnest temperance men urgently claimed to be admitted to join in this pioneer movement of 'Heroic Sacrifice and Good Example.' They promised ready and faithful compliance with the required conditions, namely, that they would sign their cards, observe their pledge for life, and *publicly and constantly* wear their own outward visible Emblem in token of their religious sacrifice for the welfare of their weaker brethren. The first Male Branch was then started in Cork. Cards were designed for the new members and Scarf-pins or Pendants bearing the image of the Sacred Heart were procured.

Then the tide began to rise, and with God's marked blessing on the work, the tide is now rising higher and higher, day after day. At present, as I write, in many places the Sacred Heart Total Abstinence League Scarf-pins, Pendants, and Brooches are, if not the fashion, at least the well-known and gratefully acknowledged token of a glorious deed of self-sacrifice, cheerfully done for the Sacred Heart,

after the example of '*Him who gave His life for His friends.*'

On one point I laid special stress, when addressing the first meeting, comprising members of both Branches, Male and Female. They should bear in mind clearly that the 'Heroic Offering' was a purely voluntary one, and that as far as we could, we should admit no shams or impostors, 'casuals' or 'weary wobblers' to disgrace it. Moreover, that we did not expect to succeed so thoroughly as to induce everyone to join this pioneer movement, but only hoped that it would prove an efficacious auxiliary in the campaign of Temperance Reform, by supplying trusty and earnest helpers and advocates to promote it.

Thus we had made considerable progress, but even at this advanced stage of the organization, I did not feel warranted to conclude that this pioneer work of a Total Abstinence organization was fully completed. I felt the corner-stone was not set in the foundation, nor the key-stone in the arch. Let me give the reason why.

During many years—twenty-five or more—the venerable Hierarchy of Ireland, at Confirmation time, have been in the habit of administering the Total Abstinence Pledge to children, binding on them until they had reached their twenty-first year. No words can possibly exaggerate the importance of this step, nor gauge, under more favourable circumstances, what should have been its rapid reforming influence and ultimate success. But, alas! as in many another spiritual enterprize, the drink-demon stepped in, and with an immense drink-machinery and drink temptation at his command, he not only impeded, but in innumerable instances completely nullified the intentions of our chief Pastors of the flock.

However impressive was the Bishop's pledge, and although given with much solemnity and in connection with a Sacrament they could receive but once in their lives, the children but too frequently lost sight of their conscientious engagement. Had it been otherwise, during the last quarter of a century, Ireland would have been released from the slavery of drink in the generation that has now reached

manhood and womanhood, and to-day the population of Ireland would not have, with guilty shame, to acknowledge the cruel charge of having squandered last year the enormous sum of about thirteen millions sterling on drink, with its concomitant poverty and crime.

The explanation of this social and religious disaster in the youthful population is not far to seek. The impression made on the children's minds, at a time of religious fervour, speedily evaporated in presence of the rooted belief and universal custom they had to encounter on their return to their homes. Alas! for the children! with too many of their mothers schooled from their own childhood into the unchangeable conviction of the necessity, or, at least, the infallible utility, of porter, wine, or whiskey as food and medicine; with drink-surroundings on every little eventful occasion of their lives; with drink at fairs and markets; with drink at harvest homes, at weddings, wakes, christenings, and funerals; with constantly recurring examples of drink before their eyes in their elders, and but too often in their own parents; with almost everyone condemning drink-degradation as an inevitable but pardonable frailty, and nothing more; with their elders passing off as a good joke the disgusting antics or idiotic merriment of the drink-victim; with public opinion declaring that all sorts and conditions of men and women—no trade or profession excluded—are all 'tared with the same brush'; with moderate drinkers piously mourning over the scandal, but refusing to raise a finger to stop it; with some (we hope not many) unscrupulous physicians dogmatically declaring it a necessary adjunct to their prescriptions, and nurses backing them up in practice; and, finally, added to all this nonsense, the pliability and inexperience of childhood, it was not difficult to anticipate that their Lordships had a hard task set them to safeguard from intemperance the interests of the lambs of their flock. Nor is it a wonder that they did not as fully succeed in their great project as they anticipated.

Clearly, then, something ought to be done, if anything could be done, to support, in these terribly adverse circumstances, the Confirmation pledge. It was for this object that

the 'Juvenile Total Abstinence League of the Sacred Heart' was established. Its pledge—necessarily in conformity with the age limit of twenty-one years fixed by their lordships—should be also fortified by an external Emblem declaratory of the children's undertaking, and buttressed by some minor promises of very great if not essential importance to children, especially in towns and cities. This idea led directly to the 'Twenty-one Year Pledge Card and Emblem-Button of the Sacred Heart,' which we see now worn by crowds of children, and already approved by many Bishops.

In addition to pronouncing the pledge at Confirmation, they undertake to repeat it, at night and morning prayer, together with the little invocation; 'Sacred Heart of Jesus! give me grace to keep my pledge.' They promise, moreover, never to treat any person, or, associate with drinking companions, and, lastly, never to go to public-houses to procure drink for others.

I may not conclude this sketch, without remarking that this whole organization trusts principally, for its success, to prayer, to the constant use of the Sacraments of Confession and Holy Communion, while it hopes with absolute confidence in the Sacred Heart for its successful issue. Relying on these helps, may we not expect that, many younger than we are, may live to see the day when this tiny seedling shall have grown into a tree, whose branches will extend over the English-speaking world and give shade and shelter to millions, who, without it, would constitute the future drinking criminal classes, the disgrace to our creed and country, wherever the English flag floats over the world to-day.

But it may be naturally asked, by our readers, what is to become of the inebriates, the tipplers, the drinking men and women, who are the curse of their homes, the disgrace of religion, and the social outcasts of the community? For them the organization provides temporary Total Abstinence Pledge Cards, in the hope of saving them from themselves, and possibly after a probation of three or more years, admitting them to the 'Heroic Offering' ranks.

In conclusion, we gather unquenchable hope from the

fact that our ecclesiastical colleges are sending out young and fervent priests, who are enthusiastic Total Abstiners, and who are as heroically devoted to God's work, as those priests, who, for fourteen hundred years, have prayed, and wept, and worked, and died for the sanctification of Erin's children. On them, above all, we rely to accomplish this work and bring it to a happy completion. Working beside them and with them, the members of the 'Apostleship of Prayer,' will not cease to pray for the conversion or perseverance of those for whom they labour.

J. A. CULLEN, S.J.

The following are the rules of the organization as followed by the members :—

TOTAL ABSTINENCE LEAGUE OF THE SACRED HEART OF JESUS.

All for Thee, O Heart of Jesus!

1. This Association does not aim directly at the reclamation of victims of excessive drinking. It enrolls as members—*only*—persons whose Total Abstinence from all stimulants, and at all times make *their lives of voluntary sacrifice a model and inducement to others to follow their example*. They chiefly rely on prayer and the Sacraments to help them and prosper them in their heroic enterprise.

2. Branches in Colleges, Educational Institutions, and other centres of population can be established.

3. The use of all alcoholic drinks (including Claret, Ginger Wine, &c.), is absolutely forbidden to the members.

4. Each member receives at membership in this League, a card of the 'Heroic Offering' of Total Abstinence for life.

5. With this card he also receives the 'Sacred Heart Scarf-pin or Pendant' of the League, which he undertakes to wear, *publicly during life*, in witness of his sacrifice and principles.

6. Should he be compelled by a physician to take any stimulants as medicine, for any length of time, he shall not wear the Scarf-pin or Pendant during that period, nor resume it until he has resumed the practice of entire Total Abstinence from every kind of alcoholic stimulant.

7. Each member will recite at morning and night prayers, the words of the 'Heroic Offering,' and will offer Holy Communion for the perseverance of the members and the increase of the membership. Where branches of the League exist, the members will assist at the monthly or quarterly meeting, if any such meetings be held.

8. The 'Heroic Offering' cannot be made for a lesser period than life. Each member must have reached his sixteenth year.

9. The members, with a Promoter, form bands of thirty-three, in honour of the thirty-three years of our Lord's life on earth. When each Promoter has completed his band of thirty-three, he will receive a special Diploma.

10. It is of greatest importance to remember, that, while other Temperance or Total Abstinence Associations can receive as members persons who may desire to find in them a remedy for their previous habits of excessive drinking—*this Association receives those, exclusively, who have been temperate all their lives and wish to practice Total Abstinence as self-sacrifice.* They hope thereby to console the Sacred Heart for the agony caused to It by excessive drinking—to make reparation for intemperance—and to help to lessen this evil which is such a disgrace to our nation.

11. The rules for the Female Branch are similar.

FORM OF HEROIC OFFERING.

'For Thy greater glory and consolation, O Sacred Heart of Jesus! to give good example, to practise self-denial, and to make reparation for the sins of intemperance, I promise to abstain from all intoxicating drink during my life.'

EMBLEM-BUTTON AND CARD OF THE JUVENILE TOTAL ABSTINENCE LEAGUE OF THE SACRED HEART.

The Emblem-Button and Card of the 'Sacred Heart Total Abstinence League' are given to children to keep them in mind of the twenty-one years' pledge taken at Confirmation, or, it may be at an earlier period. At first, it will be better to give them to very good children, on whose fidelity parents or teachers can depend. They should be previously made to understand *thoroughly* the words and object of the principal Pledge, and also of the three 'Help' Pledges printed on their card. They should also be made to commit to memory the words of the principal Pledge, and of the little invocation to the Sacred Heart—*Sacred Heart of Jesus! give me grace to keep my Pledge*—to be recited daily at morning and night prayers. It is very important, where possible, that the children should previously have obtained the permission of their parents for the Pledge so as to secure their hearty co-operation.

It is desirable, also, that there should be a public renewal of the Pledge—suppose, on every First Friday—in the schoolroom or elsewhere. On the occasion of Confirmation, the names should be previously filled in by the children themselves, or by their parents or teachers or others, so as to prevent delay. The names of the children who take the Pledge should be registered, to serve as a

check to be kept on them afterwards. The Emblem-Buttons *must be always worn openly*, and should they be lost, must be replaced by others. Each child should pay a penny for the Emblem-Button and Card, as children do not attach much value to anything they get for nothing. Should the Pledge be given in the church, other than at Confirmation time, priests may desire to make the little ceremony more solemn by lights, singing, &c. The children's parents, teachers, or others, having already filled in the name and date on each Card, the Emblem-Button and Card might be handed to the children, while these or similar words might be pronounced :—'Receive these emblems of your Pledge—remember to be faithful to its conditions, in honour of the Sacred Heart.' They might then be earnestly encouraged not only to practise but also to promote Total Abstinence, reminding them always to wear their Emblem and to keep vigilant watch over each other's fidelity.

JUVENILE TOTAL ABSTINENCE ASSOCIATION OF THE SACRED HEART.

SACRED HEART PLEDGE.

I promise in honour of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, to abstain from all intoxicating drinks until I have completed my twenty-first year.

HELPS.

1. I promise to repeat my Pledge, night and morning, together with the invocation,

'Sacred Heart of Jesus, give me grace to keep my Pledge.'

2. I promise not to treat any person, or to associate with drinking companions.

3. I promise not to go to public-houses to procure drink for others.

Date.....Name.....

[Parents are requested to co-operate with their children in this holy cause.]

N.B.—The Depot for 'Heroic Offering' Cards, Scarf-pins, Pendants, Brooches, Emblem-Buttons, and Cards, is at the Convent of the Sisters of Charity, North William-street, Dublin.

THE SYNOPTIC PROBLEM

II

FOR now more than a century the question of the relation to one another of the first three Gospels has been under keen and constant discussion. And that it still continues to attract to itself much earnest thought and study must be due to the fact that it presents other aspects than those which belong to a mere literary puzzle. At first sight indeed the question may seem more interesting than important, less Scriptural than literary. But the history of its protracted discussion has only too clearly shown that other interests are involved, and these more than ordinarily grave. The question does not stand by itself. It is inseparably connected with the origin of our Gospels, and touches upon ground no less sacred than the honesty and candour of the Evangelists, and the authority of their records. More than this, the very nature of inspiration, its character and extent, is at stake, not to speak of the doubt and darkness it casts upon the beginnings of Christian history and the life and teachings of our Lord. These, of course, are side issues in the controversy, and sometimes kept well out of sight. Nevertheless they are there; and it is only when we advert to their presence, and realise that principles so far reaching and fundamental are involved, that we see a reason for the present-day prominence the difficulty has secured for itself in the departments of hermeneutics and exegesis.

In a preceding paper¹ the more salient features of the Synoptic relations were outlined. Throughout, for the most part, we tried to keep within certain limits, and, as far as possible, to avoid all unnecessary detail. And advisedly. Did we enter more fully into details, a question already vexatiously complicated should only become more so, without any compensating advantage, and statements would appear which, however certain for some, should at most be only probable for

¹ I. E. RECORD, April, 1901.

others. Sufficient, however, was said to show that our Gospels, though markedly distinct in conception and composition, have yet a greater amount of similarity than we should naturally expect to find in the narratives of independent writers. Similar in plan and style and incident, they still retain their peculiar characteristics. They are the same, and not the same; and it will be hard to find another such instance, with harmony and variety so peculiarly distributed and intertwined. Like and unlike, they meet and cross, and swerve and turn aside, after a manner apparently so capricious as to remain to some extent a mystery, whether they are looked upon as completely distinct or as mutually dependent. In the selection of subject-matter, in the succession of narratives, in the manner and method of presentation—under all and each of these heads, not merely in thought, but often in form of expression, there is striking agreement, and no less remarkable variety. And it is the genesis of this combination of similarity and dissimilarity, with its varied and variable phenomena, which constitutes what has now come to be spoken of as the Synoptic Problem.

Neither individually nor collectively do our Gospels give us anything like a full and complete life of our Lord. Of the first thirty years, with the exception of a few external events, we know almost next to nothing. Cursorily, a few incidents connected with the Birth and Childhood are mentioned by St. Matthew and St. Luke; and in these consists our knowledge of a period, if for no other reason than this, accurately designated the Hidden Life. With the Baptism commences the more formal narrative. But even here there is neither the fulness nor comprehensiveness one might naturally expect. Until we come to the final going up there is scarcely a reference to the work in Jerusalem and the surrounding province; and of the labours in Galilee, to which, for the most part, they confine themselves, their accounts are not by any means exhaustive. It is only when we advert to these large and important omissions, and remember that in a life extending over thirty-three years the history of the last six months occupies a half, and the events of the last week somewhat more than a third of the total contents of

the several Gospels, that we begin to realise to some extent their historical incompleteness.¹ It must be evident that writers who made such omissions, and confined themselves one after another to such narrow limits, did not intend to deal historically with the life of our Blessed Redeemer. Now and again the narratives appear to have more or less a supplemental character. But, for the most part, they are all three over the same ground, confining themselves within the same narrow limits, making the same omissions, and selecting the same incidents for special treatment. To a greater extent than not they narrate the same miracles and report the same discourses. At the same time you have in each Gospel independent omissions and peculiar additions. And if the history be harmonised, and then divided into eighty-nine sections, it will be found that in forty-two of these all the narratives coincide, that twelve more are given by St. Matthew and St. Mark only, that five are common to St. Mark and St. Luke, and that fourteen are found in St. Matthew and St. Luke. To these must be added five peculiar to St. Matthew, two to St. Mark, and nine to St. Luke, and the enumeration is complete.² The number selected is, of course, arbitrary,³ and here and there the sectional divisions will depend on the identification of similar events. But, allowing sufficiently for these drawbacks, the proportions represent with tolerable accuracy the amount of coincident and peculiar matter to be found in the Synoptists.

For the most part the same general plan—Baptism, Transfiguration, and Passion—runs through the three. But the intervals are not unfrequently very variously filled up. It is, as it were, looking at a landscape from a distance and at closer quarters. The great landmarks are always unchanged, and relatively maintain their positions, but on a nearer approach the variability and distinctness of the smaller objects become more noticeable. It is the same with the Gospels. The main facts, the preparation for the ministry, the mission of John the Baptist, the preaching in

¹ Thompson, *Word, Work, and Will*, pp. 1-6.

² Smith, *Diet. of the Bible*, art. Gospels.

³ Reuss (*Histoire évangélique*) divides into 124 sections.

Galilee, the journey to Jerusalem, the Passion and Death and Resurrection are always the same substantially. But the details, the colouring, the linking and grouping of the connective incidents, are at times very various, and form a very distinctive feature in their independence. Obviously chronology was not the sole determining factor of their arrangement. In the general structure of the Gospels it guides them, and, to some extent, in the connecting and filling in of the incidental events. But not exclusively. There are large and important sections where there must have been other causes at work, and where it is all but certain the idea of time was made subservient to some other consideration. The rarity of chronological data, the vagueness of the particles of time they use, and the variability and looseness with which events are in places strung together, would seem to make this more than probable. And just as it was not their intention to give us a full and exhaustive life of our Lord, so neither was it their aim to write a chronological history of that period. Historical incompleteness leads up to and prepares the way for unscientific treatment. The existence of the one suggests that of the other. And both ideas throw not a little light on the apparent incongruities one sometimes finds captiously pressed into real contradictions.

So much for the material coincidences, and the variety in manner and method of presentation. But the real difficulty has yet to come, and is to be found in the verbal affinities. Not by any means so extensive as the coincidences in substance and subject-matter, the verbal similarity is still sufficiently so and of such a character as so far to have baffled complete and satisfactory solution. Here more than elsewhere are to be found curious agreements and puzzling divergences. So marked in places are the parallelisms in words and grammatical construction between two and sometimes the three, that there would seem little room for doubt of their mutual dependence. While again in passages almost immediately after, the divergences are so numerous and the choice of words so different that even an acquaintance with one another's writings becomes almost

inconsistent and incompatible. Wayward and fickle in the extreme it is never continuous for any considerable length. Now and again, but not so often, there is remarkable coincidence even in the purely narrative parts such as for instance in the Transfiguration or in the incident of the feeding of the five thousand. But for the most part and naturally the verbal agreement is greater in the recitative parts where the words of others are quoted or reported, and, most of all, in the words of our Lord.

By far the larger portion [says Professor Norton]¹ of this verbal agreement is found in the recital of the words of others, and particularly of the words of Jesus. Thus in Matthew's Gospel, the passages verbally coincident with one or both of the other two Gospels amount to less than a sixth part of its contents; and of this about seven-eighths occur in the recital of the words of others, and only about one-eighth in what, by way of distinction, I may call mere narrative in which the Evangelist speaking in his own person was unrestrained in the choice of his expressions. In Mark the proportion of coincident passages to the whole contents of the Gospel is about one-sixth, of which not one-fifth occurs in the narrative. Luke has still less agreement of expression with the other Evangelists. The passages in which it is found amount only to about a tenth part of his Gospel; and but an inconsiderable portion of it appears in the narrative—less than a twentieth part. The proportions should be further compared with those which the narrative part of each Gospel bears to that in which the words of others are professedly repeated. Matthew's narrative occupies about one-fourth of his Gospel, Mark's about one-half, and Luke's about one-third. It may easily be computed, therefore, that the proportion of verbal coincidence found in the narrative part of each Gospel compared with what exists in the other part, is about in the following ratios: In Matthew as one to somewhat more than two, in Mark as one to four, and in Luke as one to ten.

It is obvious the hypothesis which would solve the phenomena involved in these analyses, must advert and take into account the various relations of the affinities. Interwoven with the similarity there is dissimilarity, and this not merely in subject-matter but also in form of expression. There are common omissions and peculiar additions. Harmony and variety is seen to interlace in the sequence and arrangement and order. There are parallelisms in

¹ *Genuineness of the Gospels*, vol. i. p. 240, ed. 2.

matter, and strange intermittent coincidences in language. Identity of range is combined with variety of treatment and difference of style with unity of scope. It is evident, the problem offers manifold phases in matter and form, arrangement and order, addition and omission, harmony and variety both material and verbal, and the theory adopted must keep well in sight of the phenomena to be explained, and, apart from all external authority, account for at least the more striking and important of the affinities and diversities.

In the days when verbal inspiration was an opinion more probable than it would seem to be now, the solution of the difficulty was not far to seek. There was nothing easier, and if true, nothing more satisfactory, than an appeal to inspiration so plenary as to take in not merely the thoughts and judgments, but also the modes and method of arrangement, and even the very words and forms of expression. Needless to say on an inspirational basis so extensive every difficulty disappeared, and practically there was no such problem as the Synoptic. But for him who is not prepared to go so far—and few are, if any, at present—the difficulty remains, and in all its force. For now nearly a century, no question has obtruded itself with such persistency; yet so far criticism has succeeded only in laying bare, with the skill and often the callousness of the anatomist, the details of the phenomena. Any solution for the facts observed, for the so-called ‘tendencies’ and ‘aspects’ and ‘phases,’ anything worthy of the name of scientific, has yet to come. In the meantime there is no dearth of theories and hypotheses. On the contrary, a number already overwhelming is being constantly added to; and the satisfying qualities of all both old and new are best seen in the fact that the demand is still for more.

By common consent, the solution of the question is sought in the recognition of some common element or source in our Gospels, though there still continues to be considerable controversy as to its exact nature and character. Is it external to the Gospels? And if so, was it written or merely oral? or are Gospels inter-dependent? And so in all we have three distinct classes of solution. There is the

'use-hypothesis,' or that of mutual dependence, that one Gospel was made use of in the production of another; the hypothesis of an original written Gospel antecedent to any we now possess and which was drawn upon by all three Evangelists; and the supposition of a well defined stereotyped oral tradition which, when the Gospels came to be written, incorporated itself somewhat differently in each. To these three distinct methods of explanation must be added a fourth, which seeks the solution of the problem in the combination or modification of two or more of the preceding hypotheses, with now and again additional complications. For want of a better name, it will not be unsuggestive if we refer to it as the 'combinational' hypothesis.

(1.)—THE USE-HYPOTHESIS

One of the earliest attempts to explain the phenomena, was based on the principle, that our Gospels are interdependent, that the Evangelists were acquainted with one another's writings, and each made use of the other in the compilation and production of his own. Technically the theory is variously designated, and not unfrequently you find it alluded to as the 'copying' or 'borrowing' theory or the system of 'mutual dependence.' It is a question merely of name, and practically in all the fundamental idea is the same, that our Gospels are closely related and exerted a mutual influence upon one another in their origin and production. Some few, evidently not of the blunt school, have found fault with designations so expressive as in some way derogatory to the dignity of the Evangelists; and so we have chosen to refer to the theory by the less offensive though more indeterminate title.

Scarcely anyone will deny that the principle in itself is an obvious one, and, perhaps, in most cases, the one which would first suggest itself to the enquirer. Undoubtedly, it will account for some of the difficulties of the question, and more particularly for the similarities; and, if not unduly pressed, it in no way collides with the more orthodox views of inspiration. So far it is plausible, but no farther. It is only, however, when the Gospels are compared, and a careful

analysis of their harmony and variety adverted to, that its inadequacy as a *complete* solution becomes apparent. It almost completely ignores the divergences, both material and verbal; and in any of its forms seems hard to reconcile with the apparent incongruities so frequently to be met with in the Synoptists. It is easy, of course, to speak in theory, and abstractions are always more or less nebulous and intangible. But it is quite another matter when the level of practice is reached, and it is asked which is the earlier Gospel and which the later, which the 'borrowed' and which the 'used,' which the 'copy' and which the 'exemplar'? And it is a curious and remarkable fact, that of the six possible combinations of the first three Gospels, there is not one which has not found, and continues to secure for itself able and learned critics. It may be useful and, perhaps, not uninteresting to tabulate these various orders of priority and combinations of inter-use, and to mention a few of the better known names associated with each:—

| FIRST | SECOND | THIRD |
|---------|---------|--|
| Matthew | Mark | Luke; Hug, Patrizzi, Kiel, Hengstenberg. |
| Matthew | Luke | Mark; Griesbach, Delitzsch, Mayer, Bleek. |
| Mark | Matthew | Luke, Stow, Reuss, Tholuck, Weiss. |
| Mark | Luke | Matthew; Lachmann, Hitzig, Holtzmann, Volkmar. |
| Luke | Matthew | Mark; Büsching, Evanson. |
| Luke | Mark | Matthew; Vögel, and others. ¹ |

And this diversity of opinion, were there no other objection to the hypothesis, should in itself be a sufficient reason for receiving with caution a theory which can be so variable. It is a case where one might have hoped, and reasonably, for a clear and undisputed proof of interdependence, if our Gospels were really so related. Instead of that we are offered a series of conflicting and contradictory conclusions. What to one is epitomatory and compendious is to another complementary or supplemental.

¹ For fuller lists see Alford's *Greek Testament*, vol. i. pp. 3, 4; *Biblic Studia*, vol. i.; A new theory of the Synoptic Gospels.

The Gospel which, on the authority of one group of critics forms the nucleus of the others, is in the no less certain opinion of an equally capable group a condensation and compression of the preceeding. It is a case of the first being last and the last first. In turn each Gospel has been made to do duty as the basis for others, to occupy the middle position, to represent the final narrative. In every case the evidence, the criteria, the material worked upon, is the same, namely, the Gospels themselves, yet a Babel of voices the most dissonant, and of opinions the most fluctuable is the result. When we are told by men of research that the Gospel of St. Mark is certainly the primitive narrative, the nucleus of those of St. Matthew and St. Luke, as Wilke and Baur inform us; and again, and no less plainly, that the same Gospel is to be looked upon as compendious, and subsequent to the other two, as Büsching and Griesbach assure us, surely we cannot be found fault with for an absence of the progressive spirit if we refuse to accept conclusions so chameleon-like, and elect to remain as we were.

Evidently the question is largely dependent, though not entirely, on the position to be assigned to St. Mark. Of the three his is the briefest Gospel, or, to be more exact, the shortest; and of the matter common to all, his, for the most part, is made up.¹ Yet the result of criticism, after now more than a hundred years of analysing, is anything but hopeful for the future. Up to this day three views are maintained, and though not with equal ardour, still sufficiently so, as to make us doubt its capabilities on this point. Some would have it that, St. Mark's Gospel is the original Gospel, out of which grew, in the course of time, the fuller narratives of St. Matthew and St. Luke. Others see, in what they term its epitomatory character, a clear proof that it is a condensation and compression of the other two, and, therefore, subsequent to them in time. Nor are there wanting many capable and no less able critics who are

¹ St. Mark has 39 sections common to all three; 23 common to him and St. Matthew; and 13 common to him and St. Luke.

of opinion that, though it is an abridgment of the first Gospel, it is independent of the third, and forms the transitional link between it and the Gospel of St. Matthew. Keim has not the slightest doubt, that it was the aim of St. Mark to combine the salient and characteristic features of the first and third Gospels, to weave together the Judaic tendencies of the one, and the universalistic spirit of the other. There is scarcely a verse of the same Gospel, which does not furnish Reuss and Reville, with unmistakable signs of its complete and total independence and originality. While Hilgenfeld, and others, are quite content with the old traditional belief, which thinks St. Mark has found his proper place, in the canonical position assigned him between St. Matthew and St. Luke. What to one has been the nucleus is to another the final touch. The same evidence suffices to prove St. Mark the first and last and intermediate. Where one sees the throwing off of the more full, another thinks he perceives the expansion of the more meagre. What are we to think of opinions so arbitrary and conclusions so variable? One thing is beautifully certain, that all these cannot be true, and they discredit the methods of reasoning which results in such confusion. Nor is there anything cynical in the remark that where criticism is so divided there can scarcely be any decisive evidence as far as internal analysing goes of the priority of one or other of the Gospels.

When from the same evidence conclusions so divergent can be arrived at, it is needless to remark that one naturally shrinks from entering upon ground where all seems so slippery and uncertain. We freely admit, a principle of mutual independence will to some extent explain the general similarities, the common omissions, and coincident agreements of our Gospels. And were these the only features of the problem, the 'use'-hypothesis would have gone a good distance towards solving it. But there are other phases beside the similarities. There are also discrepancies and differences, at least apparent, peculiarities and variations both in matter and manner of treatment, and these our theory either quietly brushes aside or completely ignores. Perhaps in the

circumstances, silence was the better course ; for on no supposition which so closely knits the Gospels together can the variations be adequately explained. Arrange them as we will, the longer Gospel first and the shorter last, or *vice versa*, the peculiar omissions of miracles and discourses, and the compression of others, not to speak of now and again wayward additions, must always be a difficulty. If one Evangelist used the Gospel of his predecessor we can readily see how a portion of the former might incorporate itself in the latter, how there would be sameness in the miracles narrated and the sermons reported, and how even in their verbal and sentential arrangements, there might in places be a blending of style and conformity in the words and grammatical constructions employed. But if St. Matthew, for instance, records a certain number of discourses and miracles, and St. Mark and St. Luke elect to make use of these, why do they deal apparently so capriciously with them, now adding, now condensing, and now omitting, what, as far as we could see, was as suitable to their purpose as the matter they added? We know the fact ; we are asking for the why and wherefore ; and a theory which professes to tell us and does not do so must at least be thought inadequate.

If what we have been saying is true, it is hard to see how it could have been the intention of the Synoptists to supplement one another. This is the simplest, and perhaps as probable as any other, of the various forms of the mutual dependence system. The fourth Gospel, too, is supplementary, and this may seem to favour the idea. But it is entirely different with the first three Gospels. In their narratives there are very little traces of a supplemental character, and the few there are, are not always consistent with the supposition. Evidently any arrangement which will make St. Mark's Gospel follow those of St. Matthew and St. Luke is out of the question. Of all Gospels his is the last one would have expected to see put forward as supplemental. Nor at present, though not so in the past, does the opinion obtain with any force or cogency. His Gospel is short, the shortest of the three. In the beginning and end, too, and here and there through the narrative, there are large omissions ; and

so far there is nothing inimical to a supplemental character. But why not have passed over other events and incidents on the same principle of omission? There was scarcely any use in going over ground already treated by St. Matthew and St. Luke, more especially if the complementary Gospel scarcely adds to our information. Now and again there is plenty of circumstantial and minute detail. But this can hardly be looked upon as supplemental. For the most part, the same incidents are told, and the same plan observed. And when we come to look for the additional information—for the knowledge which would increase that already possessed—it is found to be confined to about twenty verses which tell us of two miracles and one parable.¹ Surely the scope of such a narrative could not have been to supply what was wanting in previous records. And it is difficult to see how St. Mark could have taken upon himself in an age not at all given to writing and by no means literary to write a supplementary Gospel so meagre and scanty in additional information.

For a much similar reason the Gospel of St. Luke cannot be thought supplementary to that of St. Matthew or St. Matthew to that of St. Luke. At first sight, perhaps, the initiatory chapters of both Gospels might seem to favour the view. The main facts are recorded in both: that our Lord was miraculously born of the Blessed Virgin, that the birth took place at Bethlehem, and that the Holy Family afterwards resided at Nazareth. And in detail what one omits the other adds. In the one we have the successive revelations to St. Joseph, the visit of the Magi, the slaughter of the Innocents, the Flight into Egypt. In the other the Anunciation, the visit of St. Elizabeth, the taxing, the visit of the Shepherds, the Presentation in the Temple, and the testimonies of Anna and Simeon. So far, they are complementary, or may be so; but if we continue our examination very little trace of such a character will be noticed, on the contrary, many things inconsistent and opposed to the supposition cannot fail to be observed. St. Luke could not have supplemented

St. Matthew, for there are most important portions (*e.g.*, ch. xxv., much of ch. xiii., ch. xv.) of the first Gospel omitted in the third. Nor could St. Matthew have supplemented St. Luke for the same reason, having passed over almost all of the important section (Luke ix. 51-xviii. 15) besides very much matter in other parts. To say that these parts were originally in both Gospels, but subsequently fell out of one, scarcely needs serious refutation. Statements of that kind only show the helplessness of a supplemental hypothesis and the exactions it can make in a case of distress.

But, perhaps, the materials of the fuller Gospels are to be found 'in their simplest ground work' in St. Mark, and the shortest Gospel is the incipient form of the more expanded narratives of St. Matthew and St. Luke. So at least say Holtzmann and Weizäcker and Wernle.¹ But an 'expansionist' policy is hard to defend in the case of the Gospels. For though St. Mark's Gospel is the shortest, and contains the fewest events and discourses, in those which he does narrate, he is the fullest and most particular and circumstantial of the three. There is, perhaps, not one narrative which he gives in common with St. Matthew and St. Luke to which he does not contribute some special feature.² It is true, as we have already said, that in matter the second Gospel is practically contained in the other two, and that in order, it now and again shows unmistakable signs of originality. But if the first and third Gospels are expansions of the second, how account for the absence of no less than eight distinct sections contained in St. Mark's Gospel from St. Matthew and as many as a dozen from that of St. Luke. Explanations of the omission of these sections, more or less ingenious and plausible, have been offered. But as a writer in the *New World* has observed, they all proceed upon the assumption that we know more than we do know. Neither is it true that the order of events in St. Mark, as compared with St. Matthew and St. Luke, 'bears incontestably the stamp of originality.' That his order in places is peculiar some will deny; but

¹ Cf. the *New World*, vol. ix. No. xxxv. Sept. 1900.

² Westcott, *Study of the Gospels*, ch. vii p. 366.

few will concede that it is more marked and distinct than that of the other two. As harmonists only too well know the arrangement of St. Matthew is so artificial as to make his Gospel more a treatise than a narrative and the hardest to bring into line with the others.¹ And of St. Luke's freedom in regard to the order of St. Mark, it is sufficient to allude to the large gaps in his narrative corresponding to Mark vi. 45-viii. 26 and ix. 41-x. 12. In the light of these considerations it is somewhat premature to speak of the emergence, as Holtzmann does, of the Markian priority from the hypothetical stage; and it is sailing rather close to the wind to say that it has never been seriously shaken.

Neither will the postulation of a copying or borrowing principle, however applied, explain the sequential variations. Not completely chronological and scarcely ever intending to be rigidly so the Synoptists are not always together in their order and arrangement. In the general structure of their Gospels, it is true, there is a common plan, and for the most part important events observe within certain limits the same relative positions. In the lesser incidents, too, there is striking and fairly continuous agreement; but not always. Now and again there is considerable variation. The healing of the possessed Gadarenes, for instance, which St. Matthew places before the parable of the sower, is in the Gospel of St. Mark narrated after that event. St. Mark relates that St. Peter was called to be a disciple before the public appearance of Jesus at Capernaum; but St. Luke represents the call as taking place subsequent to our Lord's leaving the city. St. Matthew and St. Mark both differ from St. Luke in the order of the Temptations, and St. Luke follows an order of his own in the reply of Jesus to the charge that he cast out devils in the name of Beelzebub. These are only a few of many such instances² which must be familiar to every student of the Gospels. As we have said, in order and arrangement substantially they are the same. At the same

¹ *The Month*, January, 1875.

² For fuller list see Norton's *Genuineness of the Gospels*, vol. i. pp. 247, 248, 249, 2nd edition.

time there are peculiar divergences. So far as the order or arrangement of events is the same is it lawful to appeal to an acquaintance with or use of one another's writings ; but when they differ it is scarcely of avail. Evidently their intention was not a corrective one seeing that each and all were inspired. And if St. Luke borrowed from St. Matthew, or St. Mark copied from St. Luke, how is it in a matter comparatively of such little importance as arrangement they differ, when a common order, as far as can be seen, would have served their purpose just as well? The theory is inconsistent with the facts, and instead of explaining only heightens the difficulty.

But it is only when the verbal phenomena come to be examined and accounted for that the inadequacy of the 'use'-hypothesis is fully realised. However extensively the Synoptists might have used one another's writings it would not be difficult to see how in matter and arrangement each Gospel might still differ and have its own peculiarities. But how happens it, that when one Evangelist commences to copy or borrow the words of another he deals with them so capriciously? Rarely, if ever, even in the recitative parts, where the sentential similarities are strongest and most marked, is their absolute conformity for any considerable length. Fitful and wayward, almost weird in character, the similarity between the three begins and wavers and ends in modes and manners most inexplicable. Let anyone take for himself and collate and examine one of these verbally coincident passages. And it is only by a personal examination and preferably in the Greek, the original language, that the difficulty of their interlacements and the helplessness of a copying theory to explain them become evident. Two or three sentences will be noticed strikingly like in perhaps all three narratives ; then will follow three or four just as different ; while between will be a sentence or two of mixed character, partly like and partly unlike. Sentences will be observed with the thoughts perfectly the same, scarcely a difference in the three save here and there a slight adjustment or variation in the order of the words. Now and again synonyms will be introduced such as βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ

for βασιλεία τοῦ πατρὸς μου or κονιορτός for χοῦς or ἀγαθὸν ποιεῖν for καλῶς ποιεῖν which as far as can be seen leave the meaning unchanged.

Now, what could have been the object of transpositions so slight? If St. Luke wrote with the Gospel of St. Mark before him, where was the need of changing what he saw there: 'With men it is impossible, but not with God' (Mark x. 27) into 'The things that are impossible with man are possible with God' (Luke xviii. 27)? And if St. Matthew's be the latest Gospel, and it was written with St. Luke's in sight, there could scarcely have been any necessity for a substitution such as καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐπιγινώσκει τὸν υἱόν (Matt. xi. 27) for what was practically the same:—καὶ οὐδεὶς γινώσκει τίς ἐστὶν ὁ υἱός (Luke x. 22). Nor could St. Mark, if he were copying from St. Matthew, be the author of: 'And He commanded them that they should take nothing for the way but a staff only . . . [and] be shod with sandals' (Mark vi. 8); when the saying of our Lord read so differently in the Gospel he was using: 'Do not possess gold . . . nor shoes, nor a staff' (Matt. x. 10). Surely, if the thoughts were worth retaining, so also were the words; and, if not, what principle could have guided them in changes so characterless? It could not have been that the words and phrases were, in all cases, faulty—we are prescinding now, of course, from inspiration—and that a subsequent Evangelist was seeking to remedy the defects of his predecessor. For one would then expect the later Gospel to be much more clear and lucid than the earlier, whereas the contrary is very often the case. Thus Mark vi. 45-51 is no more definite in meaning than its parallel in Matthew xiv. 22-28; nor is Matthew xx. 19 less lucid than Mark ix. 30. Instead of that, what already was sufficiently clear in the Hebrew Evangelist becomes obscured by omission in the shorter Gospel.¹ In Mark x. 2 the omission of the phrase, κατὰ πᾶσαν αἰτίαν, does not make for clearness; and again, by omission, in Mark xii. 35, the meaning, perhaps, is not so defined.² In places, it is true,

¹ Knapenbaur, *St. Mark*, pp. 70, 162, 215, 301, 306, 349, 354, 379.

² Davidson, *Introd. to N. T.*

the addition of a clause or the transposition of the words would seem to dispel confusion. But the reverse is often the case, as in the transaction of the fig-tree, where, by the addition of the clause, *ὅτι γὰρ ἦν καιρὸς σὺκων*, the sense has become as barren of meaning as the fig-tree was of fruit. To attribute these changes to caprice is no explanation; it is entirely gratuitous and derogatory to the position of an inspired Evangelist. Yet who will dare to say it was the intention of St. Mark to render hazy and confused what already had been told sufficiently clear and simple?

The Mark hypothesis, which gives priority to St. Mark, and supposes his Gospel to have been the basis of the others, is beset with similar difficulties. Witness, for instance, what must, on this theory, be the strange manipulation of the episode of the sons of Zebedee. In St. Mark, James and John ask the question, and receive the answer. But St. Matthew, notwithstanding he had that Gospel before him, and knew it to be inspired, represents the mother as petitioning for the children, and our Lord making answer to the sons. And it is pretty well the same in the much similar question about precedence in general among the disciples. St. Mark (ix. 33-37) introduces the child *after* the question is disposed of, and apparently with a purpose foreign to it. St. Luke on the other hand (ix. 46-48), represents him as brought in by Christ as a type of humility and in connection with the matter in hand. In the assignation of a cause for the use of parables, St. Mark (iv. 11, *et ff.*), represents our Lord as saying that he spoke in parables 'that [ἵνα] seeing they may see, and not perceive,' while in St. Matthew the reason given is 'therefore [διὰ τοῦτο] do I speak to them in parables, because [ὅτι] seeing they see not.' In other words in St. Mark the reason for the adoption of the parabolic method is to harden the hearers, while in St. Matthew the method of teaching was employed by way of adaptation to their defective understanding. Again there are *apparent* discrepancies between St. Mark and St. Matthew which it is not probable St. Luke would have passed over without a word of explanation, if he used these Gospels to the extent supposed.

And this probability becomes still more strong when we remember that these incongruities are sometimes and by able commentators pressed into real contradictions. Take for instance the accounts of the healing of the two blind men near Jericho. St. Mark speaks of *one* blind man, Bartimaeus by name, and says that he was healed as Jesus and His disciples *went out of the city*. St. Matthew agrees as to place, but says there were *two* blind men cured. Now the whole question turns on the point—was Bartimaeus one of the two mentioned by St. Matthew, or were there three altogether? It is a question of identity or mere similarity. But if St. Luke were using these Gospels could he have failed to notice the similarity, and to advert to the confusion that might afterwards arise? And if so, is it likely he would have passed by the narratives of St. Matthew and St. Mark without a word of warning or reconciliation? Instead of that he intensifies the difficulty by speaking of *one* blind man who, he says, was healed as our Lord drew *nigh to the city*.

These are not real contradictions, at most only apparent incongruities; and since similarity does not always mean identity admit of reasonable explanation. But they are entirely out of harmony and incompatible with a theory, which knits our Gospels so closely together as does the 'use'-hypothesis. For, granted any order of priority there will always be parallelisms where the later Gospel is less lucid and more obscure. It is not altogether true to say with Sanday that the merits of a theory are always to be judged on its capability to account for the phenomena or difficulties it is trying to solve. But even were it true the 'use'-hypothesis would stand condemned. But there are other considerations, and the arbitrary manner in which it represents the Evangelists as dealing with one another's writings now adding, now omitting, and now capriciously changing seems irreconcilable with a belief in the inspiration of the narratives they were using.¹ We are told, and we believe it, that the Evangelists were poor, simple, honest-God-fearing men with little learning and less literary inclinations. Yet

¹ Sadler, *Commen. St. Matt.* p. xi.

how opposed to such a character and how alien to the spirit in which they lived in this theory of constant correction and incessant changing.

Devoid of historical foundation and with nothing to support it but internal evidence, always the most slippery¹ of arguments, the theory has now for some considerable time been losing force. Thinly veiled, indeed, it sometimes makes its appearance in what is known as the 'acquaintance' hypothesis—that the Gospel similarities are to be explained, not so much by an actual use as an acquaintance with one another's writings. But this does not bring us much farther; and is open to most, if not all, of the objections of the preceding principle. A single perusal explains nothing; and a minute study of another's narratives at a time when there was such a stream of oral tradition is not probable.² For the most part the 'use'-hypothesis is now only mentioned to be taken in conjunction with some other principle of solution. Some, as Steinkiste and Olshausen, combine it with the theory of oral tradition. Others, as Wittichen, take it in connection with antecedently written documents. While there are not wanting critics, such as Weiss and Pflenderer, who speak of a 'two-source' hypothesis and 'logia collections' and other external elements. It would be an interminable task even were it useful to go through these combinations, where often the understanding of the theory is of as much difficulty as the solution of the problem. It is said that criticism can do wonderful things; and it can. The variability of the 'use'-hypothesis is an example. But there are some things it cannot do. It may work and labour, but if God be not with it it may work itself to death; and so it seems to have done in the attempted evolution of the mutual dependence theory.

THOMAS J. BUTLER.

¹ *Speaker's Commentary N.T.*, vol. i. p. xxxiii.

² Ebrard, *History of the Gospels*, pp. 556-557.

GALWAY 'COLLEGIATE'

THE civil history of Galway is peculiar ; but still more peculiar is the ecclesiastical history of the 'Citie of the Tribes.' In strictness the term city never did apply to the place, though used as a courtesy title so long as the office of warden was continued. The great church of St. Nicholas is very properly regarded as one of the first edifices of the kind in Ireland ; but although, like the Vicar of Bray, it has been twice Catholic and twice Protestant, and has remained Protestant since the surrender to William's general, Ginckle, in 1691, it has at no time been accorded the dignity of a cathedral, never having been the church of the diocesan. The following account is from Hardiman :—

This ancient and venerable edifice, which for extent and architectural beauty is inferior to very few ecclesiastical foundations in the kingdom, stands a lasting testimonial of the piety, wealth, and public spirit of its founders, the former inhabitants of Galway. It is situate on a gentle eminence nearly on the north-west extremity of the town, and contiguous to the river, on the site of a small chapel, which was the original and only place of worship belonging to the settlers until, their wealth and affluence having increased with their industry and trade, they resolved to adorn the town by erecting a more superb structure for the service of the Deity. The present church was accordingly founded in 1320, and on its completion was solemnly dedicated to St. Nicholas of Myra, the tutelar saint of mariners, who was chosen as the patron of the town in consequence of its early and extensive commerce. The original foundation was gradually enlarged by the piety of individual benefactors until, in course of time, it became one of the finest ecclesiastical structures in Ireland.¹

The year 1484 was an eventful one in the history of Galway, owing to the distinct advance made in self-government both as regards municipal and ecclesiastical affairs. Richard III. was by no means the monster with which Shakspeare's creation has familiarized us. Whatever may be said of the conduct by which he raised himself to the

¹ *History of Galway*, pp. 233-4.

throne, he filled it more worthily than many others whose claim was never questioned. He showed a willingness to confer freedom on towns; which induced the inhabitants of Galway to approach the throne, praying that they might be at liberty to elect thenceforth a mayor and bailiffs. A royal charter was accordingly granted, dated at Westminster the 14th December, 1484, whereby the king confirmed all former grants, and renewed the powers to levy tolls and customs which he directed should be applied towards 'the murage and pavage of the town.' He also granted license that they might for ever chose a mayor and two bailiffs, and ordained that no person whatsoever should enter the town without license; and particularly ordained and granted that from thenceforth neither the lord MacWilliam of Clanrickarde nor his heirs should have any rule or power whatsoever either to act, exact, ordain, or dispose of anything therein by land or by water, as he and his predecessors were anciently accustomed to do, without the special license, and by the consent and superintendence of, the mayor, bailiffs, and corporation, to whom he granted plenary powers and authority to rule and govern the town. The first mayor (Pyerse Lynche) and the first bailiffs (Andrew Lynche Fitz-Stevne and Jhamis Lynche Fitz-Martin) were accordingly elected under this charter on the 1st August, 1485, and were sworn into office on the 29th of September following, which practice was continued till 1841, when the long list of mayors closes.

But the year 1484 was still more remarkable for the adoption of an ecclesiastical arrangement which is, I believe, unique—at all events, in the history of the British Islands. Galway, as already intimated, was never the see of a bishop until a comparatively recent date (1831). The town anciently belonged to the diocese of Annaghdown, which, in 1324, was united (somewhat harshly, Bishop Healy thinks) to the archdiocese of Tuam; and since that union it was governed by vicars nominated by that see. In the year 1484 the inhabitants prevailed on Donat O'Murray, then Archbishop of Tuam, to release the town from his jurisdiction, and to erect the church of St. Nicholas into a collegiate of exempt

jurisdiction, to be governed by a warden and vicars, who were to be presented and solely elected by the inhabitants of the town. As this act required the sanction and confirmation of the Pope, a petition from the townsmen was forwarded to Rome, in which they described themselves as 'modest and civil people,' and represented the inhabitants of the surrounding country as a savage race, brought up in woods and mountains, unpolished and illiterate, by whom they were often disturbed in exercising the duties of their religion; that they were often robbed and murdered by them, and were in continual danger, and likely to suffer much more if not speedily succoured. They, therefore, prayed that his Holiness would be pleased to confirm the institution of the archbishop.

The account here given of their neighbours by the 'modest and civil people' is not a flattering one, and, doubtless, is not wholly undeserved. But it is the *ex parte* statement of those who came 'to divide, to dishonour.' If the statement of the accused were available it would, very likely, show that the wrong-doing was not wholly on one side. For a long time both anterior and subsequent to this period, the most rigorous rules of non-intercourse were enacted by the Irish in their several districts. O'Halloran says of the English settlers that, 'their rapacity and want of principle were so notorious that they became proverbial.' Hardiman translates, as follows, the Celtic proverb showing the estimation in which the colonists were held:—

With one of English race no friendship make;
Should'st thou, destruction will thee overtake;
He'll lie in wait to ruin thee when he can;
Such is the friendship of an Englishman.

But Englishman here means, and ought to be, Galwayman. In much the same spirit we find several bye-laws of the town passed in the earlier years of the sixteenth century:—

1514. That none of the towne buy cattle out of the country, but only of true men.

1516. That no man of the towne shall lend or sell galley, botte, or barque to an Irishman.

1517. That no person shall give ne sell to no Irish any

munition, as hand povins, calivres, poulder, leade nor sall petter, nor yet long boves, cross boves, cross-bove stringes, nor yearne to make the same, nor no kind of weapon, on payn to forfayt the same and an hundred shillings.

1518. If any man should bring any Irishman to brage or boste upon the towne to forfayt 12d.

That no man of this town shall oste or receive into their houses at Christemas, Easter, nor no feaste elles, any of the Burks, MacWilliams, the Kellies, nor no cept elles, withoute licence of the mayor and counceill, on payn to forfayt £5 . . . *that neither O' ne Mac shall strutte ne swaggere thro' the streets of Galway.*

1519. That no Irish judge nor lawire shall plede in no man's cause or matter within this towne or courte, for it agreeth not with the King's laws, nay yet the emprsors in many placis.

It appears, then, that by the beginning of the sixteenth century the Anglo-Norman families of Burke and MacWilliam had become as Irish as the O'Kellys. Hardiman says that the law concerning O' and Mac was principally directed against the O'Flahertys, the O'Connors, the O'Hallorans, the MacNamaras, and the MacWilliams of Clanrickarde.

While the Anglo-Norman settlers throughout the rural districts had, in spite of statute and royal ordinance, developed into Irish chieftains and adopted Irish modes of dress as well as the Irish language, the settlers within walled towns—in Galway more especially—had sought to maintain that haughty isolation and arrogant assumption of superiority which have characterized the 'English interest' in Ireland, and which, in truth, have militated against the real interests of the dominant as well as the subject nation. It was, therefore, not very agreeable to the 'civil and modest people' of Galway to have their vicars constituted by the see of Tuam which was, as a rule, filled by an Irishman.

In this state [says Hardiman] discontents and jealousies between the clergy and their flock were inevitable. The latter constantly complained that their Irish pastors were generally prejudiced against them as being of English origin, and that they invariably countenanced and abetted their own friends and kindred of the Irish race, by whom the town was on all sides surrounded, and with whom the townspeople were in a state of continual hostility. The affairs of religion being thus circumstanced within the town, Donatus O'Murray, who was elected

Archbishop of Tuam in 1458, at length interfered and, in consideration, it is said, of an ample equivalent bestowed by the inhabitants and annexed to the see, he, of his own authority, erected the church of St. Nicholas into a collegiate of exempt jurisdiction, by letters under his seal, dated the 28th September, 1484, and to it united the parish church of St. James of Ballinclaer (now Clare-Galway). This act having obtained the sanction of Pope Innocent VIII. by bull dated the sixth of the Ides of February following . . . the inhabitants, or rather the mayor and equals (*pares*) of the town immediately proceeded to the election of a warden and vicars according to the powers with which they were so amply invested by these ecclesiastical dispensations.¹

Referring to the bull of Pope Innocent VIII. (which was publicly read in the hearing of all the people on the third and sixth days of November, 1485) and the charter of Richard III., the same historian says on page 69 :—

These municipal and ecclesiastical grants being obtained gave general satisfaction to the people, and principally laid the foundation of the future greatness and prosperity of the town, which were also much advanced by the public faith and integrity of the merchants, and by the unsullied honour of the inhabitants, whose strict adherence to truth and love of impartial justice became universally proverbial.

Copies of the institution of Archbishop O'Murray and of the bull of Innocent VIII. are given by Hardiman in the appendix to his erudite and valuable *History of Galway*, published in 1820. The charter of Richard III. is fully recited by *inspeximus* in that of Queen Elizabeth—Appendix No. III.

However much the ecclesiastical arrangements alluded to may have conduced to the material prosperity of the town, it is clear from the facts and incidents recorded in the pages of Hardiman that the change laid the foundation of much trouble first between the Archbishops of Tuam and the clergy of Galway; and, at a later period, between the tribes and non-tribes, touching the question of elective franchise.

In the first place, the arrangement itself actually infringed on the principle upon which it was sought. If justifiable on any ground, this proposal to separate Galway

¹ *History of Galway*, pp. 234-5.

from the arch-diocese, it was for the purpose of guarding against the friction due to racial prejudices. But, see how it was worked out. Instead of separating 'the modest and civil people' and the barbarians of the woods and mountains, an important portion of the Irish district, the parish of Clare-Galway, was placed under the jurisdiction of the elected warden of Galway. Clare-Galway (*Clair-yn-Dowl*) contains a castle which, at this particular time, was a stronghold of MacWilliam of Clanrickarde; and in the immediate neighbourhood is the hill of Knockdoe (*Cnoc-tuadh*, hill of battle-axes) where, in 1504, was fought one of the most desperate and bloody battles in which an English viceroy ever took part on Irish soil. Nor was the annexation of Clare-Galway the only departure from the principle urged in the townsmen's representation to Innocent VIII. Hardiman, quotes the following from the original deeds:—

The archbishop, by his letters dated on the feast of the Conception, 1487, united the rectory and vicarage of the parochial church of *Furanmore* (Oranmore) and the vicarage of *Meary*, both in the diocese of Annaghdown, to the collegiate church, reserving annually out of *Furanmore* twenty-one ounces of silver money, and out of *Meary* seven ounces. By letters, dated 12th of April, 1488, he united the vicarage of the parish church of St. Mary of *Rathuna* (Rahoon), being then vacant by the death of *Donat-Y-Donaill*, the last possessor thereof; and on the 8th of June following, Theobald De Burgo, 'chief of his nation,' by his deed (reciting apostolical letters of the Holy See, directed, at the instance of the warden and priests, to John De Burgo, canon of Annaghdown, concerning the union of the parish churches of *Moygullyne* [Moycullen] and *Rathune* [Rahoon] in *Gnobeg*, to the collegiate church, in which it was directed that before the union the consent of the patron should be obtained) granted all his right of patronage to those rectories to the collegiate church in free and perpetual alms for ever, provided that the warden and vicars, and their successors, should continually pray for him, and for the souls of his predecessors and successors for ever. On the vigil of All Saints, in the same year, *Cornelius O'Halluryan*, perpetual vicar of *Moygullyne*, resigned his living to the Archbishop of Tuam, for the purpose of completing its union to the collegiate church; and on the 8th of February, 1491, to the petition of the warden and vicars, the archbishop united to the collegiate the vicarage of the parish church of *Skryne* to his collation, then of full right belonging to the free resignation of John De Burgo, perpetual vicar thereof.

In this way the country for ten or twelve miles east and west of the Corrib was brought under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the warden; in other words, that very portion of the 'wild country' of which so dreadful an account was given by 'the modest and civil people' was to be ruled at the will of the elected warden and vicars, a circumstance which, from the beginning, promised anything but improved relations between the two nationalities concerned. If the plaint of the Galway people meant anything, it meant that they wished, above all things, to have no intercourse with the wild people of *Iar-Connacht* (i.e., West Connaught); and yet, without protest or murmur, they assume the ecclesiastical care and responsibility for a large area of that very country—in fact, the very part of that country of which they had professed so much horror and dread.

Nor was the separation of Galway itself from the archdiocese so complete as may, perhaps, be concluded from the terms 'collegiate church of *exempt jurisdiction*.' Perfect exemption could be effected only by the consecration and installation of a bishop, as was at length done in 1831. The warden was not a bishop: he had disciplinary powers, but could not confer holy orders or confirmation. The situation is, I should say, clearly as briefly described in Mr. Oliver J. Burke's *Archbishops of Tuam*, p. 62:—

The Wardens of Galway, then annually elected by the people, were subject to the visitatorial court of the Archbishop of Tuam, from which an appeal lay to Rome.

Latterly, the appointment was made for three years, according to Hardiman's account, but Mr. O. J. Burke is right as regards, at least, the earlier appointments, the bull of Innocent VIII. providing that 'the said Warden or Custos, *who is every year removable*,' etc. The following account of the Catholic warden, in more recent times, may most conveniently be introduced here:—

The Catholic Warden of Galway (who has been sometimes described by the term *quasi Episcopus*) is a prelate chosen triennially by the lay patrons of the town, who exercises episcopal jurisdiction over an extensive district and population in the capital of the province, *but subject to the triennial visitation of*

the metropolitan of Tuam, who is generally obliged, however, to conclude the business of visitation within a limited time. His institution by the chapter or vicars confers on him all the necessary faculties in ordinary for this jurisdiction : of course, what the confirmation of the Holy See confers on a bishop elect, or nearly so, is conferred on him by such institution. He possesses a visitatorial power over all religious foundations within the limits of the wardenship ; has privilege of sending two students to the *Royal College of St. Patrick, Maynooth* ; is entitled to a chair and vote in synod, with mitre, crozier, and pontificals, as other prelates : *but he cannot administer the sacrament of confirmation, confer orders, or consecrate the sacred unction.* A vicar of the collegiate church (who is also elected by the lay-patrons, but for life) is of different signification from what is commonly understood by that name, the vicarage being, in fact, a canonry or prebend in a collegiate chapter.¹

The mode of election will be detailed further on. We proceed with the earlier history of the wardenship. On the 7th of August, 1486, William Joyes (Joyce), Archbishop of Tuam, a native of Galway, confirmed, by his deed, all the former grants and privileges of the collegiate church, warden, and vicars ; and he soon after made grants of the adjoining parishes, as already noted. According to Ware Archbishop *Shiory*, or Joy, was advanced to the see of Tuam, by provision from Rome, on 17th May, 1485 ; he died 28th December, 1501. The transfer appears to have caused much trouble and confusion from the beginning. The warden and vicars were soon obliged to petition the Pope, complaining that certain persons had questioned the union of 'Skryne and Moygcullyne,' although they had obtained possession of the vicarages—the yearly fruits, rents, and profits whereof did not exceed fourteen marks—and they humbly prayed that his Holiness would be, therefore, pleased to confirm the union ; which, by bull, dated the 4th of the Nones of June, 1492, the Pope accordingly approved of and confirmed.

But while the jurisdiction of the collegiate was extending and the wealth of the town was increasing, the inhabitants were not inattentive to their much and justly prized temple, the great church of St. Nicholas. James

¹ *History of Galway*, p. 264.

Lynch Fitz-Stephen—that celebrated mayor of 1493, who by the condemnation and execution of his own son for the crime of murder has well earned the designation of the Irish Brutus—made many valuable additions to the church, and in particular presented the fine stained glass of the eastern windows. John Lynch Fitz-Edmund, who succeeded him in the mayoralty, contributed a large sum towards finishing the college-house. Peter Lynch, burgess, erected in the church the chapel and altar of St. Katherine, Virgin; and by his will, dated 9th February, 1494, devised 'his principal stone tenement in Galway, and ten acres of arable land in Athenry for ever for the perpetual sustenance of one good and proper priest, who should daily celebrate Mass therein for the souls of the testator, Ellen Blake his wife, their ancestors, friends, and all the faithful departed.' Other similar instances of individual benevolence and devotion occur about this period. But the collegiate church did not increase in peace.

The warden and vicars [says Hardiman] were not, however, permitted to enjoy their newly-acquired possessions in peace, but were continually harassed by the surrounding diocesan clergy, who invariably contested the right of union of the several parishes, and gave the new incumbents every possible opposition. At length in 1496, they were obliged to petition Pope Alexander VI., stating that although the several parishes were canonically (*sic*) to the church of St. Nicholas, yet that Maurice O'Flaherty, clerk, laid claim to the vicarage of the parish church of Moycullen; that Roderick O'Kennewayn and Owen O'Flaherty claimed the vicarages of Kylcommyn and Kilrowan; and that Richard De Burgo and others claimed the rectories and vicarages of Furanmore and Meary; and they humbly prayed relief from his Holiness. A bull accordingly issued to the bishop of Clonfert, and David De Burgo, canon of the cathedral church of Clonfert, giving them full power to hear and determine between the parties. These commissioners met on the 17th December, 1497, in the parish church of Ballynpatrick, in the diocese of Clonfert, and, after a solemn investigation, pronounced judgment of intrusion against the persons complained of, and others. These decisions however decisive (*sic*) as they were in favour of the wardens and vicars, did not entirely suppress their opponents, and they were again obliged to have recourse to the Holy See. Another bull accordingly issued, dated the 7th of the Ides of January, 1501, directed to the Archbishop of Tuam and others, empowering them to

admonish 'all those sons of iniquity' who had in any manner invaded the rights of the collegiate church, or usurped any of its possessions; and if they should not restore what they had taken, and desist for the future, then to pronounce against them the sentence of excommunication. This strong remedy seems to have had the desired effect, for it does not appear that any opposition was given to the college for several years after, with the single exception of its determined opponent, Richard De Burgo, the canon of Annaghdown, who, in 1502, petitioned the Pope, claiming the right to the rectory of Ballinclaer, though it had been united to the collegiate church at the time of its original institution. A communication accordingly issued, directed to Florence O'Cannovan, to inquire concerning this alleged claim, who, after investigating the matter, decided against it. For some years after this decision the college enjoyed a respite from external opposition, which John Bermingham, warden in 1514, and Henry Brangan, warden in 1557, were successful in preventing, until the Archbishop of Tuam united the vicarages of the parish churches of Kinlaghan and Srower to the wardenship, when two of the diocesan clergy, Meiler and Thomas MacShonyn, having made claim to these livings, obtained letters from Rome allowing their claim, under which they received all the fruits, rents, and profits of the vicarages. The warden and vicars, on their part, charged them with having obtained these letters surreptitiously, without stating the union which had been made; and having brought the question before the archbishop, he made his decree on the 9th January, 1526, annulling the adverse claim, and confirming the previous union. This dispute was succeeded by another concerning the rectory and vicarage of Roscam, which had been shortly before united by the archbishop, but was claimed by Edmund De Burgo, archdeacon of Enachdune. On the petition of John O'Dermode, then warden, to Cardinal Wolsey, a commission issued to the dean of Kilfenora to investigate this claim, and determine between the parties; who, by his decree, dated the 5th of August, 1529, confirmed the title of the college; and thus terminated all further litigation concerning its external possessions.¹

The warden and vicars, at the same time, experienced very serious trouble within the town:—

The warden and clergy finding themselves firmly established, and free from any ecclesiastical control, except that of Rome, at length resolved to dispute the power of the corporation to intermeddle with their affairs after the necessary business of election was over. The latter insisting on this right, the clergy appealed against their interference to the Archbishop of Tuam, and several

¹ *History of Galway*, pp. 237-8.

differences arose, which, had they not been speedily terminated, might have proved fatal to the college. A general meeting, however, of both parties took place in 1497, in the town-hall, when the following rules and regulations were mutually agreed upon, viz.: 'In the honouring Almighty God and furtherance of His divine service, the mayor and counsaill being assembled together, with Sir Henry Brenegan, warden, and the rest of the colledge of this town, it was concented and agreed—1. That the warden and vicars shall daily saye or singe in the quere the tyes or houres *tercio*, *sexto*, and *nono*. 2. That they shall live together continually. 3. That no preste nor vicar be found out of their chambers or colledge house, without lawful business at night time. 4. That four boies should be assisteing and helpinge to singe daily at the quere, especially at Mary-mass, at the expense of the vicars and colledge. 5. That the mayor and counsaill shall henceforth *controul*, *correcte* and *punish* the wardens and vicars, without any complainte to be made by them, or any of them, to bishope or archbishope, save only to the mayor and counsaill. 6. That the mayor and counsaill shall have the election of the warden yearly, and all prestes and clerkes, or any man else to serve in the church or colledge.'

We hasten on to the time of the great schism which, even its defenders must allow, brought anything but peace and good-will to the vast majority of the people of Ireland.

Leonard, Lord Grey, the lord-deputy of Ireland, having received orders from Henry VIII. to oblige the Irish to acknowledge the king's supremacy and renounce the Pope, departed from Dublin on the 17th June, 1537, with an army to convince the obstinate, and on the 11th July arrived in Galway. The corporation treated him and his English soldiers gratis for seven days; Sir Richard Cox says that the mayor and aldermen, following the example of Limerick, took the oath of supremacy, and renounced the authority of the Pope. While the deputy remained in town, O'Flaberty, O'Madden, and MacYeoris (or Bermingham) came in and made their submissions. But when the king received an account of what had taken place, he wrote to the lord-deputy that 'their oathes, submissions, and indentures were not worth a farthing, since they did not give hostages.' In the

¹ From 'Corporation Book A,' quoted by Hardiman in note, page 237, *History of Galway*.

second part of his history Hardiman gives a more detailed account of the transactions of the time :—

The alarming changes daily making in the affairs of religion, and the indiscriminate seizure of all ecclesiastical property during the latter years of Henry VIII., had, for some time, rendered the clergy and people of Galway apprehensive for the safety of their collegiate church and property, and more particularly when they saw the three monastic foundations of the town dissolved, and their possessions seized into the king's hands. After long deliberation, therefore, they determined to yield to the pressure of the times, and secure the safety of their religious establishment, by withdrawing their spiritual allegiance from the Pope, and transferring it to the king. A petition to his majesty, expressive of this determination, was consequently prepared, but his death intervened before it could be presented. The appearance of affairs on the accession of Edward VI., not having lessened their apprehension, they persevered in their former resolution, and accordingly a memorial to the same effect (*and particularly calculated to succeed in its object by flattering the king's supremacy, and representing the livings as poor and deserted*) from the mayor, bailiffs, co-burgesses, and commonality, was presented to the lord-deputy St. Leger, by Richard Blake Fitz-John, the agent employed on the occasion. The matter was referred by the deputy to the king and council; and, after two years' delay, the royal grant was obtained under the privy seal, and by authority of Parliament, dated at Westminster, the 29th April, 1551, whereby *the king as supreme head in all matters of religion* changed the church of St. Nicholas into a Collegiate, to be for ever after called 'The Royal College of Galway'; and ordained Patrick Blake, merchant, (*sic*) one of the priests there, Warden, and Patrick Kerewan, Thomas Frenche, Darby O'Hysshynne, John Talman, Darby O'Rowane, John Dermoyte, John O'Brangan, and Edward O'Flahertie, vicars choral: the college to consist of a warden and eight vicars, who were to be a body corporate, and have perpetual succession, possess a common seal, and enact by-laws for its good government. The mayor, bailiffs, burgesses, and commonalty, and their successors for ever, were empowered to elect a warden yearly, and to remove, deprive and depose him and the vicars, and others in their places to constitute; and to chastise, correct, and punish them, as occasion should require. The rectories, vicarages &c., mentioned in the memorial were forever united to the college; and the cemeteries of the three dissolved monasteries were also granted for the purposes mentioned in the memorial. Such were the principal alterations made in the constitution of the collegiate church by Edward VI.¹

¹ *History of Galway*, pp. 239-41.

It will be observed that the change by royal authority was brought about by the interference of the lay element, who had claimed the right to rule and over-rule the collegiate church. There was a total change in the *personel* of the church, and from this time we have to consider two lines of succession; the Catholic, maintained under the bull of Pope Innocent VIII. (1484), and the Protestant, which was constituted under the charter (1551), or ordinance of King Edward VI. We will confine ourselves mainly to the former, as being the direct and undoubted successor of the original institution and as presenting the more varied and interesting history. Yet the succession 'by law established' had also its share of trouble and vicissitude.

The memorial above mentioned is thus summarized by Hardiman in a note to page 240 of his history:—

The memorial stated the foundation of the collegiate church and its confirmation, as the custom then was, by the Roman bishop, and humbly prayed that it might be confirmed in its original state, with a warden and *twelve* vicars; that it should be governed by the mayor and co-burgesses, with exemption from the diocesan or any other ordinary jurisdiction; that they, as theretofore, in the king's name, might, out of the vicars, elect one warden every year, and the vicars at their presentation to be elected by the wardens and co-vicars, and to be corrected, punished, and removed according to their merits and demerits, by the mayor, bailiffs, and co-burgesses; that for the augmentation of divine worship and the more ample support of the warden and vicars the rectory of the collegiate church, occupied under what right they knew not, by the monks and abbot of *Collis Victoriae*, might be united to the collegé, with a perpetual union and confirmation of all the benefices, rights, and appurtenances which ought to belong to it, particularly the vicarage and episcopal fourths, called the bishop's quarter, the deserted rectories and vicarages of Rahoon, Moycullen, Furanmore, and Roscam, the small vicarages of Clare, Kilcomen, Meary, and Skryne, and all their other lands; and, finally, that the church of St. Nicholas should be changed into a collegiate by the royal authority, to be from thenceforth for ever after called the King's College of Galway. They further stated that the sept of the O'Flaherties and other Irishry claimed a right to bury their dead in the church, under pretence whereof they often tumultuously entered the town, endangering the lives of the inhabitants and destroying the place; they therefore also prayed his majesty to grant them, for this purpose, the churches and burial places

outside the walls belonging to the dissolved monasteries of St. Francis, St. Dominick, and St. Augustine.

Between the agent Richard Blake Fitz-John, and his employers, a curious question arose on the score of remuneration :—

This agent, after 'two years' extraordinary labour and attention' in this business, demanded from the warden and vicars, according to agreement, three-fourths of their tithes of Kiltullagh ; which they resisted, asserting that he undertook to obtain the grant 'for ten marks, which they paid him in gold and crossgroats.' They agreed to submit their difference to the Archbishop of Tuam, the mayor of the town, and others, who, in the first place, ordered the parties to be 'charitably inclined and to pray for each other,' and then awarded the tithes to Blake during his life.¹

Although [adds Hardiman], by the grant just recited, the church of St. Nicholas was changed into a Protestant institution, yet the warden and vicars, for many years after, continued of the old religion, owing to the immediately succeeding Catholic reign of Queen Mary, and to the unsettled state of ecclesiastical affairs in Ireland during the first years of her successor. Soon after the accession of the former princess, the attention of her Irish rulers was directed towards the state of religion in Galway. Sir Patrick Blake, the warden nominated in the charter of Edward, was summoned to meet the queen's commissioners ; but, having neglected to attend, a peremptory order was issued to the mayor to apprehend and send him in safe custody within twenty days, with a denunciation of severe punishment in case of neglect. This measure had the desired effect : the warden attended ; but having satisfied the commissioners, he was dismissed by them, without suffering any further inconvenience.²

Upon the accession of Queen Elizabeth, . . . the church being at length surrendered to the established clergy, whatever remained unalienated of its former possessions were also delivered up ; but, being found totally inadequate to their support, it became necessary for government to interfere, and uphold the infant foundation of the newly-established faith by augmenting its means : accordingly, by letters patent, dated 15 September, 1578, the queen, in consideration 'that the warden and vicars, and their successors should continue together, and entertain a godly and learned preacher amongst them from time to time at their own charges' granted unto them the lately dissolved monastery or priory of Annaghdown, in the county of Galway, with all its temporal and spiritual possessions. They soon after obtained a similar grant of the monastery of Ballintubber in the county of Mayo.³

¹ *History of Galway*, p. 240, note, quoted from an original MS.

² *Ibid.*, p. 241.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 242-3.

In an inquiry, 25th February, 1585, the following particulars of the collegiate church occur:—

1. That the wardian and vicars of the queen's colladge in Gallway tyme out of mynd are seized in right of their sayd colladge of five-eighte partes of all the personall and preidiall tieths cuminge and growinge (*sic*) within the town, the liberties, and franchises of the same.

2. That all who have been suspected to abstayne them from church to here God's dyvyne service, accordinge to her majestie's proceedings, contrary to the proclamation that Mr. Maior did sett forth, that all those who have been in towne, neglectinge their due to God and the prince, be deeplie fyned by Mr. Maior; and if any of them doe make any kynde of contempt, that all such be both fynished and punished according to their deserts. The names of the defaulters, the clerke and sexten who have charge thereof, will delyver uppe; and whether any in this corporation do use any other servise prohibited by God and her majestie's laws we are thereof ignorant.

3. That the wardian, vicars, and priests do use only God's dyvyne service daylie, according to her majestie's injunctions, and do there minister sacraments and sacramentals accordingly.

4. That John Linche now lord Bishop of Elphinen, and in those days wardian of the colladge of Gallway, has of the colladge plate two cups or pics of silver in lending (*viz.*, Margaret Athies pic parcel gilted, and a bastian pic all gilted) which he did put in pawn unto James Darsye, and wrongfully doth detain from the same colladge.

But in spite of the powers of 'law and order' (which in Ireland has become an alias for persecution and oppression) the Catholic succession under the bull of Innocent VIII. was maintained. For the purpose of electing their warden Catholics were in the habit of secretly assembling and going through the form of electing a mayor, sheriffs, recorder, etc., for the purpose of electing the members of the college as recognised by the Catholics (but of course, not recognised by law). Here again there was found to be cause of trouble between the Catholics of Galway and their metropolitan. The archbishops, who indeed never absolutely surrendered controlling power, denied the competency of the self-formed body styling itself the Catholic Corporation to act under the Pope's authority. But the Catholic people of the town, beaten down as they were by the civil power, were resolute

in adhering to what they conceived to be their privileges under the bull of 1484.

The townspeople, however, who at all times were particularly jealous of any encroachment on their ecclesiastical rights, invariably resisted the interference of the see of Tuam, which occasioned several disputes. . . . In the year 1620 James Fallon was elected warden by the Catholic corporation upon which he wrote to the archbishop 'that, though I am well satisfied of the particular privileges granted to the town, and that the confirmation does belong to the body of the colledge, still *to avoid scruples*, I thought it very convenient in person to ask confirmation from your grace's vicar which he would not grant, unless he had a general petition from the town; but this they refused, for fear it would diminish in the least their privileges, and so go to the Protestant archbishop, and be lost.' He then added, '*The people of this town are so steadfast in the matter, that for all the clergy in Ireland they would not lose one atom of their privileges.*' The question here terminated for the present; but the warden and townspeople, to prevent similar claims for the future, procured, in 1635, a confirmatory grant from the then Pope, Urban VIII. This instrument the then Archbishop of Tuam asserted was obtained surreptitiously, and immediately after, in 1637, he revived the claim, on the ground that the wardenship was not exempt from the ordinary's visitation or from paying him a *synodicum*. . . . These ecclesiastical disputes were renewed with greater warmth than ever after the restoration of the Catholic corporation in 1643.¹

The nature of the steps taken towards the election of the Catholic warden may be gathered from the account given on page 258 :—

At a very numerous meeting of the descendants of the ancient Roman Catholic corporation convened by Thomas Joyce and Walter Joyce, sheriffs of the town of Galway for the time being, held in the parish chapel of said town on Wednesday the 17th day of August, 1791 :

Resolved unanimously,

'That Gregory French, esq., shall be mayor; John Kirwan Anthony and Walter Joyce-Thomas, sheriffs; James Morris-Patrick, recorder, and John Lynch-Alexander, town clerk, until the 1st day of August next.'

Then *inter alia* : 'That no person whatsoever shall be admitted to the freedom of this corporation until he shall have first paid one guinea to the support of the charity school of this town or

¹ *History of Galway*, p. 245.

if that charitable institution should cease, to such other charity as the warden and vicars for the time being shall think proper.'

In a further note to the same page :—

The process of electing, presenting, and instituting the Catholic clergy of Galway by the lay-patrons under the bull of Innocent VIII. is usually as follows ; On the demise of a warden or vicar, or previous to the triennial choice of the former, notice of an election to fill the vacancy or continue the pastor is publicly given at the time of divine service in the chapel by order of the sheriffs of the Catholic corporation. At the time appointed the electors assemble at the collegiate chapel [in Middle-street] and the business is opened by the sheriffs. The clergyman intended to succeed (who himself seldom appears on the occasion) is then put in nomination, generally by the most respectable of his friends, and, if no other be proposed, he is, of course, duly elected ; but in case of a contest, which not unfrequently occurs, the candidates are proposed and seconded by their respective friends as fit and proper persons to fill the vacant situation of warden or vicar, as the case may be, and a poll is accordingly demanded and proceeded on. On this occasion none but members of the Fourteen ancient Names or Families, or 'tribes,' are permitted to vote (excepting only such of the other inhabitants as have been admitted to the freedom of the Catholic corporation) ; and whether the former are, or ever were, resident or not in the town, is immaterial, their suffrages being deemed equally legal. The votes, however, are cautiously examined ; and, amongst other points of disqualification, illegitimacy in the elector, or any of his ancestors, is esteemed a sufficient ground for rejection. On the close of the poll, the sheriffs declare the candidate who appears to have the majority of votes duly elected, and the proceedings are accordingly entered in the council-book of the corporation. The next step that remains is the presentation of the person elected—that of a warden is made to the vicars for institution, and that of a vicar to the warden for induction, which, if no legal impediment interferes, generally follows ; and, in case of a warden, a brief of the entire proceedings is finally transmitted to Rome to be ratified by the Pope.

Then follows the form of a warden's presentation, to which that of a vicar is nearly similar :—

To the reverend the Roman Catholic Vicars of the R.C. Collegiate Church of St. Nicholas in the town of Galway.

A vacancy having occurred by the death of the late very reverend warden A. B. for the office of warden to officiate in the collegiate church of St. Nicholas in said town of Galway, we, the R.C. Mayor, bailiffs and peers of the R.C. Corporation of lay-

patrons of the said R.C. collegiate church of St. Nicholas in the said town of Galway, in pursuance of public notice thereof, being assembled in the parish chapel have unanimously elected the Rev. E. F. to fill the office of warden in the said collegiate church of St. Nicholas in the said town of Galway, and all its out-parishes annexed thereto, for the succeeding three years to be computed from the first day of August; and we do hereby present the said Rev. E. F. to your reverences for institution.

[Signed by the mayor, recorder, bailiffs or sheriffs, town-clerk and some of the most respectable *peers* (*pares*, or equals, supposed to mean freemen or common council-men) for the time being of the R.C. Corporation.]

As sheriffs were first instituted in the town corporation by James I., in 1610, the Catholic corporation appears to have adhered to the use of the term bailiffs, as the officers were called in 1484, when the collegiate was constituted. From the time of Charles II. there arose a new source of trouble in connection with the election of the Catholic warden of Galway. As the Catholics began to increase in the town, the fourteen ancient names or families, regarding themselves as the direct descendants of the pre-Cromwellian corporation, assumed to themselves the right to elect, and insisted on excluding the votes of all Catholic residents of other and even older names, although, as Hardiman remarks, the right was originally conferred upon the inhabitants—at all events, on all those having the freedom of the town. The pertinacity with which the fourteen names insisted on their sole right is a curious instance of the narrow and selfish principles which characterised those old-time corporations; their conservatism approached the rigidity of Orientalism. These troubles, strangely enough, appear to have been most felt at the very time when the penal laws were in full operation.

A short time previous to this event [the persecution of 1731] the Rev. Patrick Bermingham, of the family of Barbersfort, in the county of Galway, a clergyman of profound learning and considerable talent, was elected warden, and was the only person not of the Galway names and families who had been elected to that dignity for the preceding century. He, it is said, was chosen by the 'tribes,' or ancient families of the town, to pacify the natives or inhabitants of other names, since called 'non-tribes,'

who about the time began to complain that the former had wrongfully usurped to themselves the right of election and presentation of the clergy. Dr. Bermingham, soon after his election, was arrested by the mayor, and thrown into prison, on a charge of not having conformed to the regulations prescribed by law for Popish priests; but, it appearing that he had regularly complied with these rules, he was released by order of government. During his incumbency the old disputes between the Archbishop of Tuam and the collegiate clergy, as to the jurisdiction of the former over the warden and vicars, were again revived, and proceedings were at length instituted in Rome between Dr. Bernard O'Gara, the then archbishop, and the clergy and people of the town. On this occasion a commission was issued, and Cornelius O'Keeffe, titular Bishop of Limerick, was delegated to proceed to Galway, and there to examine into the grounds of these differences. A compromise at length took place between both parties, and certain articles were agreed to, by which it was conceded, on the part of the clergy and people of Galway, that the Archbishop of Tuam for the time being, should have a right of triennial visitation *in capite et membris*; and also that appeals might be made, *in secunda instantia*, from the sentence of the warden to the archiepiscopal see. On the part of the latter it was granted that the right of election belonged to the lay patrons; and, among other articles, it was agreed *that the warden should be henceforth elected every third year*, in consequence of the many inconveniences which attended their annual election. This agreement was approved of and confirmed by the bull of Clement XII., dated 21st April, 1733. . . .

Warden Bermingham died in 1747, universally regretted. He was succeeded by the Rev. Hyacinth Bodkin, a pious and learned divine, who survived but a short time, having died in the year 1749. On his death the Rev. Marcus Kirwan, of Dalgan, was elected; but this gentleman, having given some dissatisfaction to the lay patrons, the Rev. Anthony Blake, of Dunmaoreena (who was afterwards titular archbishop of Armagh and Catholic primate of Ireland), was elected in his place; and this, it is said, is the only instance in which any of the wardens had been dispossessed since the Reformation. Dr. Blake erected the parish chapel in Middle-street about 1752, and was succeeded, in 1755, by Francis Kirwan, who filled the chair with honour to himself and benefit to the town until his death, which happened in June, 1770, when the Rev. John Joyes, of Oxford, in the county Mayo, was elected. This gentleman continued warden until February, 1783, when he departed this life, leaving behind him the reputation of a good and pious pastor, always zealous in the cause of religion, and particularly so in the reproof of public vice and immorality. He was succeeded by the Rev. Augustine Kirwan, a divine possessed of every virtue which adorns the clerical character

. . . Amongst many other praiseworthy acts, he established a subscription fund and founded a school for the instruction and clothing of indigent boys, in which numerous poor children are still (1820) carefully taught the rudiments of education and the principles of religion and morality. . . . Warden Kirwan . . . departed this life . . . on the 7th Aug., 1791. . . .

Immediately on the decease of Warden Kirwan the principal Catholics of Galway, composed entirely of the ancient names and families, assembled for the purpose of new-modelling the ancient Catholic corporation, after which they proceeded to the election of a warden in the room of their late venerable pastor. On this occasion there were two candidates for the wardenship—the Rev. Patrick Kirwan and the Rev. John Joyes, nephew of the former warden of that name; and, after a severe contest, the latter was chosen by a large majority. During these proceedings the old disputes between the ‘tribes’ and ‘non-tribes’ . . . were revived with considerable animosity. . . . During the last century many respectable individuals of the latter class having become resident in the town, they, in course of time, became discontented, and at length importunate to be admitted to vote at the elections of those clergy whom they contributed so amply to support. This claim, which was strenuously urged on the decease of Warden Kirwan, was as forcibly resisted by the others; but as a matter of favour, they proposed to concede the privilege to such of the opposite party as they themselves should approve of, and as, under such terms, would accept of it, by admitting them free of the Catholic corporation. A few individuals, who had acceded for the purpose of conciliation, were accordingly admitted; but the proffered boon was indignantly rejected by the remainder, who formed the great majority of the inhabitants of the town. A schism from the newly elected warden was accordingly the consequence. The disappointed party, acting with more precipitancy than judgment, proceeded to the election of a pastor of their own. They finally appealed to Rome, claiming the privilege as a right, and not seeking it as a favour; and in the meantime, the town became a scene of spiritual anarchy and confusion. A counter petition was soon after transmitted, and the question was at length heard before the congregation *De Propaganda Fide* who decided (with a reservation, however, of appeal) in favour of the ancient names and families, or lay patrons, by a decree which received the sanction of Pope Pius VI. on the 17th of June, 1792.¹

Warden Joyes was soon after re-elected. It was at the time believed that the appellants would have succeeded, had not the court of Rome, alarmed at the progress of revolutionary

¹ *History of Galway*, pp. 258–260.

principles in France, been inclined to discountenance any measure which had the smallest appearance of popular innovation.¹ Further particulars of this unhappy dispute are given in the note to page 260 :—

In August, 1794, Dr. Teahan (Bishop of Kerry) repaired to Galway for the purposes mentioned in the decree, but the lay patrons protested against the promulgation of his commission, on the ground that the said commission was a fraudulent fabrication of interested persons. This proceeding was complained of by the non-tribes as an attempt to resist the spiritual authority of the Pope. The Congregation at Rome, finding that no appeal had been lodged under their decree, pronounced another on 11th May, 1795, afterwards confirmed by the Pope, and published on 28th July following, by the wardens and vicars in the parish chapel. The lay patrons immediately protested against that part of the decree which declared that the warden was confirmed *during the pleasure* of the Sacred Congregation (the words 'Holy See' were omitted), and on 1st August re-elected Warden Joyes; but the chapter refused to institute him, assigning as their reason 'that the warden having been previously *appointed* by the Holy See at will, they could not institute him, there being no vacancy.' Upon this, the Catholic corporation again assembled, and 'solemnly' protested against this refusal, and the reason given for it as illegal and unjust to a high degree.

In the same note, to the same page, Hardiman sums up with ability and fairness the chief points on both sides of the controversy :—

The question to be decided was, whether the Catholic corporation, composed of the descendants of the fourteen ancient names and families were exclusively entitled, under the bull of Innocent VIII., to the right of electing and presenting the warden and vicars, or whether the privilege did not equally belong to all the Catholic citizens or inhabitants of the town without distinction. The principal arguments adduced in this curious case, by both parties, were briefly as follows :—In support of the exclusive right it was contended that the ancestors of the fourteen families, who were emphatically styled *Anglo-Galvienses*, or *English families of Galway*, were the original founders of the town and church; that they had richly endowed the latter, and, for valuable consideration, acquired the domestic nomination of their clergy, which they transmitted to their clergy; every one of whom, it was asserted, had as legal a right to this privilege as any individual to his hereditary estate. That although the original memorial to

¹ *History of Galway*, p. 261.

² Original MS.

Innocent VIII. purported to have been that of *all* the parishioners, yet the Pope, knowing the evils attendant on popular elections, confined the right solely to the mayor, bailiffs, and 'equals' or freemen, and council of the town. That this ancient privilege was preserved and handed down, through various persecutions, pure, inviolate, and (until lately) uncontroverted, by means of the Catholic corporation; and that it was absurd and unreasonable in the highest degree that 'new men,' and modern families not members of that body, but had come to reside in the town ages after its formation, should intrude themselves, or claim a participation of those spiritual rights and privileges which had been obtained by the ancient families, then the only inhabitants of the town, which were solemnly confirmed by the special grace and letters of the Apostolic See, and afterwards peaceably enjoyed for upwards of three hundred years, and to which their descendants, *whether resident or not*, were equally entitled, having been born citizens or *pares* (equals) of the town, and not elected or admitted free as other strangers, but when of age, assuming their place, and exercising their rights as members *de jure* of the corporation. That since the time of its original institution the Catholic corporation had invariably admitted persons of other names and families to their freedom *speciali gratia*, although no instance appears on record of any such extension to any person of the fourteen families of the town, which clearly demonstrated that the right was inherent in them. . . . That even by the canon law the founders and maintainers of churches, such as these ancient families had been of the church of St. Nicholas, were exclusively entitled to the nomination of their clergy, all which clearly evinced their real true, and undoubted title to those rights which they prized more particularly as an honourable testimony of their attachment to the faith of their forefathers, and of their devotion and obedience to the Holy See. . . .

On the part of the 'non-tribes' it was objected that so far from the 'tribes' or fourteen families having been, as asserted, the founders of Galway, the town had in fact belonged to the old family of De Burgo, by whom it was principally built, and to whom it was principally indebted for its original increase and improvement. That intervals of many years had elapsed between the different periods of settlement in the town of these several names and families who were almost entirely the descendants of Anglo-Norman adventurers in Ireland; and that, in particular some of them had never been resident, or even heard of, in the town, when the collegiate church was established, viz., the Darcys, Brownes, &c., although they were now ranked among the families to whom, it was pretended, the exclusive privilege of electing its clergy, &c., had been granted. That this right had been at first acquired by all, and not a part of the inhabitants of the town who afterwards unanimously petitioned the Pope to confirm their

acquisition, which was accordingly done, under the general denomination of *mayor, bailiffs, and equals*, meaning *all* the citizens, common-council men and freemen of the town. That the bull made no mention of these fourteen families, or of any family, tribe, or name, or any other description of persons whatever; but, on the contrary, the various letters of the Holy See, concerning the collegiate church, testified against any such exclusive claim; and even the last of these, in 1733, particularly recognized the right of the inhabitants in general, under the name of *Clerus populusque Galviæ*. That for nearly two centuries next after the institution, as appeared by the original corporation books of the town, the patronage was exercised by the mayor, sheriffs, and freemen, or burgesses, as a privilege to their corporate body, to which every inhabitant was eligible, and never was pretended to as a right inherent in any particular class of the citizens. That the fourteen confederated families had, therefore, after the political extinction of the old Catholic corporation, monopolized these privileges, and that afterwards, to give a colour to their usurpation, they formed themselves into a self-created body, and assumed the name of a corporation, for no other purpose than to keep the patronage of the church among themselves for the benefit of individuals of their own names and families. That it was unjust in the highest degree, for those persons so to do, to the exclusion of all other inhabitants whose ancestors had settled (and many of them, viz., the Burkes, Butlers, Colemans, Fallons, Nolans, Quins, Tullys, &c., at a very early period) in the town with their families and properties, where they have ever since for many generations remained—a circumstance which ought to have entitled them, at least, to the common rights of naturalization. That the descendants of the fourteen families, from a long habit of thinking their title just, at length became convinced that it was so, and finally grew so confident as to declare that while an individual belonging to them, or any of their names, existed in the town or elsewhere, the title to elect and present the clergy of the collegiate church would remain to the exclusion of all others. That they at length went so far as to assert that even *the name gave in itself a sufficient title*; and finally carried the absurdity to such a length as to reject pious, learned and exemplary clergymen as unfit to be either wardens or vicars, without any other possible objection but that they were of different names from the fourteen families, who had resolved that 'the name of a stranger should not appear on the face of their books!' That under these circumstances it followed that any individual of these self-privileged names wheresoever born, bred, or actually resident, if he appeared in Galway at the time of the election of the clergy was allowed a right of franchise *by virtue of his name*, although he might be a total stranger to the town, and might never have contributed to maintain the clergy; while the rank, fortune, length of residence

and reputation of the other inhabitants were totally disregarded, who were therefore obliged to become silent spectators, while a few resident voters and a majority of aliens appointed those very clergy whom they, though excluded, principally contributed to support.

These rather lengthened extracts will, it is hoped, have an interest for those who care to inquire into the rise and progress of aristocratic ideas in civic life. Just as in Venice the mere entry of a name in the Golden Book became a patent of nobility, so in the old town by the side of the Corrib the mere fact of bearing a particular family name was alleged to confer rights and privileges which no length of residence, no amount of wealth or personal worth, was allowed to confer on him who bore a name not reckoned among the Fourteen. The concession originally granted to the *Galliv* as English families in recognition of their prejudices, was an anomaly at the first, and an anomaly it proved to be to the end. Archbishop Donat O'Murray appears to have been very old when, in 1484, he granted the deed of exemption; and it so happened that two of his immediate successors (William Joyes and Christopher Bodkin) were both natives of the town of Galway, and as 'tribesmen' used their ecclesiastical authority to further the wishes, if not the interests, of their kindred in the town. Hardiman remarks 'the force of native partiality' in these two archbishops, and adds that they were 'the only prelates who confirmed the privileges of the collegiate church from the time of its foundation.' Indeed it may be said of these prelates that they laid up a considerable store of troubles for their successors, and did not, after all, succeed in laying the foundation of either peace or contentment in the town. In the end, the Catholics of Galway gained nothing by having the appointment of their clergy brought down to the gutter level of local politics.

Owing to the troubles culminating in 1791, and following years, a proposal was made by the Catholic archbishop for the abolition of the collegiate rights and the re-annexation of the wardenship to the archiepiscopal see; but through the endeavours of the Rev. Valentine Bodkin, agent of the lay-

patrons, and afterwards warden, the proposal was frustrated. Warden Joyes was succeeded in 1805 by Dr. Bodkin. The lay-patrons having resolved not to elect any of the then vicars, who were mostly of non-tribe families, to succeed him, he, at their desire, procured a dispensation from Rome 'to render eligible three regulars of the town, the Rev. John Fallon, and the Revs. Charles and Edmund Ffrench, two brothers, all of the Dominican Order. The latter was chosen vicar, and on the death of the Rev. Dr. Bodkin, in 1812, was elected to the dignity of warden, a circumstance which occasioned fresh troubles in the town,'¹ and these troubles had not quite subsided when Hardiman wrote, in 1820.

The long and eventful history of the wardenship came to a close in 1831, when Galway and the adjoining parishes were constituted a diocese, and Dr. George J. Browne was consecrated bishop of the new see. It is not a little remarkable that a representative of one of the youngest among the 'tribes' became first bishop of the youngest among the existing sees of Ireland. More recently the see of Kilmacduagh, and the apostolic administratorship of Kilfenora, have been united under the Bishop of Galway.

Annaghdown, once the centre of the diocese to which Galway belonged prior to the absorption of the see in the archbishop's diocese, was a village beautifully situated on a bay on the east side of the middle portion of Lough Corrib. The situation is well marked by a lofty square castle, almost entire, and the ivy-clad walls of the church and monastic buildings, which attract the attention of the tourist sailing up the beautiful island-studded lake. A minute and interesting description of these remains is to be found in Sir William Wilde's learned book, *Lough Corrib*. The ancient form of the name was Enachdune, or Enach-duin, as it is in Keating's *History of Ireland*. Among the bishops present at the great synod of Ceananus (Kells), held according to Keating in 1157, was 'Tuathal O'Connachtaig, Bishop of Jobh Bruinn, that is Enach-duin.' And according to the information collected by Mr. Oliver J. Burke for his work on the *Archbishops of*

¹ *History of Galway*, p. 263.

Tuam, a Bishop of Annaghdown was present at the coronation of Richard I.¹

In 1697, the Protestant archbishop (Vesey) petitioned Parliament that the archiepiscopal see might be removed from Tuam to Galway, and the proposed change was recommended by a committee of the entire house, who further recommended that a cathedral and dwelling should be provided for his grace; that £2,000 should be raised to defray the expense, by a tax on the town and liberties. A bill to this effect was prepared, which, on 6th September, 1697, was referred to a committee; but a petition against it having been lodged by the corporation, the measure was rejected.

In the Protestant succession, the wardenship lasted only a few years longer than in the Catholic line. The office, last held by the Rev. James Daly, of the Dunsandle family, was done away with in 1840; and at the same time the title of city was reduced to that of town.²

THOMAS FITZPATRICK, LL.D.

¹ In the Carew MSS. (1515-1574) there is a curious letter of the year 1532, from the Earl of Ossory to Secretary Cromwell, regarding this diocese:—

'The bearer has petitioned me to ascertain (*sic*) you of the value of a bishopric in Conaght, near Galway; it is called Enagidulen, far from the English pale, amongst the inordinate wild Irishry; is not meet for any stranger of reputation, and does not exceed £20 yearly. The clergy of it are far out of order, and the see-church in ruins. It is necessary that there should be a "herd" (*sic*) there who has the favour of the country.'

(Signed)

'P. Oss.'

Addressed—'Mr. Cromwell of the King's most honourable Council.'

² Wilde's *Lough Corrib*, chap. i.

‘THE TRUE INCENTIVE TO WORK’

THIS is a business age. ‘The age of chivalry is gone.’ Money-making, push, energy, business-tact—these are the things that are valued, and the highest enterprises must be managed on what are called business principles. Now the wonder is how many of our Lord’s words, spoken in what was *not* a business age, chime in with this spirit of the time, this *zeit-geist*. To us all He addresses that admonition of the parable, *Negotiamini dum venio*¹—‘Trade until I come, do business until I come.’

Heresy was hardly ever more unreasonable, and its influence was hardly ever more blighting, than when it dared to contradict the Catholic doctrine of merit, when it dared to mutter its shibboleth of faith without works, which for very shame’s sake it must explain away and practically abandon. There are mysteries in God’s dealings with His poor creature, man; but, whatever else is dark, it is clear that God deigns to accept and more than accept our co-operation in the life-long work of applying individually to our own souls the infinite merits of the redemption. *Dei enim sumus adiutores*; ² we are God’s helpers, co-operators, co-workers, *συνέργοι*.

How are we doing our little part in this partnership? Are we toiling, trading, doing business? Are we doing a thriving trade? Are we managing our business well? I really think that it is impossible for us not to be greatly struck by the contrast that Shakespeare makes the dying Cardinal dwell upon at the last:—‘If I had served my God with half the zeal with which I served my king, he would not have left me in mine old age naked to mine enemies.’ It is our own part I am thinking of now, not God’s part; and the contrast that strikes me is the very different way in which those whom we call worldlings and those who are supposed to be devoted to God’s special service go through their work

¹ Luke xix. 13.

² 1 Cor. iii. 9.

respectively. A good many in the world do their work badly enough, and they generally suffer for it; and, on the other hand, there is plenty of self-denial and perseverance and unromantic heroism among those who are devoting their lives to the service of God. But, when every excuse is made and when everything has been taken into consideration, I fear that we, at least, shall often be forced to take to ourselves our Redeemer's mild rebuke: 'The children of this world are wiser in their generation than the children of light.' The statesmen, politicians, barristers, journalists, literary men, physicians, engineers, merchants, grocers, haberdashers, and all the rest from the highest to the lowest—what steady application, what perseverance, what quiet energy, what self-denial and self-sacrifice, are exemplified in the various careers that these words remind us of! Is there a sufficiently close counterpart in a sufficient number of those whose vocation is something like our own?

General questions of this sort will not come to much; but each of us can easily bring the matter home to himself, if he likes. Hardly any of the incentives to earnestness in human enterprise, hardly any of the motives to human ambition, but may have their equivalent in the heart of the man who wishes to work for God alone; and, on the other hand, the homeliest sayings of worldly wisdom have their meaning when applied to the spiritual life. What, for instance, if we applied to our spiritual duties, and to all the other duties of the day, this excellent Chinese proverb: 'One day is as good as three, if you do the right thing at the right time'? What a contrast there must be between the use made of the same opportunities by two individuals of the same vocation, one of whom puts this Chinese proverb into practice, and the other does not!

But, perhaps, in no point ought the example of those who are supposed to be serving the world, and struggling to advance themselves, and to get money and a name—in no part of their example ought a sterner lesson be contained for us, who are supposed to be serving God directly and exclusively, than in what we have often read about the long and toilsome noviceship gone through by those who were

determined to excel in the various arts and professions, determined to realise Alexander’s favourite line of Homer :—

Ἄει ἀριστέειν καὶ ὑπείροχον εἶμεναι ἄλλων.

We can probably recall appalling stories that we have read about the ‘practice that made perfect’ certain actors, artists, singers, consummate performers on the violin, or wonderful experts in higher and more intellectual pursuits.

There was a controversy in the newspapers, I remember, more than thirty years ago, as to the person who had first given the famous definition of genius—‘a transcendent capacity for taking pains.’ It seems that several said something like that, while thinking they were saying what had never been said before. A speech of Lord Derby’s started this question at that time; but, several years earlier, Sir William Hamilton had written this paragraph :—

To one who complimented Sir Isaac Newton on his genius he replied that, if he had made any discoveries, it was owing more to patient attention than to any other talent. There is but little analogy between mathematics and play-acting; but I heard the great Mrs. Siddons, in nearly the same language, attribute the whole superiority of her unrivalled talent to the more intense study which she bestowed on her parts. ‘Genius,’ says Helvetius, ‘is nothing but a continued attention.’ ‘Genius,’ says Buffon, ‘is only protracted patience.’ ‘In the exact sciences, at least,’ says Cuvier, ‘it is the invincible patience of a sound intellect which truly constitutes genius.’ And Chesterfield has also observed that ‘the power of applying attention, steady and undissipated, to a single object, is the sure mark of a superior genius.’

My excuse for accumulating, or letting Sir William Hamilton accumulate for me, these different ways of saying the same thing is that almost the same definition can be given of sanctity. Not only genius, but sanctity, is a transcendent capacity for taking pains. Think of the pains that St. John Berchmans took, and many another more famous saint. We, too, must take pains. I hardly know a better ejaculation than the one that Judge O’Hagan made for himself, and repeated constantly: ‘Lord, raise our hearts to Thee, and fix them upon Thee; teach us to take pains for the kingdom of heaven.’

We must take pains. A significant phrase, even more so than the corresponding phrase in French, which puts it in the singular :—

Travaillez, prenez de la peine :
C'est le fond qui manque le moins.

Take pains. Every real effort costs us at some time or other pain and much pain and many pains ; and we must take them. It is not like catching cold, which in reality catches us. No helps, no precautions, no special methods, can dispense with pain of some sort in the acquisition of anything really good. 'No royal road to Euclid,' as a very small grocer said to a very small boy fifty years ago. And there is no royal road to perfection or sanctity—no road that dispenses with toil, trouble, and pains. Heaven is for heroes—or, at least, for brave souls, for hard workers ; not for sluggards or cowards. At any rate, if poltroons should manage to sneak in somehow, they cannot expect good places in heaven—reserved seats, which might, perhaps, be the translation of *locum nominatum in regno celorum*, which occurs somewhere in Scripture. Father Neumayr speaks with great contempt of people of this sort—so mean-spirited that in their aspirations after heaven they are content with the corner behind the door—*angulo post januam contenti*—and this not through humility or self-distrust, but through cowardice and sloth and self-indulgence and want of faith, hope, and charity. And then the terrible risk that they may just fall short of even their low ambition!

Amongst the many mysteries of heaven does it not seem to be one of the strangest mysteries that heaven will still be heaven even for those who have failed to win their proper place there ; who have frustrated some of the designs of God's mercy, and have in many ways disappointed the Heart of Jesus ; who have abused many graces and lost many opportunities, and who, during many precious days and months and years of their earthly probation, have paid scanty heed to that warning of our Judge, *Negotiamini dum venio*—'Trade until I come'?

It will be very easy for each of us, dear readers, to make

these reflections dreadfully practical by applying them to some duty for which we might at this moment be preparing. Have we to preach next Sunday? Let us try to be ready to discharge that duty, according to the measure of the abilities that God has given to us, with a proper respect for the dignity of our calling, with a proper respect for the Word of God, and with a proper respect for so many immortal souls, for each of whom Christ died, and to each of whom God may intend a special message to be conveyed by, perhaps, some seemingly commonplace saying in our sermon next Sunday.

MATTHEW RUSSELL, S.J.

CORRESPONDENCE

ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE 'GLORIA PATRI'

REV. DEAR SIR,—Having in my former letter stated what was my view on this matter, and adduced the reasons which go to prove it, I now again come forward to refute the objections that may be urged against it.

The one great objection rests on the chain of analogy so ably and forcibly forged by Monsignor Molloy from the Lesser Doxology in favour of his view.

The two-edged sword which I shall bring forward to sever this chain, and, at the same time, confirm my own view, or, if you will, the one weak link in that chain which must be removed, and thus destroy the efficacy of the whole, is the concluding verse from the Hymn for Compline :—

‘ Praesta Pater piissime,
Patrique compar Unice,
Cum Spiritu Paraclito
Regnans per omne Sæculum.’

Here is an unequivocal declaration that God is One in Three, Who reigns for ever. It thus proves my view up to the hilt, and, at the same time, severs the chain of analogy.

‘But,’ it will be objected, ‘whatever about helping on your view, it leaves that analogy intact; the analogy is from the Lesser Doxology, and there is nothing about Doxology in the verse adduced. You are simply *non-ad-rem*; you are hacking at a different object entirely; the chain still remains unbroken, and we say *transeat* to your whole objection.’ I think you will agree with me that the following reasoning exposes, and disposes of, the speciousness of this patching.

That verse is the concluding one of a liturgical hymn. Consequently we would naturally expect—from analogy—that it contains the Lesser Doxology, either expressed or implied. Therefore, if, by a possible interpretation, those two can be reconciled, that interpretation must be the true one. They can be reconciled—by the view I have put forward, and by no other.

For, the great majority of the examples adduced by Monsignor Molloy are as seemingly vague, and susceptible of different interpretations, as the 'Gloria Patri' itself. The verse from the Hymn for Vespers for Sundays is an exception: it can only have the one interpretation. But the fact that 'sicut fuit' is there, and not 'sicut erat in principio' does not prove that those mean the same: far from it. The difference of tense in the verbs and the word 'principio' with 'erat' confirm the view I have put forward. '*Fuit*' implies that the two periods of duration are of the same order; '*erat*' would go to establish the contrary. Compare and examine on this point the two phrases: 'In initio Deus creavit coelum et terram' (Gen. i. 1) with 'In principio erat Verbum' (St. John i. 1). You will discover that the difference of tense in the verbs, 'creavit - erat,' is no less significant than the choice of the word 'initio - principio.'

Neither can a particular example from a general class lay down a universal rule for that class when another example under the same head has the opposite tendency. With which of these two verses, each susceptible of only one different meaning, does the 'Gloria Patri' conform? This can only be discovered, as those have been, from its own internal construction.

And now, as I have disposed of one analogy, I may be allowed to introduce another. Every one, I think, feels that there is a great similarity and some hidden connection between the 'Gloria Patri' and the 'In nomine Patris.' At least, many have a psychological—I may add—an æsthetic feeling that this is so.

What I call a psychological feeling is when the mind grasps at a truth or conclusion without assignable reasons for doing so. This feeling becomes æsthetic when it is based on harmony, or the moral beauty of a thing.

The logical basis of this connection I conceive to be this:—

In the 'In nomine Patris' the word 'nomine,' as all agree, implies the Unity of God; the Three Divine Persons are expressly referred to; and the invocation points to a Being, absolute, infinite, and, therefore, eternal. So, likewise, in the 'Gloria Patri,' I think we have reference in 'erat' to the Unity of God in Three Divine Persons, who are expressly mentioned; and the tenor of the Response, as a whole, points to the eternity and infinitude of God. Thus each conveys an act of faith in those three truths: God is One, Three, and the same for ever—whilst the 'differentia'

is, in case of the 'In nomine Patris' the sign of the cross; and, in the case of the 'Gloria Patri,' the expression of a prayer.

This exposition, when viewed as the complement of what has been previously said, will not fail, I suspect, to convince many that the received English translation is quite correct, and closely adheres to the Latin original.

Yours respectfully,

P. M. W.

DOCUMENTS

PRAYER TO MARY, HELP OF CHRISTIANS

BREVE, QUO INDULGENTIA TERCENTUM DIERUM CONCEDITUR
RECITANTIBUS SUBIECTAM IN CALCE ORATIONEM 'MARIAE
AUXILIATRICI' DICATAM

LEO PP. XIII.

AD PERPETUAM REI MEMORIAM

Oblatis Nobis precibus a dilecto filio Caesare Cagliero Procuratore Generali Congregationis Salesianorum benigne annuentes, de Omnipotentis Dei misericordia ac BB. Petri et Pauli Apostolorum Eius auctoritate confisi, omnibus et singulis Fidelibus ex utroque sexu ubique terrarum degentibus, qui corde saltem contriti quocumque idiomate, dummodo versio sit fidelis, orationem recitent Mariae Auxiliatrici dicatam, quae vulgari lingua incipit verbis: 'O santissima ed Immacolata Maria' et desinit in haec verba 'possiamo andare a farvi corona nel bel paradiso. Così sia,' iuxta exemplar quod a Sacrorum Rituum Congregatione probatum in Tabulario Secretariae Nostrae Brevium asservari iussimus, qua vice id agent, trecentos de poenaliū dierum numero in forma Ecclesiae solita per praesentes expungimus, et largimur ipsis, liceat hac Partiali Indulgentia functorum vita labes poenasque, si malint, expiare. Verumtamen praecipimus ut harum Litterarum authenticum exemplar deferatur (quod nisi fiat nullas easdem esse volumus) ad Secretariam Congregationis Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae, iuxta decretum ab eadem Congregatione sub die 19 Januarii 1756 latum et a s. m. Benedicto PP. XIV. Praedecessore Nostro die 28 dicti mensis approbatum, utque earumdem Litterarum transumptis seu exemplis, etiam impressis, manu alicuius Notarii publici subscriptis et sigillo personae in ecclesiastica dignitate, constitutae munitis, eadem prorsus fides adhibeatur, quae adhiberetur ipsis praesentibus, si forent exhibitae vel ostensae. Non obstantibus contrariis quibuscumque. Praesentibus perpetuis futuris temporibus valituris, servato tamen tenore Nostrae Constitutionis de suspensione Indulgentiarum

vertente hoc anno universalis Iubilaei. Datum Romae apud S. Petrum sub anulo Piscatoris die 10 Martii 1900, Pontificatus Nostri anno vigesimotertio.

Pro Dño Card. MACCHI

NICOLAUS MARINI, *Substitutus*.

L. ✠ S.

Praesentium Litterarum Apostolicarum exemplar exhibitum fuit Secretariae Sacrae Congregationis Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae. In quorum fidem.

Datum Romae ex eadem Secretaria die 17 Martii 1900.

Ios. M. Can. COSELLI, *Substitutus*.

PREGHIERA A MARIA AUSILIATRICE

Santissima ed Immacolata Vergine Maria, Madre nostra tenerissima e potente Aiuto dei Cristiani, noi ci consacrriamo interamente al vostro dolce amore ed al vostro santo servizio. Vi consacrriamo la mente co' suoi pensieri, il cuore co' suoi affetti, il corpo co' suoi sentimenti e con tutte le sue forze, e promettiamo di voler sempre operare alla maggior gloria di Dio ed alla salute delle anime.

Voi intanto, o Vergine incomparabile, che siete sempre stata l'Ausiliatrice del popolo Cristiano, deh! continuate a mostrarvi tale specialmente in questi giorni. Umiliate i nemici di nostra santa Religione e rendetene vani i malvagi intenti. Illuminate e fortificate i Vescovi ed i Sacerdoti e teneteli sempre uniti ed ubbidienti al Papa, Maestro infallibile; preservate dall'irreligione e dal vizio l'incauta gioventù; promovete le sante vocazioni ed accrescete il numero de' Sacri Ministri, affinchè per mezzo loro il regno di Gesù Cristo si conservi tra noi e si estenda fino agli ultimi confini della terra.

Vi preghiamo ancora, o dolcissima Madre, che teniate sempre rivolti i vostri sguardi pietosi sopra l'incauta gioventù esposta a tanti pericoli, e sopra i poveri peccatori e moribondi; siate per tutti, O Maria, dolce speranza, Madre di Misericordia e Porta del Cielo.

Ma anche per noi Vi supplichiamo, o gran Madre di Dio. Insegnateci a ricopiare in noi le vostre virtù, in particolar modo l'angelica modestia, l'umiltà profonda e l'ardente carità, affinchè, per quanto è possibile col nostro contegno, colle nostre parole, col nostro esempio rappresentiamo al vivo in mezzo al mondo Gesù

benedetto vostro Figliuolo, e facciamo conoscere ed amare Voi, e con questo mezzo possiamo riuscire a salvare molte anime.

Fate altresì, O Maria Ausiliatrice, che noi siamo tutti raccolti sotto il vostro manto di Madre, fate che nelle tentazioni noi v'invochiamo tosto con fiducia; fate insomma che il pensiero di Voi, sì buona, sì amabile, sì cara, il ricordo dell'amore che portate ai vostri devoti ci sia di tale conforto da renderci vittoriosi contro i nemici dell'anima nostra, in vita ed in morte, affinché possiamo andare a farvi corona nel bel Paradiso.

Così sia.

PRAYER FOR THE CONVERSION OF JEWS AND TURKS

BREVE, QUO INDULGENTIA CENTUM DIERUM CONCEDITUR, QUOLIBET
DIE LUCRANDA, RECITANTIBUS SUBMISSAM ORATIONEM PRO
CONVERSIONE HEBRAEORUM ET TURCARUM

LEO PP. XIII.

AD PERPETUAM REI MEMORIAM

Quum, sicuti Nobis relatum est, a quodam Sacerdote Congregationis Clericorum Discalceatorum Sanctissimæ Crucis et Passionis Iesu Christi pia oratio Sacratissimis Iesu Mariæ Cordibus pro conversione Hebraeorum et Turcarum scripta sit, et admotæ cum sint preces Nobis ut eandem orationem, cuius exemplar in tabulario Secretariæ Nostræ Brevium asservari iussimus et cuius prima vocabula '*O amantissimo ed amabilissimo Cuore di Gesù*' postrema vero sunt '*ne' secoli de' secoli*,' indulgentiis ditare velimus: Nos, ut populus christianus salutem proximorum suorum a Deo exoret, omnibus utriusque sexus Christi fidelibus, qui corde saltem contriti supradictam precem quocumque idiomate, dummodo versio sit fidelis, recitaverint, quolibet die centum tantum dies de iniunctis eis seu alias quomodolibet debitis poenitentiis in forma Ecclesiæ consueta relaxamus. Quas poenitentiarum relaxationes etiam animabus Fidelium in Purgatorio detentis per modum suffragii applicari posse indulgemus. Praesentibus perpetuo valituris, servato tamen tenore nuperrimæ Constitutionis Nostræ de suspensione Indulgentiarum proximo anno Iubilæi. Praecipimus autem ut praesentes nullae sint, nisi earum exemplar exhibeatur Congregationi Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositæ: atque praesentium litterarum transumptis seu exemplis etiam impressis, manu alicuius Notarii publici subscriptis et sigillo personae in ecclesiastica dignitate constitutæ

praemunitis eadem prorsus adhibeatur fides quae adhiberetur ipsis praesentibus si forent exhibitae vel ostensae. Datum Romae apud S. Petrum sub aulo Piscatoris die 18 Decembris 1899, Pontificatus Nostri anno vigesimo secundo.

Pro Dño Card. MACCHI

NICOLAUS MARINI, *Substitutus*.

L. ✕ S.

Praesens exemplar exhibitum fuit S. Congregationi Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria eiusdem S. Congregationis die 11 Januarii 1900.

IOSEPHUS M. Can. COSELLI, *Substitutus*.

L. ✕ S.

PREGHIERA

AI SACRI CUORI DI GESÙ E DI MARIA PER LA CONVERSIONE DEGLI EBREI E DEI TURCHI

O amantissimo e amabilissimo Cuore di Gesù, prostrati innanzi a Voi, ardentemente vi supplichiamo di spandere nella Chiesa e nel mondo quei fiumi di acqua viva che da Voi scaturiscono come da fonte inesausta per salire alla vita eterna. O Gesù, Figlio di David e Figlio di Dio vivo, abbiate compassione di noi figli del Vostro Cuore trafitto! Deh! non ci togliete, come pure meriteremmo per le nostre colpe e ingratitudini, il dono della Vostra Santissima Fede; non vi nascondete ai nostri occhi Voi, che siete la vera nostra luce e l'unica nostra speranza, ma rimanete con noi, o Signore, mentre più si addensano le tenebre degli errori, e riempiteci di quel fuoco di carità che siete venuto a portar sulla terra e volete che si accenda nel cuore di tutti gli uomini.

O Gesù, sacrificio per noi sull'Altare della Croce, tirateci a Voi, e con noi tirate pure gli Ebrei ed i Turchi, per i quali ancora versaste già il Vostro Sangue sino all'ultima stilla.

Deh! questo Sangue invocato un dì in maledizione dagli uni, scenda in benedizione sopra il loro capo, e li salvi! Questo Sangue disprezzato e profanato dagli altri, mandi per essi un grido di misericordia e li purifichi! Sovvenite, o Signore, ve ne scongiuriamo, sovvenite ai poveri figli d'Isacco e d'Ismaele, per i quali ancora voleste sostenere la Vostra dolorosissima Passione e Morte. Vi parlino in loro favore quelle Piaghe Santissime che nelle Mani, nei Piedi e nel Costato tenete ancora vive ed aperte come prezzo del comune riscatto. Alle loro voci potenti si

uniscano pur quelle che escono dal Cuore della Vostra dolcissima Madre. Questo Cuore trafitto dalla spada del dolore, immerso in un mare di pene, martirizzato col Vostro appiè della Croce, noi Vi offriamo, o Gesù, per la salvezza di tanti infelici.

O dolce Cuore di Maria, dite a Gesù quel che non sappiamo, né possiamo dir noi, ed Egli vi esaudirà... Che se per vincere le resistenze di quelli per cui vi preghiamo è necessario un miracolo, questo, o Vergine Immacolata, noi vi chiediamo per l'amore immenso che Voi portate a Gesù. Ah! sì, degnatevi di apparire agli Ebrei ed ai Turchi come già appariste a Ratisbonne, e ad un cenno della Vostra destra essi subito come lui saranno convertiti...

Oh! venga, venga presto un tal giorno, in cui la Triade sacrosanta regni per Voi in tutti i cuori, e tutti conoscano, amino e adorino in ispirito e verità il Frutto benedetto del vostro seno Gesù, che col Padre e con lo Spirito Santo vive e regna nei secoli de' secoli. Così sia.

THE EUCHARISTIC CONGRESS OF ST. LOUIS IN THE UNITED STATES

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE PROPAGANDAE FIDEI

SSMUS. APL. BENED. CONCEDIT IIS QUI PARTES HABEBUNT IN
PROXIMO CONGRESSU EUCHARISTICO S. LUDOVICI, IN STATIBUS
FOEDER. CELEBRANDO, ETC.

Romae die 16 Aug. 1900

ILLME. ET REVME. DOMINE :

A Revmo. Archiepiscopo Neo-Eborascensi, dum nuper Romae versaretur, variae petitiones Amplitudinis Tuae huic S. Congregationi de Propaganda Fide exhibitae sunt, quibus nunc per has meas litteras respondere aggredior.

In primis quoad petitionem facultatis cantandi Missam solemnnem votivam de SS. Eucharistia etiam occurrente officio duplici 2dae classis transmitto Amplitudini Tuae Rescriptum Sacrae Rituum Congregationis cui supradicta petitio, prout de jure, remissa fuit. Huic eidem S. Congregationi remissae sunt duae aliae petitiones circa Beatificationem Ven. Servi Dei Joannis Nepomuceni Neumann Episcopi Philadelphiensis et P. Juliani Eymard Fundatoris Congregationis SS. Sacramenti et Associationis Presbyterorum Adoratorum.

Quoad vero alias petitiones quibus Indulgentiae postulantur pro adoratoribus SS. Sacramenti sive clericis sive laicis, cum

Sanctitati Suae non placeat decurrente hoc anno Iubilaei indulgentias concedere, de illis petitionibus elapso jubilaei anno ratio habebitur. Id vero non impedit quominus Eucharistiae Sodalitates, sive inter clericos sive inter laicos, sicut jam in aliquibus Americae dioecesibus factum est, erigantur.

S. Congregatio valde gavisus est de notitia ei exhibita alterius Eucharistici Congressus anno proximo futuro habendi in urbe Sti. Ludovici et maxime laetabitur de opportunis mediis, quae in eadem adoptabuntur sive ad SS. Eucharistiae cultum augendum tum inter clericos tum inter fideles, sive ad maiorem S. Communionis frequentiam promovendam.

Interea vero Sanctitas Sua, quae de his omnibus certior facta est, Apostolicam Benedictionem impertitur tum iis qui Sodalitatibus Eucharisticis in iis Foederatis Statibus nomen dederunt, tum iis omnibus qui in futuro Congressu Eucharistico partem habebunt.

Post haec omnia fausta ac felicia Tibi a Domino precor.

Amplitudinis Tuae, Addictissimus Servus

pro Emo. Card. *Praefecto*,

ALOISIUS VECCIA, *Secrius*.

Pro R. P. D. Secrio. C. Laurenti.

Illmo. et Revmo. Dno. Camillo Maes, Epo. Covington.

DIVISION OF TIME FOR GAINING THE JUBILEE

E SACRA POENITENTIARIA

DUBIUM CIRCA TEMPUS UTILE, VISITATIONESQUE PRO LUCRANDO
IUBILAEIO MAGNO

BEATISSIMO PADRE,

Il sottoscritto Vescovo, umilmente prostrato al Trono della B. V., espone :

I. D'aver con circolare 13 Gennaio 1901 designati come tempo utile per l'acquisto del S. Giubileo nella sua Diocesi i sei mesi decorribili dal 17 Gennaio al 17 Luglio. Ciò egli fece credendo che questo fosse in generale per la sua Diocesi il tempo più propizio. Ma non potendosi in tutto avere comodità di predicazione e di confessione, ed anche per i lavori di campagna, i mesi di Giugno e Luglio ultimi dei sei mesi designati non sono propizii. Pertanto onde poter facilitare ai suoi diocesani l'acquisto di sì speciale grazia, supplica umilmente per la facoltà di sostituire, in quelle parrocchie ove lo crederà utile, ai detti due mesi, quelli di Novembre e Dicembre.

II. Nella circolare stessa accordò ai Parroci la facoltà di designare le chiese da visitarsi. — In base a detta facoltà i Parroci designarono degli oratorii, ma ora purtroppo essi comprendono che a qualcuno di questi oratorii per la loro ubicazione e lontananza è difficile e di grave incomodo l' accesso. Al fine pertanto di provvedere anche a simile inconveniente che potrebbe a qualcuno esser pretesto per non lucrare il S. Giubileo, il sottoscritto supplica per la facoltà di modificare le designazioni fatte dai Parroci, sia riducendo le visite alla Chiesa Parrocchiale, sia ad alcuna delle chiese esistenti nelle frazioni per maggiore comodità della popolazione.

Che ecc.

S. Poenitentiaria, attentis expositis, respondet prout sequitur : *Quoad primum.* Non obstante promulgatione iam peracta Iubilaei ad sex menses continuous, existente gravi et legitima causa, potest Ordinarius, virtute concessionis die 25 Ianuarii p. e. per novum Edictum tempus dividere per partes *pro universa tamen Dioecesi, non vero pro aliquibus paroeciis tantum.* — Instante autem termino ultimi mensis idem Ordinarius, si ita opportunum duxerit, poterit ab Apostolica Sede prorogationem pro illis, qui hoc beneficio usi antea non fuerint, impetrare. — *Quoad secundum.* Provisum per facultatem in folio dubiorum, sub N. III.

Datum Romae ex Sacra Poenitentiaria 27 Februarii 1901.

B. POMFILI, S. P. Datarius.

R. CELLI, S. Poenitentiariae Substitutus.

THE JUBILEE ON BOARD SHIP

CIRCA JUBILAEUM LUORANDUM SUPER NAVIBUS

BEATISSIME PATER,

Ioannes Guell, Capellanus Primarius Societatis Transatlanticae Barcinonen. implorat a S. V. facultatem, qua omnes a dicta Societate dependentes, qui in navibus fixe commorantur, Indulgentias Magni Iubilaei lucrare valeant visitando Oratorium in magna quaque navi erectum pro Ecclesia Parochiali.

Et Deus....

S. Poenitentiaria, attentis expositis peculiaribus circumstantiis. de speciali et expressa Apostolica Auctoritate, sic annuente SSmo. Dno Nro. Papa Leone XIII, super praemissis benigne indulget pro gratia iuxta preces. Datum Romae ex S. Poenitentiaria die 18 Martii 1901.

R. CARCANI, S. P. Reg.

Gratis

R. CELLI, S. P. Substit.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

LIFE OF THE VENERABLE THOMAS À KEMPIS. By Dom Vincent Scully, C.R.L., with an Introduction by Sir Francis Cruise, M.D. London: R. & T. Washbourne. 1901.

WE have not often taken up a book with the same eagerness as that wherewith we opened the first page of this the first life of Thomas à Kempis in English. To no Christian, and especially to no Catholic, can a life of the author of the *Imitation*—and Thomas was the author—be without much interest. We all have so loved that golden book that we would dearly wish to know even a little of its author's personality. And yet the very intensity of our admiration and love will make us unwilling to be satisfied with anything less than biographical perfection, will make us critical of a would-be-biographer's success.

In the present case we cannot unreservedly say that Fr. Scully, in the picture he has given us, satisfies to the full all that lovers of the *Imitation* might legitimately demand in a life of Thomas à Kempis. We have sometimes wished for a little more distinction of style, a little more definiteness of outline, a little more of the man and a little less of his accidental environment. We confess to have been here and there disappointed in our reading by a not infrequent prolixity of detail which we have thought irrelevant, by an over-liberalness of not very illuminative quotation, by a detailed and repeated statement of very obvious inferences and morals. We think that to spend any appreciable space or words in setting forth one's method of treatment or its justification, though very candid on the part of the author, is liable to damage considerably the continuity of the narrative and blur the resulting picture. The book under review is hardly perfect in its kind, nor is it as perfect as we think the author could have easily made it. The fundamental failing seems to us to be that the author has not imaginatively realised his subject as fully as true biography would require. Materials, and as a rule of the right sort, have been collected in abundance. They have not, we think, been worked up into a true organic soundness and

completeness, have not been melted down in the crucible, and cast in the shaping mould of a true biographical imagination.

We say this candidly, and yet much more emphatically we would say the book is one to be read and read and loved. Notwithstanding our criticism, which really is no more than this—that we are somewhat provoked because Fr. Scully, having written so able a book, has not written one a little better, which he might have done; we also confess to have read the *Life* through to the last page before we could allow ourselves to close it. And we feel bound to record our deliberate judgment that it is a book for which Catholics should be very thankful. It is a book written by one who is in a great deal more sympathy with his subject than the ordinary admirer of the *Imitation*, who has collected his material with care, and generally with judgment, who has produced, if not a perfectly living portrait, at least a good likeness in these days of so much second-rate biographical work.

We have not space to do more than glance at the make-up of the book. There is an Introduction by Sir Francis Cruise, summing up that scholar's researches on the authorship of the *Imitation*. The life itself is told within the compass of two hundred and seventy-two octavo pages. There is a short Appendix on Nicholas de Cusa, and an Index.

The book proper is practically a history of the rise and progress of the 'Devout Brethren' during Thomas' life-time, and especially of the Convent of Mt. St. Agnes, where the holy Canon lived. This plan, though accountable for the greater number of the limitations we have already noticed, has been the cause of the greatest charm of the book to us. It has allowed the author to draw very largely on the writings of Thomas himself—the careful chronicler of Mt. St. Agnes. Readers of the *Imitation* will perceive what a treat awaits them in a book so constituted. The author has uniformly done the work of translation well. The peculiar quaintness of thought and expression, the haunting rhythm, the murmur-like flow of Thomas' style, have been well reproduced in the various renderings. In fact, the author himself has largely caught Thomas' characteristic literary manner, and in many places we find re-echoed much of the charm and quiet shy grace of the quotations.

The book is brought out at five shillings in a good style of paper and print, and is embellished with three excellently reproduced photographs. We could have wished the binding somewhat better done.

P. D.

BIBLICAL TREASURY OF THE CATECHISM. Compiled and arranged by Rev. Thomas E. Cox. New York : Young & Co. Price \$1.25.

THIS is a volume of over four hundred pages, well printed, and set in a generous binding. Its structure is well adapted to the end proposed 'to put in a comprehensive yet concise form the Scriptural proofs of Catholic doctrine.' The questions and answers of the Baltimore Catechism, set out in heavy type, appear as headings, and underneath each are placed the passages of the Scripture that confirm the doctrine of, or in some way bear upon, the questions. A system of cross-references obviates needless repetitions. The compiler, evidently, has been at pains in the selection and arrangement of the texts. His book is, in itself, an evidence from the large number of citations it contains, of how ample is the Scriptural basis of Catholic belief, and in the orderly setting of its parts it provides an easy way to the sources of biblical support for all points of dogma and morals. We would much extend the field of utility, modestly mapped out for the work by Fr. Cox, and would recommend it, accordingly, not only to Catechists and Seminarists, but also to preachers and all who have occasion to 'handle the word of truth,' and need a well-ordered book of texts.

J. A. S.

SERMONS FOR CHILDREN'S MASSES. New York : Benziger & Co. Price, 6s.

WE gladly welcome this, the latest work from the pen of the Very Rev. Dean Lings. It is, as he tells us, an adaptation from the original of the great spiritual writer, Frassinetti, and is intended for the use of the clergy who may be intrusted with the instruction of the young. Giving, as it does, the Gospels for the Sundays and principal festivals of the year with a clear, simple, interesting explanation and application, it cannot fail to be of great practical utility to the missionary priest. The Very Rev. Dean seems to have fully mastered the art, which is so difficult to master, the art of winning the attention of the young. He has realized the wants of the children, their powers of intelligence, their likes and dislikes, and judging by the earnest sympathetic tone of the instructions we are certain that delivered by the writer they must have made a lasting impression on his youthful hearers. Those who have charge of the children's Mass would do well to

consult them. In these instructions they may learn how a sermon may be very simple and very attractive without descending to the vulgar or commonplace. The book is published by the firm of Benziger & Co., New York, and in a way that is highly creditable. The price is six shillings.

J. McC.

DE GRATIA DIVINA. Auctore P. Schiffini, S.J. Friburgi, Brisgoviae, Sumptibus, Herder.

FATHER SCHIFFINI is well known in the world of science as the author of a very able work on mental philosophy. There is no better preparation for a profound study of grace than an intimate knowledge of Catholic philosophy. We naturally expect, then, from the pen of our author, a very learned book on grace. Our expectations are more than fulfilled. We have read with great pleasure the principal chapters of the volume. We believe that this work can be viewed as the great modern exponent of those views on grace which are thought to belong, in a special way, to the great society of which Father Schiffini is a member. On other matters, too, Father Schiffini's treatise leaves little to be desired.

There are a few little matters which we do not like in this volume. We think, for instance, that Father Schiffini, in using the term 'Bannesiani' instead of 'Thomistae,' does not show that tolerance which we expect naturally from a man of so deservedly high a reputation in theological affairs. We are not Thomists in grace. We believe, moreover, that a great deal can be said in favour of those who held that St. Thomas was not a Thomist in grace. Still we see no reason for denying to Dominicans the name which, for centuries, they have borne—a name which has not, we believe, gained for their school any unmerited support.

We consider that Father Schiffini is not sufficiently clear in his explanation of the supernatural. He tells us truly that the supernatural is something undue to nature. When explaining the meaning of 'nature' he takes into consideration only created substances. He leaves out of view substances which have not been actually created; but which, nevertheless, are possible. Probably he intends to include these as yet uncreated substances under the general title 'created substances.' Still it would be well to extend the explanation so as to evidently embrace them.

We do not approve of the name by which Father Schiffini

designates those acts which are not performed by means of grace that is strictly supernatural, but which are not elicited without the aid of some grace. He calls these acts salutary. It would be well to adopt the common and well-defined meaning which has been given to the phrase *Actus Salutaris*. Only acts which positively lead to life eternal should be so named. Those acts which merely remove difficulties belong to a lower sphere, and should not receive the same title.

These little defects, as we consider them, do not destroy the value of the volume before us. We have a very high opinion of its theological excellence. We hope that it will soon be followed by other volumes on theological subjects from the pen of its very able author.

J. M. H.

‘LA MÈRE DE DIEU ET DES HOMMES.’ Par le Père J. B. Terrien, S.J. First Part, ‘La Mère de Dieu.’ Two Vols., octavo, about four hundred pages. Net price 8 francs. Paris : Lethielleux, 10, rue Cassette.

SUCH is the title of a recent work by Father John Baptist Terrien, S.J. It is a masterpiece. The marvellous erudition of the author, his scrupulous exactness in the quotation of texts, his delicate appreciation of their real bearing, his rare talent for the theology of tradition, and his long and laborious training are warrant that his book contains all that can be said on the subject, and that there is nothing in it that is not safe. Father Terrien was for many years professor of Dogmatic Theology in the Jesuit Scholasticate at Laval, and, when this was broken up by the Government he was Professor of the Catholic Institute at Paris. He has published several other works which have been widely appreciated in France. He has the unusual gift of being able to teach theology so as to be understood by ordinary folk. In this first part of his new work, ‘the Mother of God,’ we have most interesting matter. Having in the first book established the Dogma of the Divine Maternity from the Holy Scripture and from the fathers, he proceeds, in the subsequent books, to treat of the place of this truth in the plan of redemption, of the importance of it in revealed teaching of the indissoluble union between the Son and His Mother, of their mutual love, that this fact is the cause and criterion of all the other privileges of our Lady, of rules to define these privileges of the Immaculate Conception which is very

fully and beautifully treated of, of Mary's intellectual gifts, her infused knowledge, her freedom from all error or ignorance strictly so called, of Mary's freedom from all fault, of her integrity, virginity, vow, marriage, of our Lady's physical beauty, of the natural beauty of her character, of the supernatural loveliness of her soul, of her progress in holiness, of her charismata, of her death, Assumption, coronation, glory, happiness. Priests are often at a loss for sermon matter that is deep without being dry, solid without being stale, attractive without being flimsy. They find that they have to face the mountain or the morass; their choice lies between the deep sea of Scholastic metaphysics and the shallows of mere sentimental piety. Again many a priest looks in vain for meditation matter that is sure and holy, yet varied and interesting. Father Terrien provides, in a very simple, easy, clear, close style, matter for preaching or meditation about our Lady that will outlast a long lifetime.

MISSA IN HONOREM SANCTAE FAMILIAE JESU, MARIAE, JOSEPH. Edition A, for three male voices (2 T. and B.), with Organ accompaniment; Edition B, for three female voices (2 Sopr. and Alto), with Organ accompaniment. By J. Lingenberg. Ratisbon, 1898. Fr. Pustet. Score and separate Voice Parts.

LINGENBERG'S Mass in honour of the Holy Family is characterised by all that healthiness of melody and naturalness of harmonic development that distinguish this composer. The Mass is issued in two editions, one for male voices, the other for female or boys' voices, so that care should be taken in ordering. The voice parts are fairly easy; the organ part is moderately difficult.

H. B.

EFFECTS OF SECULAR MUSIC ON MIND AND MORALS. A Paper read before the First Australasian Catholic Congress. By Charles W. MacCarthy, M.D. Sidney: Matthews & Co. September, 1900.

THIS little pamphlet will be read with interest by all lovers of music who like to reflect on the philosophical side of the art, to consider what effects music produces and how they are produced. The author confined himself to secular music, because a special paper had been read, at the same Congress, on sacred music.

This restriction, however, is not felt as creating any incompleteness, the topics discussed being of a general character, and special kinds of music being referred to only by way of illustration. The paper is free from all technicalities and written with warm appreciation and great enthusiasm for all the highest and most ennobling forms of music.

In explaining the way in which music acts upon the hearer, the author has recourse to telepathy and sympathy. We cannot say that we consider this attempt at solving the problem as felicitous. There is nothing to be gained, we think, from explaining a mysterious thing by a still more mysterious thing. The author strongly and rightly condemns all music of a demoralising character, and he goes carefully into the question of how music can be demoralising. He even narrows down the subject to the question: Can music be inherently immoral? But in answering this question he is somehow unsatisfactory. He does not make us feel as if one had got a deeper insight into the problem. It must be admitted, however, on the other hand, that the limits that necessarily bound a lecture of the kind, prevented the author from going very much into particulars, and what he has to say, on this and other questions, is interesting and suggestive.

MISSA 'TUI SUNT COELI.' For two mixed voices with Organ accompaniment. By P. Griesbacher. Op. 25. Ratisbon: J. G. Boessenecker. Score and separate Voice Parts.

A Mass of the useful combination of all the upper voices, soprano and alto combined, singing one part, and all the lower, men's, voices singing the other part. It is easily intelligible and effective, and will, therefore, we expect, be sung and heard with pleasure. The voice parts are quite easy, but in the organ part the composer manifests himself as the born contrapuntist, with the result that the organist generally has 'his hands pretty full.' Beyond its polyphonic character, however, the accompaniment presents no technical difficulty. In the *Credo* alternate passages of Gregorian Chant are inserted. We cannot fully approve of this method on artistic grounds, because we feel that the free rhythm of Gregorian Chant and the measured rhythm of the harmonized portions will not blend. But there is no doubt that this method helps the choir to cover ground.

H. B.



